

THE MAKING OF THE METIS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

FUR TRADE CHILDREN: RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER

by

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Abstract

If the psychiatrist's belief that childhood determines adult behaviour is true, then historians should be able to ascertain much about the fabric of past cultures by examining the way in which children were raised. Indeed, it may be argued that the roots of new cultures are to be found in the growing up experiences of the first generation. Such is the premise adopted in this thesis, which explores the emergence of the Metis in the Pacific Northwest by tracing the lives of fur trade youngsters from childbirth to old age. Specifically, the study focuses on the children at Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters for the region, during the first half of the nineteenth century -- a period of rapid social change.

While breaking new ground in childhood history, the thesis also provides a social history of fur trade society west of the Rocky Mountains. Central to the study is the conviction that the fur trade constituted a viable culture. While the parents in this culture came from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds, their mixed-blood youngsters were raised in the 'wilderness' of Oregon in a fusion of fur trade capitalism, Euro-American ideology and native values -- a milieu which forged and shaped their identities.

This thesis advances the interpretation that, despite much variation in the children's growing up experience, most

fur trade youngsters' lives were conditioned and contoured by the persistent and sometimes contrary forces of race, class and gender. In large measure, the interplay of these forces denoted much about the children's roles as adults. Rather than making them victims of 'higher civilization,' however, the education of fur trade children allowed them access to both native and white communities. Only a few were 'marginalized'. The majority eventually became members of the dominant culture, while a few consciously rejected the white experience in favour of native lifestyles.

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Introduction

On June 15, 1846, the Treaty of Washington divided Oregon Territory between the United States and Great Britain along the forty-ninth parallel. Under the terms of the treaty, England received present day British Columbia north of the boundary, and the United States was granted the southern portion of Oregon. War between Great Britain and the United States had been averted. The Sixth Regiment of Foot who had been hastily sent to Fort Garry in the event of hostilities and the H.M.S. Modeste and five other British men-of war sent to protect the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions on the Columbia River and Puget Sound could be sent home.¹

During the months of crisis which preceded the treaty, little consideration was given to the three thousand or so British subjects who were left below the border on the American side. North of the Columbia River, there were only eight American settlers and no American commercial activity. By contrast, eighty-five British subjects and their families were attached to the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Nisqually and Cowlitz Farm on Puget Sound. Another nineteen or so retired servants and their families lived around the Catholic Church Mission near the Cowlitz River.² In total, the Hudson's Bay Company had eleven forts (Nisqually, Cowlitz, George, Vancouver, Nez Perce, Okanogan, Flathead, Colville, Boise, Hall, Umpqua) with a population of about two thousand people in what would become the states of Washington and Oregon.³

The heartland of British settlement, however, was in the Fort Vancouver-Willamette Valley-North Tualatin Plain region. Besides the seven hundred or so people that made up Fort Vancouver's population, around Champoege on French Prairie in the Willamette, about 1000 of the 2110 people listed in the 1845 census were retired Hudson's Bay Company servants and their families who had taken up farming in the valley. At Oregon City, at the southern end of the valley, there were about 300 inhabitants, many of them retired Company people.⁴ Other former employees and their families, including some from Red River, were also engaged in agriculture on the North Tualatin Plain, Seappoose Plain and Sauvie Island.⁵

This thesis is about these British subjects. Specifically, it is about the children of the Astorians (many of whom were British subjects), the Northwesters and the Hudson's Bay Company fur traders and their native Indian wives. It is about the experience of being born and growing up in the Pacific Northwest during the fur trade era of the nineteenth century. It is about youngsters who witnessed the extinction of the native tribes of their mothers and the rise and fall of the fur trade communities which nurtured them. The Americans, who came to dominate the region, called them the Canadians, the French, or the 'half-breeds' and occasionally, they referred to them as "Metisse" or "Metif". Most of them became United States citizens; some of them are remembered as Oregon pioneers. In short, the thesis is a study

in childhood and fur trade history which builds upon the large body of American literature on the fur trade and the early pioneer era in Oregon. It is therefore, largely American, rather than Canadian history.

II

From its origins with the publication of Philippe Aries', Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, (1962), childhood history has been both international and interdisciplinary in scope with studies of children done in one country encouraging similar studies in another. This examination of fur trade children follows in the interdisciplinary tradition by borrowing heavily from other subject areas and disciplines such as anthropology, medicine and the histories of labor, education, and women.

In The School Upon the Hill (1974), James Axtell attempted to write childhood history from "a waist high perspective," but the attempt faltered after a couple of chapters and the child's world digressed into a discussion of the parents' culture.⁶ This thesis has not attempted any scheme quite so grandiose but, like Axtell's work, in order to discuss the lives of fur trade children, it has been necessary to write about the parents, indeed, to write a social history of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest. The model used here is adapted from the English historian, Pamela Horn, who used the biological stages of childhood to delineate the chapters in her study on English Victorian children. With

this model as a guide, this thesis traces the children's lives from birth early in the nineteenth century, through childhood and schooling to old age late in the century.⁷

Briefly expressed, this thesis attempts to establish the roots of fur trade childhood in culture and class. It makes something of the youngster's birth to coastal native women whose cultures were distinctive from native mothers in fur trade communities elsewhere. It seeks to find a proper place for the attitudes and the relationships between native people and Euro-Americans. It attempts to place the working life of the children's parents in some perspective and acknowledges the commitment of the traders to educating their children. Where sources are scant, it speculates reasonably on the growing up experiences of the children while trying to provide new insights into their lives. It also attempts to say what being male and female meant in Oregon in the nineteenth century. Finally, it endeavors to place the children's adoption of American citizenship within the trajectory of Anglo-American relations.

III

In The Whig Interpretation of History (1931), Herbert Butterfield cautioned against the dangers inherent in treating history on "the broad scale" -- in passing from the microscopic view of a particular period or event to a "bird's-eye view of the whole."⁸ Until the last decade or so, most Canadian fur trade history was whig history which attempted

to survey within the space of single volumes the entire history of the fur trade as it evolved over the centuries. The two works most often cited in connection with this thesis, Sylvia Van Kirk's, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870 (1980) and Jennifer Brown's Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (1980), are vulnerable to the whig label. While both texts claim to cover the entire fur trade, in reality, both focus on the Canadian prairies and pay only scant attention to other areas such as the Pacific Northwest. While proposing to deal with two centuries of fur trade life, both works draw more from the nineteenth century than earlier periods.⁹ Since each book is written largely from the records of fur trade company officers, history is presented "from the top down." As a consequence, both surveys fall prey to the over-simplifications and generalizations inherent in whig history.¹⁰

This thesis departs from these earlier fur trade studies. In general, I have tried to follow Butterfield's suggestion to explore the 'mall and insignificant'. What is attempted here is a micro-study -- an in-depth picture of one group of fur trade children in a specific region over a short period of time. Although this thesis draws examples from the entire Pacific Northwest and occasionally from the Canadian prairies, the main focus is on the small geographical area of the lower Columbia River Fort Vancouver-Willamette Valley region. While the life-cycle of the youngsters stretches

beyond the fur trade era, the time period under study mainly spans the fifty-eight years from 1811 to 1869, of fur trade activity in the region and focuses mainly on the twenty-five years, from 1824 to 1849, when Fort Vancouver was the headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific coast.

This thesis is as concerned with trying to write history 'from the bottom up' as it is 'from the top down' and takes into the account those Euro-American forces and movements, including the rise of industrial capitalism, educational reforms and scientific theories based on evolution, which shaped the nineteenth century world and influenced the fur trade childrens' lives. When these forces are taken into account, this study is perhaps best viewed as a micro-study - 'writ large'.

IV

As previously mentioned, there is a rich and varied collection of writings on the fur trade and pioneer era in Oregon Territory. Nevertheless, there is no definitive work on the fur trade which covers the entire Pacific Northwest. The best sources of information remain the writings of the fur traders themselves.¹¹ On the fur trade children, much knowledge has been gleaned from the papers of nineteenth century historians Hulbert Bancroft and Eva Emery Dye, who made use of questionnaires and conducted lengthy interviews with retired fur traders and their children.¹² Their

informants, however, were largely the children of Hudson's Bay Company officers. Although their papers contain much secondary information on the offspring of the servants of the Company, detailed information on these youngsters has been found in the works of twentieth century historian Harriet Duncan Munnick, who began her research on the French-Canadian Metis population in the Willamette Valley in the 1920s when some of the servant's children were still alive.¹³

V

One of the main problems in writing fur trade social history is defining such terms as Euro-American, 'half-breed,' Metis and Indian. The work force of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon was comprised of men of many different nationalities and races. The majority, however, had been born in Great Britain, British North America and the United States. The term I have most commonly employed in reference to these men is Euro-American. Although American settlers sometimes referred to the retired servant population as 'Canadians', there was no Canadian nation state at the time and what they meant by the term were people of French-Canadian ancestry from Quebec. The term Anglo-American is also misleading since the majority of men from the British Isles came from Scotland and the Orkney Islands and were therefore not 'Anglo' or English. The term Euro-American, by contrast, combines those born in Europe with those born in North America and also conveys the idea that these men were members of western civilization.

In 1981, the Newberry Library in Chicago hosted the 'First Metis Conference'. The conference papers supported the notion that Metis populations had existed not just at Red River but throughout western North America. They also lent credence to the contention that the Metis experience was one of cultural diversity. The adoption of the term 'Metis' over older terms such as 'half-breed' also dates from the early 1980s. Over the course of the last decade, informants in this study who called themselves 'half-breeds' when I began, now refer to themselves as Metis. Indeed, the term 'half-breed' has become so offensive that some equate it to the word 'nigger.'

Both terms, Metis and 'half-breed', are based on old concepts of race which focused on visual and measurable differences which were thought to distinguish one group of people from another as distinct biological units.¹⁴ Nineteenth century scholars often used the term 'race' where we use the word culture. For them, race was an all encompassing term which denoted genetic traits as well as cultural ones even where no biological differences existed. Thus, it was commonplace for writers to talk about the French, English, or American races as if they were discrete biological units.

Present day biologists, on the other hand, claim there are no such things as races, yet terms like Metis and 'half-breed' linger on and continue to be largely defined in biological terms.¹⁵ For example, many Metis associations in

Canada and the United States define their members as people who have one-quarter Indian blood and an identification with their mother's native culture.¹⁶ Adding the cultural dimension to the definition is important, but difficult to prove on an individual basis.¹⁷ As Duke Redbird stated in 1980, the "Metis can be considered to be people who identify themselves as such."¹⁸

The term 'half-breed' most commonly employed in English-speaking North America is biologically inaccurate since very few 'half-breeds' were actually of equal white and native portions. The term Metis, derived from the word 'mongrel' (but often taken to mean mixed-blood), is biologically more accurate, but scarcely flattering. "Metis" was used by the French wherever they colonized and was applied to the offspring of Frenchmen and native women whether they were Chinese, African or American Indian.¹⁹

Historically in Canada, the term Metis has been used to distinguish the French-speaking Catholics from the English-speaking protestants of mixed Indian-white ancestry. Elsewhere in the English-speaking world, the definition of Metis has not been so precise. Mestizo, Metif and Metis were first used around 1808 and referred to the offspring of a white and a quadroon, the offspring of a white and a Mexican native or the offspring of a white and a American Indian.

In the United States, the terms half-breed, Metis, Metiff and Mestizo were used interchangeably.²⁰ In Oregon, the

ethnologist George Gibbs used the terms Metif and half-breed within the space of a single paragraph in his "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwest Oregon" (1877), to describe the lack of Metif among the Indian tribes.²¹ In the French speaking Catholic communities in the Willamette Valley where most of the fur trade children lived, some of the priests used the term Metis or Metisse in reference to their parish populations.²²

Like the terms Indian or white, both Metis and 'half-breed' suggest biological differences. But, while the terms white and Indian nearly always imply culture as well as 'race,' Metis and 'half-breed' seem more like the word 'Black', and depend for their meaning on the context in which they are used. In some instances, culture is indicated, but much of the time these words do not appear to have any cultural significance, such as in the case of Metis children who are members of the dominant culture, but are still referred to as 'half-breeds' or Metis.

Although the youngsters' native mothers were called Indians, 'Indian' was a European concept which had no equivalent in the coastal native languages and was semantically meaningless. The native people continued to use their tribal names, which were unpronounceable to most Euro-Americans. In 1899, the ethnologists in the Anthropological Society of Washington, D.C. attempted to correct the misuse of the word 'Indian' by replacing it with 'Amerind' (an

equally faulty term), but then, as with the word 'Amerindian' in recent times, the new words failed to catch on either with native people or North Americans.²³

In order to establish a historical context, such expressions as 'half-breed', mixed-blood and Indian are used throughout the thesis in much the same manner as they were during the children's lifetimes. At the same time, there has been a conscious effect to use the words Metis and native people where applicable in keeping with the offensive nature and present rejection of the older terms by contemporary society.

As for the fur trade children, they called themselves by their Christian names and as far as can be determined did not develop a collective title for themselves as a group. As individuals, they sometimes referred to themselves as 'half-breeds'. More commonly, however, they called themselves French Canadians, Americans, or sometimes "Bay people," which denoted their association with the Hudson's Bay Company and fur trade culture.

VI

It is my contention that the Hudson's Bay Company remained a profitable enterprise largely because it was able to change with the times by adopting new technology and business methods. During the two centuries of the fur trade, however, traditions developed that were institutionalized and reflected in the lifestyle of the fur trade family. On the

frontiers of North America the impulse of Company officers to plant the institutions of Euro-American 'civilization' were tampered with by the isolation of some posts and by the interaction of the fur traders with native people. Over the years, generations of fur trade youngsters were born and as a result, by the time the fur trade reached the Pacific, a large number of Company employees were themselves fur trade youngsters, Metis, who had been born and raised on the frontier and knew no other life. Their identity was with the fur trade.

As a consequence, wherever Hudson's Bay Company forts were established, the lifestyles of the traders and their families shared many similarities. With some regional differences, the rules and regulations governing Hudson's Bay Company employees applied as much to their workers on the Columbia as they did elsewhere in the territory. Moreover, the mobility of the workforce, which could be transferred from one region to another, ensured that fur trade families were not isolated from each other and, in these ways, what I term "fur trade culture" developed throughout the entire territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Fur trade culture, as I conceive it, existed as a unique cultural fragment of the larger Euro-American cultural realm. Each fort in the fur trade replicated the Euro-American rank and class social structure, took care of its people from the cradle to the grave, and enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy

which allowed the 'customs of the country' to develop. As a result, the fur trade children in Oregon shared much with their counterparts elsewhere in Hudson's Bay Company territory.

But Oregon was not Red River. In large measure, the fur trade culture that developed in Columbia District was a Maritime one. In the moderating climate of the Pacific Northwest, agriculture and the salmon fisheries became as important to the Hudson's Bay Company as the trade in furs. From Fort Vancouver, transportation by sea was carried out between the Company's forts in San Francisco to the south and Fort Simpson to the North as well as the Company's post in Hawaii, which provided many of the laborers, known as Kanakas, for the coastal forts.

The cultures of the coastal native people bore little resemblance to other North American native peoples. The native women who married fur traders in Oregon and gave birth to fur trade children had flattened heads, spoke many different languages and brought their slaves to their new homes at the fort. Like the Kanakas, the slaves became a distinct people in the fur trade population, which was already extremely diverse and where the difficulties of communicating in thirty or more languages were bridged by a rapidly expanding trade language unique to the coast known as Chinook jargon.

One of the most important distinguishing features of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade culture in Oregon was the

constant influence of the United States. The first fur trading company in the region was American and some of the American born Astorians remained to work for the Hudson's Bay Company. Many of the ships that plied the coastal waters and bartered with the Indians were from Boston. The first teachers and clergymen in Oregon who taught and preached at Fort Vancouver were New Englanders. Moreover, the American threat to the fur trade resulted in unusual Hudson's Bay Company practices, such as the year-long family trapping brigades, which attempted to create a fur desert between themselves and their American rivals. From an early age, fur trade children in Oregon learned about the United States and were exposed to Americans.

VII

It is my contention that fur trade culture gave birth to Metis culture. What distinguished one from the other was that the Metis in fur trade culture were economically dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company, while the Metis in their own Metis culture had achieved economic independence, which allowed them to replace the Euro-American leadership and dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company with leaders from their own community. This, in turn, permitted them to develop their own culture.

It is my belief that the Metis in the Pacific Northwest were not free of Hudson's Bay Company influence until the second half of the nineteenth century. While it is possible to argue that, since most of the retired servants in the

Willamette were Metis, their culture was therefore Metis, I am inclined to see this community as more of a hinterland or extension of the fur trade culture at Fort Vancouver. The Metis who farmed in the Willamette Valley were unable to achieve full economic independence from the Hudson's Bay Company until late in the 1840s when Fort Vancouver closed. The Company was the only buyer for their crops and, as such, Company officials retained much influence over the lives of their former employees.

To be more specific, I see the Willamette Metis in a transitional stage from fur trade to Metis culture during the 1840s. This transition was largely aborted by the massive influx of American immigrants to the Willamette and the Metis exodus to the California goldrush in 1849. These two occurrences destroyed much of the fur trade culture that had developed in the Willamette Valley and, as a consequence, made it difficult for a unique Pacific Metis culture to flourish. Without a cultural heartland, the Metis splintered into small family groups which settled throughout British Columbia, Washington and Oregon. None of these groups appears to have been of sufficient size to sustain a separate Metis culture for any lengthy period of time, and in due course, these settlements became part of larger white communities.²⁴

VIII

At the risk of oversimplifying what are complex issues, I argue that there were three interrelated factors that were

of great importance in shaping fur trade children's lives: 'race', class and gender. In contrast to Black history where bio-history has provided new historical insights, there has been a tendency in recent Metis history to ignore the question of 'race', specifically biological differences, and dwell only upon what is believed to be Metis culture.²⁵ This omission seemingly based on the modern tendency to seek cultural explanations over biological ones, is all the more noticeable when one talks with Metis people or reads an autobiographical novel, such as In Search of April Raintree (1983), where Metis author Beatrice Culleton describes the interplay of the environment and biology in the lives of two Metis sisters.²⁶

I am not advocating a return to the "biological-cum-culture" approach, to use John E. Foster's description of Marcel Giraud's monumental study Le Metis Canadien (1945).²⁷ Rather, I am suggesting that, while biology did not determine the lives of the fur trade children, it did influence them in various ways. In the end, the individual fur trade child made choices and some of those choices were involved with the biological realities in their lives. In short, my argument is that the lives of Metis people and the development of Metis culture cannot be fully appreciated unless a more complete picture of the complexities that underlie their lives and culture is attempted, and this I argue cannot be done unless we examine the interaction of nature and nurture.

For example, it is my argument that, in the wake of

massive population decline, coastal native women continued to practice abortion in order to avoid difficulties in childbirth which they believed were caused by the large size of 'half-breed' babies. In turn, the reduction of their population meant that a certain percentage of fur trade children (those born to Chinook mothers), could not be people "in-between" Chinook and American culture since few of the children's native relatives survived the epidemics. Thus, the image of the Metis as "in-between" appears questionable in this instance, and may in part explain why so many fur trade children lived out their lives in white communities.

At the same time, the fact that some Metis children were white, while others looked more like their native parent, led to divisions in the fur trade family. This thesis suggests that, in general, the child with lighter skin and Euro-American features received the lion's share of societal rewards, while their more darkly skinned brothers and sisters were treated like Indians.

Another aspect of 'race' in the children's lives was the racial attitudes of both native people and Euro-Americans towards them. When the youngsters were born in the early years of the nineteenth century, attitudes towards 'half-breeds' were very different from what they would be by century's end. In the first quarter of the 1800s, beliefs about mixed-blood people were ethnocentric and reflected the ideas of the enlightenment which regarded miscegenation as a

logical way to assimilate native people into the dominant culture. In this scheme of things, the 'half-breed' was seen as the link between the Indian and the Euro-American, a link that would ultimately result in a homogeneous population within the dominant society. It is my contention that, after mid-century, with the rise of social Darwinism and the eugenics movement, such thinking fell into disrepute and the ideas of scientific racism which regarded 'half-breeds' as genetically inferior to Euro-Americans were widely accepted by the public as truth.

Ironically, as racism increased in American society, prejudice towards mixed-blood children appears to have decreased in the Pacific coast native communities. As long as they were numerically strong and not subjugated, native people in the Pacific Northwest showed an aversion towards 'half breeds.' In the wake of massive ecological and social changes brought about by fur traders and settlers, coastal aboriginal people were left in a state of what I have termed 'cultural despair.' Their populations were so severely reduced they were no longer able to resist Metis encroachment and Metis leadership on their reservations; indeed, in some cases they requested it. In the end, racial prejudice on the part of both native people and Euro-Americans was a major catalyst in the creation of a 'half-breed' or Metis identity. The interplay of genetic factors and social attitudes influenced by race in fur trade children's lives was further complicated by the new

Euro-American notions of class which were emerging with industrial capitalism in England, the United States and the Canadas. My research suggests that, despite the absence of urbanization in the frontier setting, many of the configurations of class formation found in Great Britain and North America during the same time period were present in Oregon after the capitalist enterprise of the Hudson's Bay Company established itself in the region.

This thesis argues that the ushering in of the new socio-economic order was accompanied by strenuous attempts on the part of Company officers to transform their native and Metis wives and daughters into middle-class women who would be acceptable to white people. Although less pressure was exerted on servant's wives, they were not totally immune from this educational process. As far as can be determined, native wives, whose cultures had been destroyed, had little choice but to undergo these transitions which affected even the most intimate aspect of their lives, their sexuality. The extent to which native wives acquired the values and morals of Euro-American womanhood, however, is questionable. Many appear to have retained much of their native culture in the new setting of the fur trade.

In comparison, I argue that the traders were much more successful with the education of their children. Fur trade youngsters were raised according to their fathers' positions in the class hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay Company. Central

to this thesis is the notion that class was a powerful force which separated servants' children from officers' youngsters. These divisions permeated most aspects of the youngsters' lives, even their birth, revealing the same patterns of change that were taking place elsewhere in North America and Great Britain.

In contrast to the widely held belief that childbirth was 'an all female experience' prior to the doctors entry into the birthing chamber, my research reveals that, in the early years of the coastal fur trade, fathers often acted as midwives at the birth of their infants. By the 1840s, however, 'traders as midwives' had almost disappeared and the class of the fathers had become a factor in matters of obstetrics whereby gentlemen's children were often brought into the world by doctors, while servants' children were delivered by midwives.

This thesis takes the stance that as the children grew up, little consideration was given to the fact that Metis offspring might have special needs that could be met in the classroom. The Company officers clung to the familiar British educational blueprint, which served their class so well in other settings, because they believed that it offered the best possibility for their youngsters' future in American society. The school curriculum for fur traders' children was designed to reinforce the Euro-American class system as it had been worked out in the Hudson's Bay Company. It is my contention

that under its guise, gentlemen's children largely became gentle people; while the schooling of servants' youngsters was successful in producing another generation of workers.

It will be argued that the relationship between race and class were further complicated by the treatment accorded each sex by North Americans. In brief, the shortage of white women in western Canada and the United States gave fur trade daughters access to the dominant society through marriage to white men. By contrast, this pathway into the mainstream was largely closed to their brothers, who would have been regarded as unacceptable mates for white women even if such women had been available. Rather, fur trade sons in the Pacific Northwest, both those of the gentlemen and those of the servants married Metis or native women and, as a consequence, their lives were more closely connected to the native people than those of their sisters.

Although Robert E. Park did not introduce the image of the "marginal man" until 1928, his thesis followed the thinking of late nineteenth century historians who viewed the few identifiable fur trade children in the Pacific Northwest as 'relics of the fur trade'. Park contended that the mixed-blood was an "unstable character" who found himself striving to live in two diverse cultures and that it was in the mind of the marginal man that conflicting cultures met and fused.²⁸

In contrast to Park, I suggest that, while some fur trade children suffered identity crises, such crises happened

in youth and in early adulthood and that most of the fur trade children had resolved their inner conflicts and chosen their lifestyles by the time they reached middle age. There is little evidence that any of the fur trade children were what Park describes as a "personality type," marginal persons in a permanent state of crisis.

After the mid-nineteenth century, the Metis of the Pacific Northwest were to be found in all classes and occupations and in native, Metis and white communities. If a few became marginal men, I suggest that it was the consequence of the configurations of Euro-American concepts of race, class and gender which led to their instability. It was these forces which resulted in bi-cultural patterns still evident today - - constraints which created a fur trade 'half-breed' or Metis consciousness distinct from either Euro-Americans or aboriginal people.

Notes

1. G.P. V. Akrigg, Helen B. Akrigg, British Columbia Chronicle: 1778-1846, Vancouver, Discovery Press, 1975, pp. 391-394. There is a large body of literature on the Oregon Boundary dispute and the treaty. The most comprehensive account is given in: Frederick Merk, The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1967.
2. Merk, The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics, pp. 236-237.
3. There is no accurate census of the fort populations. The British military reconnaissance of Warre and Vavasour in 1845-6 listed twelve forts in British Columbia employing 125 men and eleven forts in Oregon employing 339 men. If each man had a family of four (other sources indicate that many families were much larger, but some men were not married), then the fort population would have been 1356 people. However, Warre and Vavasour list only 200 men employed at Fort Vancouver, which suggests that they either did not include all the workers or that each family had at least five members, given that other sources list the total population at the fort as being between 700 and 1000 people. See: Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-6," OHQ, Vol. 10, 1909, p. 60; Lloyd D. Black, "Middle Willamette Valley Population Growth," OHQ, Vol. 43, 1942, pp. 40-41.
4. Black, "Middle Willamette Valley Population Growth," pp. 40-41. In 1845, Warre and Vavasour concluded that there were about 1000 people in the Willamette who could be considered British subjects. See: Schafer, "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance," p. 60.
5. Like the fort population, there is no accurate census of the retired servant population in Oregon at the time of the Washington Treaty. See: Black, pp. 40-41.
6. James Axtell, The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1974, p. xiv.
7. Each stage of childhood development in the thesis might also be classified using other criteria such as native history, labour history and so on. In turn, each of these has its own methodological weakness too lengthy to be discussed here. Some comments on the writing of women's history, however, which spans the three chapters on childbirth in the thesis, can be made. In Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (1985), Carroll Smith-Rosenberg reflected

that in her previous writings on women she had used traditional male historical sources and saw women, not as they had experienced themselves, but as men had depicted them. As a result, the nineteenth century woman appeared as a passive victim. Such history, she argues, "constituted histories of men's, not women's, experiences." Although I have made use of native and Metis female sources wherever possible, the first generation of fur trade wives were Indian women who left no written accounts of their experiences. Like Rosenberg's early feminist writings, what we know of these women is largely drawn from men's sources and is therefore in part men's history. See: Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 25.

8. H. Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1931, p. 15.

9. Jennifer Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1980, pp. xix.

10. For example, the impression is given that all native women's lives were materially improved by marrying fur traders and that they all had more children as fur trade wives. Although such distorted interpretations were never intended, they are the result of the whig approach. My comments, however, should not detract from the much good and useful information gleaned from each study for this thesis, nor imply these works are as two peas in the pod, for each text is in its own way an important breakthrough in the writing of fur trade social history. For a more detailed critique of Van Kirk's work, see: Juliet Pollard, "Rhetoric and Reality: Fur Traders and Native Women," New Scholar: Voices of the First America Text and Context in the New World, Volume 10, 1985, pp. 457-464.

11. Briefly stated, The first phase of trading activity along the Pacific coast began with the Russians who established summer fur trading posts in the 1740s and replaced them with permanent posts in the 1790s in present day Alaska. The Russian venture spurred the development of a Maritime fur trade largely in sea otter pelts. As the Maritime trade declined (as otter pelts dwindled), the Northwest Company, based in Montreal, established the first overland fur trade forts in 1805-06 in the interior of what is today, British Columbia. In the same year, 1805-6, Lewis and Clark reached the ocean via the Columbia River. The publication of their expedition journals influenced John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company to establish Fort Astor at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811. When Fort Astoria was seized by the British during the War of 1812 and subsequently sold to the

Northwest Company, many of Astor's employees stayed to work for the Northwest Company and, later, the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1821, with the coalition between the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, the forts west of the Rockies became part of the Company's operations. Under the Hudson's Bay Company, the fur trade was expanded and new commercial enterprises, such as salmon fisheries, cattle ranching, sheep herding and agriculture were perused. In the end, the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846 sealed the fate of the Company in American territory. Fort Vancouver was sold to the United States military in 1848-9 and the headquarters for the Company was moved to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island within British territory. Some of the forts in Western Washington continued to operate until 1869 when a final compensation agreement for Hudson's Bay Company property in the United States was reached between the United States government and the Company. On the operations of the American Fur Company (1811-1814) and Northwest Company (1814-1821) the journals of traders like Robert Stuart, William Wallace Matthews, Gabriel Franchere and Alexander Ross provide much useful material. The Hudson's Bay Company era (1821-1849) has received much attention, but for information on the actual fur trade Frederick Merk's Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal 1824-25, (1968), E.E. Rich's three edited volumes of The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver (1941-44), and Burt Brown Baker's Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver (1948), remain the best sources.

12. The most important private papers utilized in this study are those of Mrs. Eva Emery Dye of Oregon City. Like Bancroft, Dye began her research in the 1870s by sending out questionnaires to the fur trade children. The questionnaire format, however, was soon replaced by personal letters and as time passed, friendships were formed between Mrs. Dye and a vast network of fur trade children throughout the Pacific Northwest. Dye wrote two books, McLoughlin and Old Oregon: A Chronicle (1900), and McDonald of Oregon: A Tale of Two Shores (1907), based on her correspondence with fur trade children. Judged by today's standards, neither book appears to be the work of a serious historian and they read more like they were written for children, rather than adults. Yet, such a judgement is hasty for the details in the text are extremely accurate and it is possible to read her collection of letters and find the words of the fur trade children verbatim in the books. McDonald of Oregon was written at the request of Ranald McDonald, who also spelled his name MacDonald.

13. In the 1970s, Munnick began her most ambitious work, the translation from French and Latin to English of the Catholic Church Records. The Records, now five volumes in number, are imperfect in many ways, but Munnick's genealogical notes on each individual listed in the Records have been an invaluable

source of information on a population that is almost invisible in other source materials.

14. On biological concepts of race, see: Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, New York, W.W. Norton and Company, 1981.

15. William H. Howells, "The Meaning of Race," The Biological and Social Meaning of Race, edited by Richard H. Osborne, San Francisco, W. H. Freeman and Company, 1971, pp. 3, 6.

16. For example, the Metis Indian Alliance of North America, based in California, defines membership as anyone of one-quarter Indian ancestry and any other ancestry (ie: white, Black, or Mexican), who identifies with their mother's native culture. The Metis Association of the Northwest Territories defines their membership as anyone of Euro-American and one-quarter native ancestry from one of the five tribes of the Territories. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with Jose Hatier, President, Metis Indian Alliance of North America, May 1983 - January 1984; Discussion with Gordon Lennie, Vice President, Metis Association of the Northwest Territories, January 1990.

17. In part, the cultural component in the definition of Metis has a political element since it attempts to restrict people of native ancestry who live within mainstream culture from claiming grants and other privileges awarded to 'true' Metis people (those who consider themselves to be distinct ethnic groups) from the various levels of government in the United States and Canada. In recent years, it has become 'trendy' for whites to claim Indian ancestry and some Metis and native people resent it.

18. Duke Redbird, We Are Metis: A Metis View of the Development of A Native Canadian People, Willowdale, Ontario Metis & Non Status Indian Association, 1980, p. 3.

19. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with Jose Hatier, President, Metis Indian Alliance of North American, on the origin and meaning of the term Metis, May 1983 -January 1984.

20. See: The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 1784. In 1828, there is an interesting reference to the interchangeable use of the terms as "The Metiff or half breeds who claimed to be ranked in the class with the white men."

21. George Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. I, Washington, D.C., 1877, p. 184.

22. See: Harriet Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Louis, Portland, Binford & Mort, 1984, p. ix.

23. "Amerind -- A Designation for the Aboriginal Tribes of the American Hemisphere," Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Journal, New Series III, Vol. 30, 1900, pp. 44-45.

24. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to compare Metis culture on the Canadian prairies with Metis culture in the Pacific Northwest, some mention of the differences between the two, as I conceive them, is not inappropriate. The Red River Metis were able to achieve economic independence from the Hudson's Bay Company in the late 1840s. Occupations varied, but some Metis developed an independent economic system in the buffalo hunt that was unique. In turn, the buffalo hunt furthered the development of Metis culture. Unlike the Willamette Metis, who were numerically swamped by American immigrants in the 1840s, the Red River Metis, who had a population four times larger in 1845 than the Willamette Metis, were allowed to grow and develop their culture relatively free of mass immigration until late in the century. Thus, Prairie Metis culture had forty years and several more generations to develop than its Willamette counterpart. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that such Metis leaders as Louis Riel emerged at Red River, while such leaders failed to develop in the Willamette.

25. For example on Black bio-history, see: Kenneth F. Kiple, Virginia H. Kiple, "Slave Child Mortality: Some Nutritional Answers to a Prenatal Puzzle," Journal of Social History, No. 3, Vol. 10, 1977, pp. 284-299. For examples of recent writings on Metis people, see: Jacqueline Peterson, Jennifer S.H. Brown, The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America, Winnipeg, The University of Manitoba Press, 1985.

26. In this novel, Culleton describes how two Metis sisters take divergent paths in life which are largely determined by their appearances. The 'white' sister marries a Toronto businessman, while the darker sister identifies with the native community and ultimately commits suicide. Although the Toronto sister enjoys the good life, she finds herself alienated when she attempts to regain her Metis identity. See: Beatrice Culleton, April Raintree, Winnipeg, Pemmican Publication Inc., 1988. (The novel was first published in 1983 under the title In Search of April Raintree.)

27. John E. Foster, "Some questions and perspectives on the problem of Metis Roots," The New People, pp. 75-76.

28. Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man,"
The American Journal of Sociology, No. 6, Vol. 33, May 1928,
p. 881.

Chapter One

Precarious Beginnings: The Disease Factor

Chinook Indians and Fur Traders' Infants

The first fur trade children in the Pacific Northwest were born to mothers of the Chinook tribes who inhabited the lower Columbia River Valley. Most children were born to traders who had married native women 'after the customs of the country' and were largely raised within the confines of fur trade society. Other illegitimate youngsters, fathered by traders who did not wed their mother's, grew up within their mother's native cultures. Thus, the lifestyle of fur trader's children varied greatly depending on which of the two cultures, native or fur trade, shaped their growing up experience.

When the Lewis and Clark expedition reached the lower Columbia River in 1805 from the United States, the Chinook Indians were still engaged in the Maritime fur trade, which dated from the 1790s.¹ The presence of one child, presumably the result of a sexual liaison between a Chinook women and a Euro-American sailor, led them to comment:

Among this nation we have observed a man about 25 years old, of a much lighter complexion than the Indians generally; his face was even freckled, and his hair was long and of a color inclining to red. He was in habits and manners perfectly Indian ...we concluded that one of his parents, at least, must have been completely white.²

Based on this observation, it is reasonable to assume that with the development in the region of the land-based fur trade of the American Fur Company (1811-1814), the Northwest

Company (1814-1821), and the Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1849), that an increasing number of trader's children would be born within the tribes and, like the red-headed Chinook that Lewis and Clark encountered, they would be "in habits and manners perfectly Indian." Such an assumption, however, is false. For, by mid-nineteenth century, the once powerful Indian nations of the Lower Columbia, along with any trader's children that lived with them, were severely reduced in numbers and their culture and language were nearly extinct.

The chapter which follows explores the relationship between the fur trade, fur trade children, and the destruction of the Chinook Indians in the period between 1805, when Lewis and Clark arrived in the area, and the 1850s when the last of the Chinook were placed on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations. The interpretation presented here challenges three common assumptions -- first, that the fur trade did not overtly disrupt native cultures (an assumption based on the idea that, since, the fur traders were few in numbers and the Indians had the numerical advantage, the trader's impact was minimal); second, that the Chinook became extinct because of disease; and third, that the Chinook Metis or 'half-breeds' were a people "in-between" Indian and white culture.

In contrast to these assumptions, this chapter argues that the fur trade had a significant and devastating effect on the culture and environment of the Chinook. It contends that the Chinook-disease theory is too simplistic an

explanation for their demise and suggests that a complex network of cultural, social-economic and biological factors related to childbirth retarded the abilities of the Chinook to reproduce themselves in the wake of the epidemics. It takes the stance that, with the destruction of the Chinook Indians, the part-Chinook children who grew up in fur trade culture at the forts lost most of their links to their Chinook relatives in native society and, as a result, they do not fit the image of the 'half-breed' as living in a world between two cultures. Finally, and most importantly, this chapter explores the issues of illegitimacy and childbirth in Chinook culture. As shall be discussed, the survival of such infants was precarious.

II

By 1850, less than fifty years after the arrival of the first overland traders at the mouth of the Columbia River, the local Chinook natives, who numbered about sixteen thousand people in 1800, had been reduced to less than 150 persons. Their culture was almost extinct.³ Each year between 1829 and 1836, the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver reported that the shores of the Columbia River were "strewn with the dead and dying." Intermittent or Columbia River fever, now identified as malaria, is thought to have killed at least seventy-five percent of the Lower Chinook population.⁴ Some small tribes, like the Multnomah, became extinct.⁵ In addition, venereal disease, abortion,

infanticide, and undernourishment played havoc with the native population.

In 1841, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, could only account for 209 Clatsop and 220 Chinook.⁶ A decade later, Anson Dart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, reported that the Chinook had been reduced to 142 people.⁷ Population censuses vary, but, no matter what figures are used, they all bear witness to the destruction of a people within the space of a few generations after contact with Euro-American fur traders.

III

While the Chinook faced extinction, a new coastal population of 'half-breeds' or Metis, the children of fur traders who had married Chinook women, numbered in the thousands by mid-century.⁸ The fur trader's baby was very much involved in the configuration of Chinook destruction on the one hand and the rise of a new mixed-blood population on the other. The two processes were not only parallel in time, but closely interrelated. Within Chinook society, cultural constraints severely handicapped the survival of half-breed children and, as a result, the ability of the Chinook to replenish themselves as a people.

For the child abandoned by his fur trader father, who grew up in Chinook culture, life was a dismal affair and stood in sharp contrast to the growing up experiences of the

youngsters raised within fur trade culture at the forts in the Pacific Northwest. These children were a new people in a new landscape that had been shaped in large measure by the Euro-American fur trade and its subsidiary farming, ranching and fishing enterprises. While the fur trade youngsters created a fur trade (Metis) culture indigenous to the region, their Chinook relatives and counterparts perished. For these youngsters, there was no thought of living with native relatives. For these children, the image of the 'half-breed' as a person "in-between" white and native cultures appears to have had less meaning than elsewhere in fur trade country.

IV

In 1812, when the last Astorians straggled into the newly erected Fort Astoria after their cross country ordeal, there was at least one child of Euro-American and Chinook parentage already nursing at his mother's breast.⁹ In 1817, Peter Corney, first officer on the ship Columbia, noted that there were "one hundred and fifty men, most of whom keep Indian women" at Fort George, as Fort Astoria was renamed by the Northwest Company when they purchased the post from the Astorians in 1814.¹⁰ By 1821, when Fort George passed into the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, there were about fifty wives, "some with large families," located at the fort.¹¹

The Catholic Church records disclose the names of some of the fur trade children born to Chinook women before 1820 at Fort George. They include Angele and Charles La Fantasie,

Helen MacDonald, Marie Anne Nippissing, Joseph Rivet, Julie Garvais, Baptiste Payette, Victoria Gregoire, Pierre Humperville, Ellen Matthews and Louis Labonte. With the exception of Ellen Matthews, who grew up in Montreal, the rest of the children remained and are noted in local histories as Oregon pioneers.¹²

While these infants were being nurtured at Fort George, other half-breed children fathered by the traders were being raised in the Indian camps close to the fort. These mixed-blood babies were born among the Clatsop, Chinook, Kathlamet, Wahkiakim and some smaller tribes, who shared a common culture and were collectively called the Lower Chinook or just Chinook by Euro-Americans.¹³ Unlike the offspring of fur trade marriages, these children were largely the result of prostitution, whereby native women engaged in sexual intercourse in return for material goods from the passing traders and sailors.

While it has been commonly assumed by white historians that half-breeds were readily accepted by the Indians, there is little evidence to support this conjecture in the Pacific Northwest. Rather, on closer examination, it appears that the treatment of mixed-blood children by native people varied from place to place and was subject to changing attitudes over time. In general, it appears that, in New France and New England during the colonial period, native people were favorably disposed toward white and part-white kin living

among them. For example, Peter Moogk has described how the unwanted babies of colonial New France were given to the Indians to raise.¹⁴ James Axtell has outlined how New Englanders, 'who had been taken captive by native people became "white Indians" through adoption into the tribes.'¹⁵ Moreover, the mourning wars of the Iroquois undertaken to replace lost members with captives of various racial backgrounds, discussed by Daniel Richter in "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience" (1983), all indicate a receptive attitude on the part of eastern native people towards half-breeds.¹⁶

By contrast, during the first half of the nineteenth century among California, Pacific Northwest and some western plains tribes, the attitudes of some native people towards 'half-breeds' were marked by outright displays of animosity. Reasons for such behaviour are complex and have to do with ethnocentric concepts of racial purity and rank structures within tribal cultures. Moreover, there appears to have been a hardening of native attitudes towards 'half-breeds' brought about by Indian-white conflicts as white immigration moved westward and native populations were severely reduced by white men's diseases and warfare.

Among various tribes in Southwestern United States, women who became pregnant by white men either aborted the fetus or destroyed the newborn infant.¹⁷ In California, the Clear Lake Pomo killed "all half-breed infants at birth." The

people of Makh-El-Chel are alleged to have put their women to death for marrying white men and slaughtered all blue eyed and fair-haired children born among them.¹⁸ The Chinook tribes appear to have shared the attitudes of their southern neighbors towards white men and their half-breed babies.

Although the Chinook promoted marriage between their daughters and the fur traders in order to gain trade privileges and Euro-American goods, they frowned upon the illegitimate birth of traders' children within their community. From the Chinook point of view, it appears that such children had no assets. They fell outside of the prescribed rules and regulations governing clans, rank structure and marriage. Moreover, as in England and the United States, in the Chinook nation, children were the property and responsibility of their fathers. To the Chinook, the fur trader's child belonged to his white father, not his Chinook mother. Fur trade wives acknowledged this when they were widowed or abandoned and returned to their tribes, leaving their 'half-breed' children at the forts or missions with white people.¹⁹ In short, the Chinook did not make any claims of ownership on the fur trade children.

By contrast, the illegitimate fur trader's child in Chinook society had no father to provide for his or her welfare and was not wanted. As a consequence, the Chinook attempted to restrict the number of 'half-breed' children within the tribes by practicing abortion and infanticide.²⁰

More than guns, iron pots and other trade goods, 'half-breed' children, with their unflattened heads and complexions of various shades, must have been a constant visual reminder of the arrival of 'white men'. They were, in this sense, at the very heart of the cultural conflict which occurred between the Euro-American traders and the Lower Chinook peoples.²¹ Half-breed children among the tribes upset the existing hierarchical social and political order. They violated the Chinook's ethnocentric concepts of race and cultural superiority, which deemed white men inferior to themselves.

Moreover, the birth of Chinook 'half-breeds' at the forts had repercussions in tribal society since it led to fewer children being born among them at a time when their population was being severely reduced by disease. Each year, a sizable number of Chinook women of childbearing years left their culture to become wives of white men and mothers of fur trade infants, rather than Chinook babies.

In the late 1830s, eighty-four of the three hundred and nineteen Indian wives at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver, established in 1824 to replace Fort George (Astoria) as the Company's headquarters for Oregon Territory, were recorded as Chinook by Catholic clergy.²² This census did not include the large number of Chinook women married to retired fur traders, who had taken up farming in the Willamette Valley, nor those who were Protestants. Others, who may have been from Chinook tribes, are only listed as "Indian"

or "woman of the country" in the Catholic registers.²³

In addition to this loss of Chinook women to the fur trade, the new wives were usually accompanied from the tribes to the forts by female and child slaves, who were given to them as wedding presents.²⁴ For example, Dr. William (Billy) McKay, one of the fur trade youngsters born at Fort George in 1824, recalled that when his mother, Cincola, a daughter of the one-eyed Chinook Chief Concomly, married his father, Tom, she was given "about 20 slaves."²⁵ The taking of young women either as wives by the traders, or as slaves by the women, deprived Chinook males of marriage partners within their own culture.

Under these circumstances, the equilibrium of native mating appears to have become disturbed. Ultimately, the number of full blood Chinook children who might have been born was curtailed. Chinook males were forced into keen competition for the remaining females.²⁶ In the early years of contact, this may not have presented a serious problem, but as the Chinook people were severely reduced by disease, the continual removal of women meant that their population was unable to restore itself.

In the wake of severe depopulation, there was a need for co-operation among the survivors, which led to new alliances among native peoples and wide-ranging intertribal marriages. Where it had once been customary for parents to select marriage partners within specific Indian groups, it now became

a matter of pride to trace one's lineage to several different tribes, even among those that had formerly been excluded.²⁷

While the initial outbreak of Columbia River fever in 1828-9 devastated the native population, there was but "one instance of mortality" among the Chinook wives and their Metis children at Fort Vancouver. The fur trade population was treated with sulphate of quinine, and, when supplies of quinine ran out, the doctors used dogwood bark, which was thought to be analogous to the drug. The patients were usually bled before receiving several doses of the medication, which was often combined with wine, whiskey or opium. George T. Allan, a Company clerk who acted as a medical deputy, commented: "I well remember my tramps through the men's houses with my pockets lined with vials of quinine and making my reports of the state of the patients to the Doctor." Allan also recalled that on one occasion a "half breed Kanaka [Hawaiian] boy" accidentally swallowed eight to ten doses of the quinine mixture, but recovered and "never had the ague again."²⁸

Among the Chinook, by contrast, Reverend Samuel Parker, a American Presbyterian visiting at Fort Vancouver, noted:

The malignancy of this disease may have increased by predisposing causes, such as intemperance, and general spread of venerea [sic], since their intercourse with sailors.²⁹

Parker's observations were correct, but neither he nor the fort doctors were aware that malaria was carried by certain varieties of anopheline mosquitos. Like their nineteenth

century contemporaries, they knew that intermittent fever usually occurred at certain times of the year and was more common in swampy areas, but thought it was probably the result of inhaling "special gaseous agents" from the earth's surface.³⁰ Moreover, they did not know that Indians and mixed bloods had less immunity to malaria than either Blacks or whites, and suffered more severely from the disease.

In 1968, George G. Giglioli's inquiry into the effects of malaria among American Indians, conducted for the United Nations Pan American Health Organization, concluded: "The high susceptibility and reactivity of the Amerindian to malaria is without doubt related to the recent introduction [after 1650] of the infection to the Western Hemisphere." Giglioli also noted that "mortality and morbidity were certainly graver in children, but the tolerance acquired by the adults was poor and very unstable. The Amerindians reacted in the same way as the mixed population, but even more severely."³¹

As a result of Giglioli's and other studies, it is possible to conclude that pregnant Indian women who survived malaria would have been anaemic and pyretic. They would have suffered from greatly enlarged spleens, and the fever produced by malaria would have caused abortion or premature labour.³²

V

Although some Chinook survived the recurring malaria epidemics and other diseases, their culture and language were largely extinct by 1900.³³ Indeed, the main reason for the

paucity of ethnographic data is that, by 1891, when anthropologist Franz Boas attempted to record the Chinook language and discover something about the culture, he was only able to find one informant, Charles Cultee. As it turned out, Cultee, "the last Chinook speaker," used the Chehalis language in his own family, and was "culling up a dead language for the edification of the Father of American Anthropology."³⁴ Verne Ray, another anthropologist, was more successful during the 1930s when he located two elderly Lower Chinook women who acted as mentors for his study. While all three informants claimed to be of Chinook blood, each traced their ancestry back to early contact between Chinook women, white men and other Indians.³⁵

In the late 1830s, Father Blanchet of the Catholic Mission in the Willamette Valley, which served the retired fur trade population, concluded that the diminishing Chinook population was caused by "the scourge of God," which had stricken the "unfortunate savages because of their abominable lives."³⁶ Certainly their lives had become miserable and their will to live had been eroded. Even the regrouping of the survivors with other tribes does not seem to have made much of an impact on their instinct to survive as a people. Rev. J.H. Frost, a Methodist missionary among the Indians on Puget Sound, reported that of ten or twelve children born between November of 1841 and February 1842, only two survived. The rest had been "killed" or died from "disease which they had

inherited from their parents."³⁷ Such writings suggests a kind of acute depression which led to race suicide as a response to the direct and indirect impact of the fur trade.

In brief, it appears that the Chinook were unable to meet the cultural and psychological sacrifices needed for adaptation to the numerous changes brought about by Euro-Americans.³⁸ Their one hope for survival, an increased birth rate, was curtailed by the side effects of disease on fertility and childbirth. To maintain their scant population, Chinook women would have had to bear more children than usual. Yet, in the wake of the population catastrophe, the Chinook continued to practice abortion and infanticide.

VI

Like the Gallinomero Indians of California, who became "melancholy when they saw themselves perishing so hopelessly and so miserably before the face of the Americans," the remaining Chinook were described by historian Hubert Bancroft's informants as "dispirited and broken hearted."³⁹ As the American ornithologist John Townsend, who was Fort Vancouver's doctor for a time, noted in his journal of 1833-34:

In former years when the Indians were numerous, it was not safe for the white men attached to [Fort Vancouver] to venture beyond the protection of its guns without being fully armed. Such was the jealousy of the natives towards them, that various deep laid schemes were practiced to obtain possession of the post, and massacre all whom it had harboured; now, however, they are as submissive as children.⁴⁰

It appears that the Chinook relinquished their will to live. The Chinook 'half-breed' was not spared.

VII

In his Tribes of California (1877), the journalist, historian and ethnologist Stephen Powers argued that there was increased abortion and infanticide among the Gallinomero Indians in the wake of Euro-American settlement. He wrote:

They see themselves swiftly dwindling, dwindling, melting away before some mysterious and pathless power, which they can neither comprehend nor resist; they foresee that they can leave to their degraded and unhappy offspring nothing but a heritage of contempt, isolation, and discontent; and in the voiceless and unreasoning bitterness of their "small-knowing souls," in mere sullen "dumb despair," they resolve to cut them off in unconscious infancy from a fate so miserable and so sad.⁴¹

The anthropologist Harold Driver made a analogous suggestion in his 1936 investigation of the Wappo of California, when he noted that "infanticide seems to have been common but may have been accentuated by the uncertainty of the future and the trying conditions resulting from exploitation by the whites."⁴² Similarly, it appears that the Chinook increasingly practiced abortion and infanticide during the fur trade era because of a new sexual factor, pregnancy brought about by miscegenation with white men.⁴³ At the same time, the socio-economic reasons used to justify abortion and infanticide with Chinook infants were extended to include their half-breed babies.

In 1835, Reverend Jason Lee, leader of the Methodist

mission in Oregon, wrote to the Christian Advocate in New York that:

A few days since an old squaw attempted to kill her grandchild by strangling it; and when prevented by one of the settlers near whom they lived, she was very angry, and inquired who would take care of it, now its father and mother were dead, and added, It is good to kill it.⁴⁴

Samuel Hancock, a Hudson's Bay Company employee at Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound, noted in his diary of 1837:

An Indian ... died today ... Shortly before his death he enticed the two year old child of his brother to his side, placed a cord around his neck and strangled it. When the child ceased to breathe, it was at once laid out for dead. When I came to view the dead body I saw the child gasping for breath. The mother informed us that the uncle wished to take the child with him to the other world as a servant. We promptly removed the child to the fort and restored it to life.⁴⁵

Chinook women maintained they practiced infanticide to avoid the economic burden of raising a child. In the 1840s, Rev. Frost recorded a discussion between his wife and a Chinook woman who admitted having committed "many infanticides."

When asked the reason why she destroyed her infants, she said that they had become very poor, and had no slaves, the drudgery all fell upon the women and if they had many children they were prevented from doing their work; so that when their husbands came home weary and hungry, and found no fire and no roots to eat, they were angry, called them lazy, and beat and otherwise abused them. Therefore, in order that they might relieve themselves of much trouble and care, and escape abuse from their husbands ... they destroyed their infants as soon as they entered upon the stage of action.⁴⁶

Such acts suggest a response to male-female conflicts in Chinook society brought about by the unfavorable environmental

circumstance created by the fur trade. Infanticide appears to have provided, from the Chinook point of view, an escape for the child from the hostile world of the progenitors by returning the baby to a happier environment believed to exist after death. To be more specific, Emma Lascier, one of the last Chinooks, stated that her people believed that babies lived a definite existence before conception and continued to do so after death.

The baby's home is the sun before being born. All children come from the daylight. That is their home. If their parents do not take good care of them they think, 'Well, I'd better go back.' Then they get sick and die. Later, a child may take pity on its parents and decide to return. 'Maybe my parents will be better to me now.' Then the child is born again to the same mother, but is a different sex.⁴⁷

Where fur trade babies were concerned, new reasons were added to old ones for infanticide and abortion. These revolved around specific fears about giving birth and raising part-white children. Although Euro-Americans and Chinook failed to appreciate the fine points of each other's social system, they did understand the concept of rank which structured both societies. Thus, daughters of high rank married fur trade officers, while daughters of lower status were wed to the servants of the fur trade companies.⁴⁸ A flattened forehead was a sign of rank and beauty among the Chinook distinguishing 'free people', whose heads were flattened in various conical shapes, from their slaves, whose heads were not deformed. It was a visual sign which in the

Chinook belief system distinguished those who were entitled to an afterlife from those who were not. In short, the practice was not merely cosmetic.⁴⁹

While most observers believed that the deformation did not effect intelligence, head flattening was dangerous and could result in death. In 1836, Narcissa Whitman, one of the first women missionaries in the territory, observed:

I saw an infant here whose head was in the pressing machine. This was a pitiful sight. Its mother took great satisfaction in unbinding and showing its naked head to us. The child lay upon a board between which and its head was a squirrel skin. On its forehead lay a small, square cushion, over which was a bandage drawn tight around, pressing its head against the board. In this position it is kept three or four months or longer, until the head becomes a fashionable shape. There is a variety of shapes among them, some being sharper than others. I saw a child about a year old whose head had been recently released from pressure, as I supposed from its looks. All the back part of it was a purple color, as if it had been sadly bruised.⁵⁰

John Townsend's description of head flattening was more graphic and medical than Narcissa Whitman's. He stated that the "the mass of brain" was forced back causing an "enormous projection and that the babies' eyes "protruded to the distance of half an inch, and looked inflamed and discolored, as did all the surrounding parts."⁵¹ The artist George Catlin recorded that among the Chinook "if a child dies during its [head flattening] subjection...its cradle becomes its coffin, forming a little canoe, in which it lies floating on the water in some sacred pool, where they are often in the habit of fastening the canoes, containing the dead bodies of the old

and the young," presumably so that the old could take care of the young in the after world.⁵²

The practice of head flattening was so much a part of Chinook culture that as late as the 1850s, when most Euro-Americans believed that the custom was "wearing away very fast," children whose heads were not flattened were laughed at by others "who asserted that their mothers were too lazy to shape their heads properly."⁵³ In the 1930s, Emma Lusnier told Verne Ray that, when she was an infant and very ill, a shaman dreamed she would not recover unless she was placed in the old style cradle with a head flattening board. The cradle was built. Emma was placed in it, but subsequently rescued by an aunt from the 'white' side of the family, who opposed head flattening.⁵⁴

From the fur traders' point of view, there was no merit in head deformation. They attempted to restrict the practice by insisting that their children's heads be left natural. Thus, they upset one of the most visible manifestations of the Chinook social structure. To the Chinook mothers torn between the wishes of their fur trader husbands and their own socio-religious beliefs, infanticide or abortion of their mixed-blood youngsters provided a way out of the dilemma. In 1824, George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote:

A most inhumane practice existed here for some time after Fort George was established of the Children of the Whites by the native women being murdered by the Mothers; this arises from the circumstance of

the Fathers insisting that the heads should not be flattened and the Mother preferring to sacrifice her child to having it ranked as a slave the grand distinction being in the formation of the head.⁵⁵

VIII

The economy of the Chinook also promoted abortions and infanticide. The Chinook were traders. Commerce dominated their lives. Fishing was the main economic pursuit of the Chinook followed by hunting and gathering. From their strategic location at the mouth of the Columbia, the Chinook were able to carry on trade in these and other goods with both interior and coastal Indians. Upward social mobility was achieved by the acquisition of wealth and hereditary preeminence.⁵⁶ In the pre-contact period, wealth was acquired by selling their surplus dried and smoked smelts, salmon, clams, oysters, ducks, geese, berries, roots and other foodstuffs to various Indian nations.

The Chinook, however, became wealthy by distinguishing themselves from their Canadian, Californian and Plains Indian trading partners in two commodities; dentalium, a sea shell used as the principal medium of exchange along the Northwest coast, and slaves. The slaves were usually purchased by the Chinook from southern Oregon and California natives, then re-sold for a profit to more northerly tribes along the Pacific coast.⁵⁷

With the opening of the fur trade, female slaves increased in value over male slaves because the sexual favours of women were added to the existing commodities used in trade.

Among those tribes who practiced slavery, that is, who already regarded human beings as merchandise, prostitution appears to have been a subsidiary activity to the slave trade.

Although the Chinook were reputed to own more slaves than other tribes in the region, the proportion of slaves to free persons, which ranged from four to six percent of the total tribal population, does not appear to have been sufficient to supply the demand for prostitutes.⁵⁸ As a consequence, the prostitution of wives and daughters, as well as slaves, became common both north and south of the Columbia River and even in tribes where the women had formerly been chaste.⁵⁹

Prostitution may have originated in the traditional hospitality Chinook husbands displayed when they offered their wives to visitors. As Lewis and Clark noted of the Chinook and Clatsop in 1805, the women's "kindness always exceeded the ordinary courtesies of hospitality.... To decline an offer of this sort is, indeed, to disparage the charms of the lady," and therefore give offense.⁶⁰

Whatever the origins of prostitution, however, it was well established by the time the Astorians arrived on the coast in 1811 and continued unabated after the Northwest Company took over in 1814. Clerk Alexander Ross left this vivid description of the phenomenon at Fort George (Astoria) from that time period:

... numbers of women reside during certain periods of the year in small huts above the fort and from which it is difficult to keep the men ...On the arrival of the spring and autumn brigades from the

interior they pour in from all parts, and besiege our voyageurs much after the manner which their frail sisters at Portsmouth adopt when attacking the crews of newly arrived India fleet. Mothers participate with their daughters in the proceeds arising from their prostitution; and in many instances husbands share with their wives the wages of infamy. Disease is the natural consequence of this state of general demoralization, and numbers of the unfortunate beings suffer dreadfully from the effects of their promiscuous intercourse.⁶¹

One result of prostitution which Ross failed to mention was unwanted pregnancy. It was one thing to be married to a trader and bear the stigma of having an 'ugly' child with a normal head, but quite another to be pregnant by a white man and be either unmarried or married to a native man. Premarital promiscuity was an acceptable form of behaviour only as long as intercourse was not followed by pregnancy. Ethnologist George Gibbs wrote:

Cohabitation of unmarried females among their own people brings no disgrace if unaccompanied with childbirth, which they take care to prevent. This commences at a very early age, perhaps ten or twelve years. The practice of abortion is to be considered in its connection. This is almost universal, and is produced both by violence and by medicines.⁶²

Although an unmarried girl might solicit men in her own right, she was nevertheless considered to be the "property of her father, or her nearest relative, or of her tribe, until she [became] that of her husband."⁶³ Lewis and Clark observed:

Her person is, in fact, often the only property of a young female, and is therefore the medium of trade, the return for presents, and the reward for services. In most cases, however, the female is so much at the disposal of her husband or parent that she is farmed out for hire. The Chinook [sic] woman

who brought her six female relations to our camp had regular prices, proportioned to the beauty of each female.⁶⁴

After marriage, when a woman's sexuality became the husband's possession, adultery (meaning sex with another man without the husband's consent) was almost unknown.⁶⁵ The nineteenth century historian Hubert H. Bancroft believed that the value of Chinook women increased after marriage since a woman's fidelity acquired a marketable value to their husbands who could sell it at their discretion.⁶⁶ George Gibbs was more detailed in his description when he noted that wives kept their own private effects, separate from their husband, except earnings "arising from prostitution, which are her husband's."⁶⁷

In The Chinook Indians (1976), Robert Ruby and John Brown suggest that, despite the unsavory aspects of prostitution, "Chinook women enhanced their stature in their own society, wherein they already had considerable influence." They point to the fact that, as Chinook women "increased their English vocabularies" through prostitution, they entered into all aspects of Indian-white trading in their own right and "kept mercantile channels open to the benefit of both."⁶⁸

On balance, however, the by-products of prostitution -- venereal disease, unwanted pregnancies, and earnings handed over to fathers and husbands -- seems to have been poor compensation for whatever short-term increase in stature some women may have gained. Rather than a 'liberating' force,

prostitution appears to have enslaved the women in a escalating spiral of sexual activity in order to acquire more and more goods which were probably used in increasingly elaborate and more frequent potlatch ceremonies. Moreover, the solution to the shame of becoming a mother of an illegitimate white man's child, which greatly reduced a girl's property value, was found in abortion or infanticide. Ruby and Brown write:

... because Chinooks did not consider cohabitation a disgrace (unlike incest), it was quite natural that the practice [of prostitution] shifted from shore to ship. Generally, they believed the only disgraceful aspect of this cohabitation was pregnancy and the birth of children. It had been the custom of Chinook and Clatsop women to abort such pregnancies...Abortion, precipitated by the rejection by Chinook men of these "breeds," was accomplished by medication with certain plants and by more violent methods such as placing the belly over a stick or tree trunk and pressing heavily. Infanticides became commonplace among Chinooks and Clatsops.⁶⁹

Some traders also encouraged their wives and Indian mistresses to practice abortion and infanticide. There were numerous reasons why the men wished to limit the size of their families, not the least of which was a policy adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1824 which made employees financially responsible for their youngsters. Men who left children 'in the country' after their contracts expired were to "make such provision for the same as circumstances call for and their means permit."⁷⁰ This ruling, which chief factor Dr. John McLoughlin judiciously enforced -- on one occasion sentencing a employee to two dozen lashes for failing to make provisions

for his newborn -- apparently spurred some Company employees to urge their women to have abortions or commit infanticide.⁷¹ Rev. Herbert Beaver, the Hudson's Bay Company chaplain at Fort Vancouver from 1836 to 1838, informed the Aborigines' Protection Society in London, England that "abortion is likewise resorted to with the design of not putting the husband "to the expense and trouble of maintaining his offspring." He went on to state that native women also committed such practices "in consequence of the desertion of the white father."⁷²

IX

Another major repercussion of Chinook prostitution was the spread of venereal disease and its accompanying disastrous effects on pregnancy and children. By the time Lewis and Clark arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in 1805, the Chinook were already suffering from sexually transmitted infections thought to have been acquired during the Maritime fur trade era. Clark attributed the "sores, scabs and ulcers," which covered some of the women and children, to gonorrhea and "lues venera," the term used by the United States Army at the time for syphilis.⁷³

According to Clark the "lues" was "excessively bad" among the Chinook. Ten years later, venereal disease had reached epidemic proportions.⁷⁴ Sexually transmitted diseases thrived on the conditions found among the Chinook, namely, sexual maturity before marriage, few sexual taboos against premarital

intercourse and an abundance of transient sailors and traders to spread the infections.⁷⁵ Within a few decades of the Lewis and Clark expedition, both native people and fur traders along the Pacific coast referred to venereal disease as "Chinook" or "Chinook Love Fever".⁷⁶

Despite scientific experiments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which proved that gonorrhea and syphilis were two separate diseases, the bacteriological nature of the two infections were not discovered until 1877 and 1905 respectively. Consequently, many doctors thought that gonorrhea was an early symptom of syphilis or simply confused the two diseases. As a result, there is no way of ascertaining the extent of each disease, but their effects are well documented.⁷⁷ For example, in the decade of the 1810s, Alexander Henry, a Northwest Company clerk, expressed concern over the loss of labor and profits due to the "foul malady." He lamented that twelve of the fifty men at Fort George were unable to work, while others were suffering at their jobs with their infections.⁷⁸

The first few years of Hudson's Bay Company rule in Oregon saw no improvement in the venereal epidemic which had no reliable cure. Like the British and United States military, which reported a steady increase in the number of cases of gonorrhea and syphilis during the nineteenth century, the diseases were so commonplace that the Hudson's Bay hierarchy tended to regard them as part of the job.⁷⁹ The Company,

however, had one advantage over the military; it could regulate sexual relations to a certain extent through controlling and stabilizing marriage among its employees. Although venereal disease was not mentioned in the Company's marriage regulations, in effect, by stipulating that no man could take a wife without permission of his superior officer, or abandon a wife unless he was prepared to financially support her, the infections appear to have been brought under some measure of control.⁸⁰

At least, Governor Simpson's assertion that "Nine Whites out of Ten who had been resident at Fort George have undergone a course of Mercury" does not appear to have been as true in 1834, as it was in 1824, when Simpson made the statement and the regulations came into effect. When Simpson left Columbia District in 1825, however, he noted:

We still have 5 men labouring under the 'Chinook Love Fever' ... One of our poor fellows is in a horrible state and it requires all the professional skill of Mr. Ross & myself to keep him at his duty.⁸¹

The results of venereal disease, such as general physical weakness and the deterioration of intellectual capacity in such functions as reasoning and comprehension caused by organic brain damage in early and latent syphilis, must have had dire effects on the Chinook community.⁸² Infants born with symptoms of venereal disease were probably destroyed.⁸³ Others would have died as a result of the infections.

A newborn child suffering from hereditary syphilis would

have appeared normal but small. Within two to twelve weeks, however, its skin would wrinkle and a highly infectious skin rash would appear on the soles of its feet and palms of its hands along with other skin lesions around the body's orifices. The baby would have a hoarse cry resulting from laryngitis. Abdominal distension would be common and enlargement of the spleen would have been almost invariable in the infant.⁸⁴

The incidence among Chinook women of abortion, miscarriage, still birth and sterility, all possible aftermaths of gonorrhea and syphilis, would have conspired to keep the birthrate low.⁸⁵ According to Bancroft and his assistant Francis Victor, who interviewed many of the traders and their children, sterility among Chinook women was common.⁸⁶ According to John Sebastian Helmcken, the Hudson's Bay Company doctor at Fort Victoria in the 1850s, syphilis and other venereal diseases were fatal among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest and "rendered the women barren or their offspring, if any, incapable, for the most part, of living," and this, Helmcken concluded, was "the real and true reason" for the disappearance of the Indians.⁸⁷

Present day medical knowledge of these diseases makes it possible to speculate that between 25 and 30 percent of children born with congenital syphilis, acquired by the fetus from a syphilitic mother, would have died within the first year. Of the infected survivors, approximately 40 percent

would develop late symptomatic syphilis in the form of such disabilities as blindness, deafness, insanity and the poor development of bones and teeth. Their life expectancy would have been below that of the general population and the damage to mind and body would have been irreparable.⁸⁸

Explorers, fur traders and missionaries reported that ophthalmia, inflammation of the eyes, was a common disease among the Chinook. They believed that 'sore eyes' and blindness among the Indians resulted from overexposure to the sun and smoke, but it is certain that some of the cases they witnessed were the result of children born to mothers infected with gonorrhea, the largest single cause of blindness in children in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁹ Its presence usually manifested itself from within 48 hours to a week after birth when the eyelids would swell and pus would collect in the conjunctival sac.⁹⁰ In the 1870s, some elderly California Indians told Powers that their eye problems were due to the influences of 'white men' and that in the olden days they had good eyes. Had the Chinook survived, they might have made a similar statement.⁹¹

The Chinook were unable to cope with venereal disease from their 'knowledge of simples' as some explorers and fur traders believed. For example, Meriwether Lewis thought that venereal disease among the Chinook ended in decrepitude, death or premature old age, but that through the use of certain plants and their diet, they "did not suffer great

inconvenience."⁹² Alexander Ross continued to believe that the Chinook could successfully cure the worst stages of the 'grand pox', as syphilis was known, despite the growing evidence all around him at Fort George and in the Chinook camps to the contrary.⁹³

The records of the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley, established some twenty years later, testifies to the fact that venereal diseases had spread to the Indian and fur trade youngsters who lived at the mission. "Last night died the little son of Sootka Aet. about 3 years," reads the entry from December 15th, 1835. "He was afflicted with a sore disease which he inherited from his mother."⁹⁴ By 1844, the situation at the Mission was worse. Superintendent Rev. George Gary reported:

The health of nearly all in school at this time is very poor, corrupted by crime in their degraded and depraved ancestors, they are seriously affected with venereal scrofula ...Individuals of them have required medical aid and attention to cure them from the disease.⁹⁵

Like nineteenth century doctors, the missionaries preferred to believe that venereal diseases in children were inherited, the result of an unhealthy environment, or some form of innocent contact, rather than sexually transmitted. Congenital syphilis, however, never produces primary symptoms and nearly always reveals diagnosable symptoms before two years of age, while acquired syphilis exhibits a primary lesion and indicates the child has experienced some kind of sexual contact. Without more detailed descriptions of the

children's diseases, it is impossible to say whether they were suffering from congenital or acquired syphilis, from gonorrhea, or from some combination of the infections. Since the missionaries' wards were usually of school age, however, it seems likely that, some children were also sexually active.⁹⁶

It is not known how many Chinook women and their half-breed children underwent the time-honored treatment of bleeding and purging, the prerequisites prescribed for most ailments including venereal disease. The general treatment at the time recommended drawing off 16 to 20 ounces of blood, depending on the size of the patient, then applying a mercury purgative to the lesions until the individual salivated. This process was then repeated over days or weeks until the lesions seemed healed. Mercury did have certain curative properties, but since the doses were often close to lethal, patients could become worse or die as a result of treatments. Mercury could be mixed into a compound with vegetable or chemical materials then taken as a pill or administered as an ointment, but either way, there were injurious side effects such as stomach cramps and the loss of teeth and hair.⁹⁷

Some alternate treatments for syphilis were adopted by Euro-American doctors from native people other than the Chinook and may have been used with some success since some are known to contain antibacterial properties. These included substitutes for mercury such as mandrake root, squaw root,

colic weed, Culver's root and jalap, a panacea among Euro-Americans for many diseases including syphilis. Varieties of lobelia species and sassafras were also widely used to 'cure' gonorrhea and syphilis. Iodine, a European remedy, was also substituted for mercury.⁹⁸

In the treatment of gonorrhea, the wild geranium was reported to have healing properties.⁹⁹ More commonly, saltpeter was used as a diuretic and penis syringes filled with saccharum saturini and the balsam of copaiha were used with male gonorrhea victims. For women, who sometimes suffered chronic pelvic inflammatory disease as a result of gonorrhea, there was opium and laudanum (tincture of opium), which, if the women escaped other side effects, at least killed the pain.¹⁰⁰ For ophthalmia of whatever origin, "calomel applied in about the quantity of one grain to each eye, once in twenty-four hours" was thought to be "an efficacious remedy."¹⁰¹ For the Chinook and fur trade population alike, neither Euro-American nor Indian medicine provided a lasting cure for venereal diseases. Both Indian and Metis children continued to be born and to die suffering from these infections.

X

Unlike some native cultures (such as the Illinois tribes where victims of communicable diseases were isolated, or the Jicarillas, who believed that "all white men" carried venereal infections and kept their women away from them, or some far

Southwestern tribes who customarily burnt everything connected with diseased persons), the Chinook blamed the 'new' diseases on white men, but continued to follow their old and often unhygienic practices.¹⁰²

For example, dead slaves were denied funeral rites and the privileges of heaven. In death, as in life, they were regarded as the property of their owners. Sometimes they were killed when their master or mistress died in order to attend them in the spirit world and their bodies were placed beside their owners in coffin canoes in designated cemeteries away from the villages.¹⁰³ More commonly, however, their bodies were left to rot or to be used as food for the dogs. In January of 1814, for example, the traders at Fort George asked the Clatsop to remove the body of a slave girl who had died from venereal disease so that it would not be eaten by their pigs. The Clatsop responded by reluctantly tying a rope around the girl's neck and dragging her to the beach where they squeezed her into a hole with a wooden paddle and covered it with rocks -- a gesture presumably designed to ensure she would not gain entry to the afterworld.¹⁰⁴

Like most native people, the Chinook believed that their illnesses were caused by evil beings or foreign objects which had entered their bodies and had to be destroyed or removed in order for a cure to be effected.¹⁰⁵ Although there is no record of what they thought caused venereal disease, they believed that the 'cold fever', as they called malaria, had

been brought by Captain Dominis, an American sea trader, who arrived at the Columbia River shortly before the first outbreak occurred. The leg of the first Chinook malaria victim was "found guilty" of possessing an evil spirit. Chinook doctors attempted the destruction of this demon by beating the leg with a club, dragging it over rocks, and finally burning it and scattering the ashes so that the 'Spirit of the Dead', which supposedly disliked ashes, could not pass through them to attract other Chinook victims to the new sickness.¹⁰⁶

The death of this patient followed by others had a severe effect on Chinook culture. Formerly, when a person became ill, the family made a preliminary diagnosis and called in a shaman, or other person with specialized spiritual healing powers. With the new untreatable diseases, however, there appears to have been a loss of prestige among Chinook doctors and a waning faith in native treatments. In turn, the inability of the Chinook medical specialists to cure the illnesses introduced by Europeans and Americans had a profoundly disturbing effect on shamanism which was an intricate part of the Chinook spiritual-religious system.

The Keelalles, who administered medical and spiritual aid, and the Etaminuas, priest-shamans, who interceded for their patients with the spirit world, were held responsible for patient deaths and could be killed for their failures. The murder of shamans appears to have escalated in the wake of the epidemics and was common not only to the Chinook, but also

among other Indians throughout the territory.¹⁰⁷ Dr. William Tolmie of the Hudson's Bay Company recalled that the Walla Walla and Cayuse Indians "shot seven of their own medicine men right by the fort during my five years' stay there, and probably over three times that number altogether."¹⁰⁸

Venereal and other epidemic diseases forced native doctors to expand their pharmacopoeia to include concoctions that were probably new, such as fern or soap berry tea for gonorrhea, and boiled cedar or alder bark washes for venereal sores, but such medicines were no match for the ravages of the new illnesses and, with some diseases, the 'magic' cures of the white doctors.¹⁰⁹ While not relinquishing their traditional beliefs, the Chinook increasingly sought out the medicine of the fur traders as a kind of extra insurance against the possible failure of their own healing practitioners.¹¹⁰

Euro-American medicines at the time, however, were often harsher than Indian ones and no more successful than native treatments in many cases. Most physicians defined pathological states by describing them in terms of external and visible symptoms. It was generally believed that one could 'catch' a disease in congested populations so that such health measures as isolation were practiced on an empirical basis. Although it was known, for example, that clean water was important, that latrines should be placed downstream from settlements, that burning or burying decayed food and dead

bodies offered some protection, bacteriology, hygiene and preventative medicine were at a primitive stage of development.¹¹¹

At Fort Vancouver, there was "a well-regulated medical department" where, according to Rev. Samuel Parker, "Indians who are laboring under any difficulty and dangerous disease are received and in most cases have gratuitous attendance" by the fort doctor. Many journals of the 1830s, including Parker's, give the impression that a steady stream of Indians and traders, adults and children, were brought to the fort for medical treatment. However, it also seems clear that the sick only made use of the hospital when all other 'home' remedies, both Euro-American and native, had failed.¹¹²

Thus, in the early years of the malaria epidemics, the Chinook followed their traditional method of steam baths followed by plunges into cold water as a curative. The doctors and gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company attributed their high mortality rate to this treatment, but, as previously mentioned, their knowledge of malaria was far from complete at this time. No doubt, the Chinook felt that if death was likely to occur in any case, this regime, which worked well with other ailments, was better than none at all. Unlike the Indians of Upper Canada who are believed to have developed draughts for malaria which were used with some success by white pioneers, the Chinook apparently had no previous experience with the disease and no medicines to cope with

it.¹¹³

The fur trade itself was caught unaware when the malaria epidemics occurred. As a result, it was impossible for the traders to treat more than a few Indians with quinine or dogwood bark. Moreover, this particular form of malaria, which could kill within twenty-four hours, made it difficult for Chinook victims from the Lower Columbia River to make the overnight journey to the Fort Vancouver hospital. Those in the vicinity of the fort who went for treatment did so in the knowledge that, if nothing else, the fur traders would bury them. Often, however, they were driven away because the doctors already had too many sick among the fur trade population to tend to them. After the 1830 outbreak, Dr. McLoughlin wrote the Hudson's Bay Company Governor and Committee in London:

Mr. Ogden was ill of the fever and also Dr. [John] Kennedy, I had to attend the sick who were about fifty in number we had to pack the furs to attend to the Indian Trade and to the Indians who frightened at the mortality amongst them came in numbers to camp alongside of us -- giving us as a reason that if they died they knew we would bury them. Most reluctantly on our part we were obliged to drive them away, and I must add to this the other urgent work of the place so that in fact I was as well as my assistants Messers James Douglas [Francis] Ermatinger and [James] Birnie were kept constantly employed from day light to eleven at night.¹¹⁴

In December of 1830, McLoughlin again touched on the subject in his communications with the Company. He stated that at one time during the crisis "seventy six" company employees were ill and that they were "obliged to drive the Indians away

instead of affording them the assistance they implored of us by our having as many of our people on the sick list as we could possibly attend to."¹¹⁵ In subsequent malaria outbreaks, some native people did apply at the fort for "La Medicine", as they called it, but others, perhaps hardened by their earlier experience of being chased away at the fort gates, showed a reluctance to accept Euro-American treatments.¹¹⁶

It is not surprising that the initial outbreak of Columbia River fever was associated by Fort Vancouver's Dr. Tolmie with "the first plowing of some rich alluvial land near the river bank where the Indians lived" since clearing land multiplies breeding places for the malaria-carrying anopheline mosquito.¹¹⁷ This mosquito species proliferates in the watery gashes created by agriculture and tends to persist until settlement is firmly established. In the case of the Willamette Valley, the man-mosquito-malarial cycle remained endemic for over a century with major and minor outbreaks taking place from the late 1820s to the 1930s. Between 1920 and 1934, for example, some 243 cases were reported. In 1931, malaria reached epidemic proportions in one Oregon school district.¹¹⁸

XI

Malaria played havoc with the fur trade work force in the "sickly season," as summer became known, and must have had a debilitating effect among the Chinook survivors who were handicapped in their traditional food procurement and

utilization routines.¹¹⁹ Moreover, much of the knowledge about the amounts of foodstuffs to be gathered and methods of preservation would have been lost when the elders, who were the 'keepers' of such information, became the first victims of the outbreak. In the malaria epidemics, as in other epidemics, the elderly and the children were the first to die.

The change in Oregon from a fur trading area to an agricultural one permitted a vast and rapid increase in the population, but in the lean pioneer years the numerous settlers often competed with the Indians for the same foodstuffs. Of all the Indian tribes of North America, probably none had a more ample supply of food than those in the Pacific Northwest where a moderate year-round climate provided a rich harvest of fish, shellfish, game, fowl, vegetables and berries for the Chinook "salmon culture" diet.¹²⁰ Although natural food resources were bountiful, many foodstuffs were seasonal and needed to be gathered, preserved, and stored on a large scale to provide staple food year-round. Famine could occur if the food decomposed or if the winter was unusually long when supplies of dried fish and other staples had been consumed. Although it is reasonable to assume that the Chinook knew the quantity of staples necessary to get them through the winter, contact disturbed the food chain, which is easily disrupted in temperate climates such as the Pacific Northwest.¹²¹

The delicate balance of the ecosystem was modified by the

fur traders so that the traditional hunting, fishing and gathering cycles of the Chinook were soon in disarray. Traditional food supplies were eroded by the introduction of Euro-American technology at the forts in the form of agriculture, dairying, animal husbandry and such industrial enterprises as lumbering and fishing for home and export markets.¹²² By 1817, for example, the fur traders at Fort George (Astoria), who were "constantly employed in cutting down the wood and improving the fort," had cleared about 80 acres of land for crops and had introduced domestic animals into the area.¹²³ By the mid-1830s, the traders had exploited the Willamette Valley so extensively that deer and other game food resources were reduced to an insignificant fraction of their former numbers.¹²⁴

Besides the effects of clearing land on wildlife and plants normally used for food, agriculture causes a further distortion of the natural ecological balance. Farming creates dense concentrations of potential food for new parasites; through hyperinfestation, weeds would have proliferated where Chinook foodstuffs once grew.¹²⁵ The introduction of sheep and cattle by the 1820s further eroded the Chinook food supply since a competition for pasture between wild and domestic grazing animals would have been set in motion. A further breakdown of the Chinook food chain simply awaited the arrival of overland immigrants, who began arriving in the thousands to take up farming in the early 1840s.

Indicative of the diminishing food resources are the first criminal cases in the region, which involved Indian thefts of pigs and cows.¹²⁶ Commonly, the pioneers did not wait for the law. If Indians stole cattle and butchered them, "the settlers would trail them up and if able to catch them would flog them severely."¹²⁷ In 1846, chief factor Peter Ogden stated that he would prefer to transport the Indian offenders, but feeling that the Hudson's Bay Company had no authority to sanction such a penalty, he saw "no objection to a resort to other means of punishment such as whipping and solitary confinement," which he felt would be "equally effective in preventing offenses."¹²⁸

The price of contact was high. The plight of the Chinook became obvious in 1838 when they began hunting for food, rather than furs, much to the chagrin of the Hudson's Bay Company who believed they had become 'indolent.'¹²⁹ Under these circumstances, fur trade babies born to Chinook mothers within the tribes may have suffered from a number of problems associated with malnourished pregnancies.¹³⁰

The white community understood, at least superficially, what was happening to the native people. In 1849, Joseph Lane, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, noted in his address before the legislative assembly:

Surrounded as many of the tribes and bands now are by the whites, whose arts of civilization, by destroying the resources of the Indians, doom them to poverty, want, and crime, the extinguishment of their title by purchase, and the locating them in a district removed from the settlements, is a measure

of the most vital importance to them. Indeed, the cause of humanity calls loudly for their removal from causes and influences so fatal to their existence.¹³¹

XII

Although disease greatly reduced the Chinook population, their culture and language became extinct because those who survived were unable to maintain a community of viable size. In the wake of the devastation, some Chinook moved to the northernmost part of their territory, to Shoalwater Bay in Washington and Seaside in Oregon, which retained a ideal environment for a subsistence economy and had the advantage of being removed from the main activities of Euro-Americans. Here they mixed with the Lower Chehalis Indians. Chehalis, rather than Chinook, became the dominant language and culture. Their respite, however, was brief. In the 1850s, Americans arrived in the area to exploit the oyster beds and take advantage of the profits to be made in the oyster trade with San Francisco. Once again the Chinook were disturbed by white traders and became hosts for their diseases.¹³²

Even after the initial ravages of malaria had passed, nothing approaching epidemiological stability prevailed among the Chinook. Typhoid fever, whooping cough, dysentery, measles and other formerly unknown diseases followed their encounters with malaria.¹³³ Euro-American diseases had encountered an isolated population in the Chinookan people. Behind the chilling death toll, which reduced the Chinook to less than 300 people by mid-century, lurked enormous and

repeated human anguish. Traditional Chinook values crumbled. Wholesale demoralization and cultural despair culminated in the surrender of the will to live.

The Chinooks' inability to accept mixed blood children to make up for lost numbers hastened their destruction. In normal circumstances, abortion and infanticide are methods used to combat overpopulation, but this was not true of the Chinook. In addition to disease and cultural rationale for these practices, the Chinook believed childbirth was more difficult with half-breed babies and cited biological impediments as an additional reason for abortion.

In the 1870s Dr. George Engelmann, a prominent German trained obstetrician and member of the United States scientific community, gathered information from reservation, army and other doctors on native childbirth practices. Like other nineteenth century doctors writing at the time, Engelmann's text lacks footnotes and not all of his informants are cited. In the Pacific Northwest, however, his contact was Dr. John Field, who was the physician to the Grand Rhonde reservation, one of two reservations where the last of the Chinook and other coastal Indians were placed in the 1850s. Engelmann writes:

Many [women] do it [have abortions] for criminal purposes, others because they dread the often fatal labor with half-breed children. This is a somewhat remarkable circumstance, but true among our own Indians upon the Pacific Coast, and in the interior, in Australia, and in India, that labor following intercourse with whites is always tedious and dangerous, frequently ended in the death of both

mother and child. Hence they produce abortion in preference to undergoing this ordeal.¹³⁴

While Engelmann overstated the case of abortion and death, his remarks about difficult labor with half-breed infants were confirmed by other doctors and scientists later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³⁵ In The Doctor in Oregon: A Medical History (1947), Dr. O. Larsell, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Oregon Medical School and the author of the most definitive histories of medicine in the Pacific Northwest, commented on Chinook childbirth:

Deliveries as a rule were easy, due to the small size of the Indian infant. When the father was a white man deliveries were difficult. To forestall such ordeal, abortion frequently was practiced early in pregnancy.¹³⁶

The childbirth difficulties experienced by native women were caused by the size of 'half-breed' baby which, as Engelmann phrased it, "is usually [so] large as to make its passage through the pelvis of the Indian mother almost an impossibility."¹³⁷ In turn, the best explanation to account for the large half-breed babies is a genetic mechanism known as 'hybrid vigour' (increased size in offspring), which is thought to occur when a couple from two distinct gene pools mate for the first time. Indeed, J. M. Tanner, Professor of Child Growth at the Institute of Child Health at the University of London, argues that "outbreeding in human populations" is partially responsible for the increased size and heights of the world's population, since large babies

usually grow up to be large people.¹³⁸ In an age before caesarian operations were safe (the present-day solution to the problem), it is not surprising that some women chose abortion over the possibility of childbirth complications.

While the half-breed baby may have been 'the culprit of its mother's pain,' the fact that Chinook women continued to practice abortion and infanticide in the wake of massive population decline amounted to a kind of genocide. As a consequence, it is hard not to escape the conclusion that only a few infants fathered by traders survived to maturity within Chinook culture. For them life must have been extremely precarious. As George Gibbs concluded in his 1877 study of the native populations of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon:

On one point connected with the subject of population, a fact of ethnological importance may be referred to, viz, the very small number of indigenous half-breeds. Notwithstanding the length of time that the fur companies have occupied the country, and the almost universal connection of its employees with native women on permanent terms, the number of metifs is hardly appreciable.¹³⁹

In Contact & Conflict (1978), Robin Fisher wrote "that the fur trade brought only minimal cultural change to the Indians [of British Columbia] and that it was change that they could control and adapt to."¹⁴⁰ Such a statement could not have been made about the native people on the lower Columbia River in Oregon only a short distance away, nor could it be written about the native people of California, where Sherburne Cook's The Conflict Between the California Indian and White

Civilization (1976) outlines a pattern of Indian demise that shares many similarities to the destruction of the Chinook in Oregon. In the wake of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest, the Chinook became a nuisance and, in the end, from the white perspective, a powerless and insignificant remnant of an aboriginal people lost in a vastly altered environment. To the Chinook, the solution to their problems was to destroy the most visible manifestation of the Euro-American presence, their half-breed children. When this extreme remedy failed, their alternative to coping with the whites was to flee to the 'other world' which they believed was uncontaminated by the evil forces brought by white men.

The creation of a new mixed-blood population at Fort Vancouver, in the Willamette Valley and elsewhere in the region was accomplished at the expense of the older native one. Many Chinook women, however, successfully adapted to life as traders' wives and in the fur trade environment passed on fragments of their native culture to their fur trade youngsters. In this context, their youngsters became the living links of the Chinook past and the first members of an indigenous fur trade-cum-Metis culture. For these children, however, knowledge of Chinook grandparents and ancestors would be largely confined to the information their mothers and other native people at the forts were able to convey to them. Unlike other Metis children elsewhere in North America, the youngsters born to Chinook women were less likely to be people

"in-between" for there were few Chinook people left and their culture was in ruins.

Notes

1. By 1805, the Indians of the lower Columbia had already acquired many articles of Euro-American manufacture from the Maritime fur trade. Lewis and Clark were able to construct a list of the Maritime traders (based on Chinook oral accounts), who frequented the region. See: Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. III, edited by Elliott Coues, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., (Republication of the 1893 edition published by Francis P. Harper), pp. 789-790.

2. Lewis, Clark, The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. III, pp. 742-743.

3. During the Maritime contact period of the 1790s, it is estimated that the semi-nomadic Lower Chinook numbered between 16,640 and 22,000 people. (Although James Mooney estimated the Lower Chinook population of the 1790s to be 16,640, his figure had been translated into other text as 22,000. By contrast, Herbert Taylor estimated the population to be 5,000 in the same time period, but most authors prefer Mooney's calculations.) In the winter of 1805-06, when Lewis and Clark stayed at the mouth of the Columbia, they found the Chinook had suffered enormous mortality because of smallpox contacted a decade or so earlier from maritime traders. Nevertheless, the people had largely been restored to their pre-1790 population when the first epidemic of Columbia River Fever occurred. Anson Dart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, believed that the Chinook numbered 28,000 people in 1828, but where he obtained this information is not given in his report. In 1841, the Hudson's Bay Company estimated the "Chinookans" at 1229 people. Population figures for the post-1850 period also varied, but none exceed 150 people. See: James Mooney, The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., February 6, 1928, p. 14; Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., "Aboriginal Populations of the Lower Northwest Coast," Washington Historical Quarterly, [hereafter WHQ] Vol. IV, No. 4, October 1963, p. 163. Mooney's population figures are discussed in A.L. Kroeber, "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America," Berkeley, University of California Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology, [hereafter UC Publ Arch/Ethno], Vol. XXXVIII, 1939, pp. 132-143. Also see: Anson Dart, "Report from Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory," United States Senate, Thirty-First Congress, Second Session, Executive Document No. 2, 1850, pp. 476-477; Verne F. Ray, Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1938, p. 36; Robert Ruby, John Brown, The Chinook Indians: Traders of the Lower Columbia, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, pp. 80, 95; George

Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. I, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1877, pp. 181-184; Taylor, Zentelis, "San Francisco Gourmets and Shoal Water Acculturation," pp. 120-121; Leslie M. Scott, "Indian Diseases as Aids to Pacific Northwest Settlement," Oregon Historical Quarterly, [hereafter OHQ], Vol. 29, 1928, pp. 148-157; Grace P. Morris, "Development of Astoria, 1811-1850," OHQ, Vol 38, 1937, p. 423; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. VI, New York, 1959, p. 117; Alexander Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers on the Columbia, London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1849, pp. 150-151; Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. V, Philadelphia, Lea and Banchard, 1845, p. 140; William Fraser Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader, Vancouver, Mitchell Press Ltd., 1963, pp. 183, 250, 289; John K. Townsend, Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, Philadelphia, Henry Perkins, 1839, pp. 333-343; D. Lee, J. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, New York, J. Collord Printers, 1844, pp. 93-94, 108. (Although the general consensus is that the Chinook population had been restored from its losses due to smallpox by 1828, John Minto, an early pioneer, claimed the population was in decline from 1800.) See: John Minto, "The Number and Condition of the Native Race in Oregon when First Seen by White Men," OHQ, Vol 1, 1900, p. 310.

4. E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, p. 88; E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, Second Series, 1839-44, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1943, p. 224; Rev. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Minneapolis, Ross & Haines, 1967, pp. 178; S.F. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon," UC Publ Arch/Ethno, Vol. XLIII, 1946-1956, p. 322; Edward Hodgson, "The Epidemic on the Lower Columbia," The Pacific North Western, Vol. 1, No. 4, Fall 1957, pp. 1-2; Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., Catherine Zentelis, "San Francisco Gourmets and Shoal Water Acculturation," Western Washington Indian Socio-Economics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, edited by Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., and Garland F. Grabert, Bellingham, Western Washington University, 1984, pp. 120-121; Leslie M. Scott, "Indian Diseases as Aids to Pacific Northwest Settlement," OHQ, Vol. 29, 1928, pp. 144, 149.

5. Scott, "Indian Diseases," pp. 153, 155.

6. Wilkes, Narrative, Vol. V, p. 141. See also: Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., Anthropological Investigation of the Chinook Indians, New York, Garland Publishing Inc., 1974, pp. 26, 37; Rev. Gustav Hines, Oregon: Its History, Conditions and Prospects, Buffalo, George H. Derby and Company, 1851, p. 236; Gibbs, pp. 164-165, 172, 177-181; James G. Swan, The Northwest

Coast or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1972, p. 110; Ray, Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes, p. 38.

7. Dart, pp. 476-477. In 1870, only 87 Chinook men, 60 Chinook women and 73 Chinook children were left. See: Ruby, Brown, p. 242.

8. Early census data in Oregon did not always distinguish the half breeds from the rest of the population. As a result, some Metis were listed as whites, others as Indians. The Metis population in the Willamette Valley was estimated to be between six hundred and one thousand in 1845. Other sizable Metis populations existed in Clark County, the Fort Vancouver area, on Cowlitz Plain in the Upper Columbia River Valley and around the various Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. See: Leslie M. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46," OHQ, Vol. 29, 1928, p. 53; Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnoissance in Oregon, 1845-6," OHQ, Vol. 10, 1909, p. 60; Lloyd D. Black, "Middle Willamette Valley Population Growth," OHQ, Vol. 43, 1942, pp. 40-41.

9. Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, p. 198.

10. Morris, "Development of Astoria," p. 417.

11. Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West, p. 195; Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 90.

12. For information on these children, see: Harriet Duncan Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Oregon 1838-1898, Portland, Thomas Binford Publisher, 1979; and Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, Volumes I and II and Stellamaris Mission, St. Paul, French Prairie Press, 1972. On Ellen Matthews, see: Silas B. Smith to E.E. Dye, August 21, 1891, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1989), Oregon Historical Society, [hereafter OHS], Portland, Oregon.

13. For information on the Chinook tribes and their culture, see: Edward Sapir, "Preliminary Report on the language and mythology of the Upper Chinook," American Anthropologist, Vol. 9, 1907, p. 534; Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers on the Columbia, pp. 87-88; Katherine Lee Tate, "Subsistence Variation Among the Chinook," and Colin E. Twedell, "A Componential Analysis of the Criteria Defining an Indian 'Tribe' in Western Washington," Western Washington Indian Socio-Economics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, pp. 48, 70-72.

14. Peter N. Moogk, "Les Petits Sauvages: The Children of Eighteenth-Century New France," Childhood and Family in Canadian History, edited by Joy Parr, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1982, p. 27.

15. James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 168-206.

16. Daniel Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," William and Mary Quarterly, Series 3, Vol. 40, 1983, pp. 528-559. On white captives among the Indians, see: Frederick W. Turner III, ed., "The Captivity of Mary Rowlandson," The Portable North American Indian Reader, New York, Penguin Books, 1982, pp. 312-360.

17. Alex Hrdlicka, Physiological and Medical Observations Among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Mexico, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. 164-166.

18. Stephen Powers, Tribes of California, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1877, pp. 183, 214-215. Powers' states that, as late as 1877, the Russian River Pomo continued to kill mixed blood infants because they did not want to rear their children among white people.

19. For example, see: Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, Willamette Interlude, Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1959. p. 202.

20. On the beliefs about racial purity among Interior Indians of the Pacific Northwest, as related by a native woman, see: "Nancy Winecoop," Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. I, edited by Charles F. Ernest, 1937, pp. 114-15. Also see: Townsend, Narrative, pp. 333-334, 337.

21. Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," pp. 163-166; Dr. William Fraser Tolmie to Judge M.P. Deady, Aug. 24, 1875, M.P. Deady Collection, (T 69-105), Oregon Historical Society, [hereafter OHS], Portland, Oregon.

22. In his study on Chinook jargon, William Samarin made a census of Chinook women at Fort Vancouver from the Catholic Records. See: William Samarin, Work and Women in the Emergence of Chinook Jargon, Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, Montreal, Quebec, May 29-June 2, 1985, p. 3.

23. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, Annotations; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, Annotations.

24. James Douglas, Fort Vancouver, to James Birnie, Fort George, Aug. 6, 1838, Letter Book Columbia District Outfit 1838; James Douglas to Governor and Committee, Oct. 18, 1838, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Book, 1837-38, (B223b), Hudson Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. Elsie Frances Dennis, "Indian Slavery in Pacific Northwest," OHQ, Vol. 31, 1930, pp. 193, 288-289; Nellie B. Pipes, "Indian Conditions in 1836-38," OHQ, Vol. 32, 1931, p. 336.

25. When Billy McKay's mother died, "the slaves were all liberated," but they refused to go and "all lived and died on [our] premises." See: Dr. William McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS, Portland, Oregon.

26. Gibbs, pp. 181, 190, 197. George Gibbs was a medical doctor and a lawyer. At various times, he also worked as a historian, naturalist, topographer, ethnologist, artist and interpreter. He was also the General Secretary for the Hudson's Bay Company Claims Commission. See: Vernon Carstensen, ed., "Pacific Northwest Letters of George Gibbs," OHQ, Vol. 55, 1954, pp. 196-199. Also see: Twedell, "A Componential Analysis of the Criteria Defining an Indian "Tribe" in Western Washington," pp. 73-74; Wayne Suttles, "Post-Contact Culture Change Among the Lummi Indians," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, [hereafter BCHQ], Vol. 18, Nos. 1 and 2, 1954, pp. 36, 47, 56; James Cowles Prichard, Researches into the Physical History of Mankind: Vol. V, London, Sherwood, Gilvert, and Piper, 1847, p. 428.

27. Gibbs, "Tribes," pp. 170-71.

28. O. Larsell, "An Outline of the History of Medicine in the Pacific Northwest," Northwest Medicine, Vol. 31, 1932, pp. 441-442; H.H. Stage, C.M. Gjullin, "Anophelines and Malaria in the Pacific Northwest," Northwest Science, Vol. IX, September 1935, p. 7. Although various types of malaria fevers had been identified by 1850, controversy existed over when and how to administer quinine and other medications. See: Daniel Drake, M.D., A Systematic Treatise Historical, Etiological, and Practical of the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America as they appear in the Caucasian, African, Indian, and Esquimaux Varieties of its Population, Vol. 2, New York, Burt Franklin, 1971, (copyright 1854), pp. 60-65.

29. Parker, Journal, p. 178.

30. Drake, Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America, p. 37.

31. George G. Giglioli, "Malaria in the American Indian," Biomedical Challenges Presented by the American Indian, Proceedings of the Special Session held during the Seventh

Meeting of the PAHO Advisory Committee on Medical Research, June 25 1968, Washington, D.C., Pan American Health Organization, Scientific Publication No. 165, September 1968, pp. 105, 107, 108.

32. A. Stang, et. al., "Malaria in Pregnancy with Fatal Complications," British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Vol. 91, April 1984, pp. 399-401; Frank Livingstone, "The Duffy Blood Group: Vivian Malaria and Malaria Selection in Human Populations," Human Biology, Vol. 56, No. 3, September 1981, pp. 413-425; Giglioli, "Malaria in the American Indian," p. 107.

33. In 1953, the Chinook organized the Chinook Indian Tribe Inc. for their political and social welfare. In 1980, Chinook membership stood at 900 people, but no one speaks the tribal language which has been lost. See: Robert H. Ruby, John A. Brown, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, pp. 24-25.

34. Taylor, Zentelis, p. 123.

35. Ray's informants were Emma Lusier and Mrs. Bertrand. The genealogical charts of these women and of Charles Cultee, Boas's informant, are in Ray, pp. 63-67. Also see: Franz Boas, Chinook Text, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1894, p. 6.

36. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. A 16.

37. Lee, Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 314.

38. Gibbs, pp. 176, 196.

39. Powers, Tribes of California, pp. 177-178; Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America, Vol. I, Wild Tribes, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1875, p. 224, fn. 113.

40. Townsend, pp. 333-334.

41. Powers, pp. 183-184, 214. (The Clear Lake Pomo apparently began practicing infanticide after the arrival of Euro-Americans.)

42. Harold E. Driver, "Wappo Ethnography," UC Publ Arch/Ethno, Vol. 36, 1935-1939, pp. 198-199. Abortion was induced by drinking 'concoctions' or by rolling around on their stomachs. Infanticide was practiced immediately after birth when the mother stepped on the child's neck or chest.

43. Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 81; Gibbs, pp. 198-199. It might have been advantageous for the missionaries to portray the Chinook as morally depraved in order to receive additional funding for their work, but while some may have exaggerated their reports, such reports must be balanced against the number of infanticides and abortions carried out in secret.

44. Rev. Jason Lee, "Missionary Intelligence: Flat Head Indians," Christian Advocate and Journal, Vol. X, No. 10, New York, Friday, October 30, 1835.

45. Samuel Hancock, Thirteen Years Residence on the Northwest Coast: Containing an Account of the Travels and Adventures Among the Indians, their Manners and Customs and their Treatment of Prisoners and also a Description of the Country, Whidbey Island, Washington Territory, February 17, 1860, (MS. P-B29), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

46. Lee, Frost, p. 314.

47. Ray, pp. 67-68. The same story with one addition, that old people could not return as new born infants, is told in Boas, Chinook Text, p. 11. See also: Wilkes, Narrative, Vol. V, p. 118.

48. Ruby, Brown, pp. 9-11; Ray, pp. 48-55.

49. References to head flattening are given in most nineteenth century histories of Oregon. For specific details of the process, see: T.D. Steward, "The Chinook Sign of Freedom: A Study of the Skull of the Famous Chief Comcomly," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1959, pp. 563-576. For a comparison between the head flattening practices of the Nootka on Vancouver Island and the Chinook of Columbia River, see: John Scouler, "On the Indian Tribes Inhabiting the Northwest Coast of America," Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 1, 1848, pp. 195-201.

50. Rev. Myron Eells, Marcus Whitman: Pathfinder and Patriot, Seattle, Alice Harriman Company, 1909, pp. 88-89.

51. Townsend, p. 305.

52. George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, Vol. II, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1973, p. 111.

53. Swan, The Northwest Coast, p. 168.

54. Ray, p. 87.

55. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 101. Gibbs believed that half-breed children among the Indians did not have their heads flattened as a matter of pride and assimilation to their father's culture. See: Gibbs, pp. 211-212. The Russian fur traders in Alaska also forbid deformation of their Metis children's heads. "Their fathers try to raise them in the Christian faith, forbid them to deform themselves, teach them their own way of life, and furnish them with clothing." See: Linda A. Kimball, "Markov's Visit to Southeast Alaska in the 1840s," Western Washington Indian Socio-Economics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, p. 233.

56. Material possessions, which could be given away through the potlatch, were an indication that a person had wealth in the extremely important non-material things such as rights inherited from ancestors, which might include names, fishing locations, songs and dances. See: John R. Swanton, "Morphology of the Chinook Verb," American Anthropologist, Vol. 2, 1900, p. 210.

57. Ray, pp. 99-123; Ruby, Brown, pp. 18-23; Gibbs, pp. 193-197; Tate, "Subsistence Variation Among the Chinook," pp. 55-56. The Chinook-California slave trade is discussed in Powers, p. 254 and Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers, pp. 147-148, 158. (One fathom of strung dentalium (6 feet) was worth about three Hudson Bay Company blankets or ten good beaver skins. A slave was worth about 40 fathoms.)

58. On the estimated slave population among the coastal Indians, see: Dennis, "Indian Slavery in Pacific Northwest," pp. 188-193; Lois Todd-Bresnick, "The Prevalence of Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America During the Pre-Contact Period," Western Washington Indian Socio-Economics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, pp. 85, 88-89.

59. In the mid-nineteenth century, prostitution was more common among the tribes of Oregon and Northern California than among Southern California tribes since these tribes had the most contact with miners. See: Powers, pp. 247, 382, 413. Similarly, in British Columbia during the heyday of Fraser River mining activity, the "road to Esquimalt on Sunday, was lined with the poor Indian women offering to sell themselves to the white men passing by." See: George Hills, The Journal of Bishop George Hills: 1860, unpublished MS, Anglican Church Archives, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., pp. 227-28.

60. Lewis, Clark, The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, pp. 778-779.

61. Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers, p. 148.

62. Gibbs, p. 199.
63. Gibbs, p. 198.
64. Lewis, Clark, p. 779.
65. Gabriel Franchere, A Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, Chicago, R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1954, p. 194; Gibbs, p. 199.
66. Bancroft, The Native Races, pp. 241-42.
67. Gibbs, p. 187.
68. Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 65.
69. Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, pp. 64-65. Also see: Gibbs, p. 199; Scott, "Indian Diseases," p. 160.
70. H.A. Innis, "Notes and Documents: Rupert's Land in 1825," Canadian Historical Review, No. 4, 1926, p. 317; E.E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870, Vol. II, 1763-1870, London, Hudson's Bay Company Record Society, 1959, p. 453; Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1980, p. 203.
71. This was the case of William Brown. Brown's contract had expired and his application for passage home had been granted when it was learned that he had fathered a child at Fort Langley and that the child's mother had died. McLoughlin ordered him to spend another year in the service until the child was old enough to travel. Brown refused to comply and was tied to one of the two cannons in front of the "Big House" at Fort Vancouver and lashed. After the sixth lash, Brown broke down and agreed to return to Fort Langley. See: Thomas E. Jessett, ed. Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836-1838, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, pp. 93-94.
72. Herbert Beaver, "Letter of Herbert Beaver relating to the Indians of the North-west Coast of America, to the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society," Further Information Respecting the Aborigines: Containing Reports of the Committee on Indian Affairs at Philadelphia: Tracts Relative to the Aborigines, No. 8, London, Edward Marsh, 1842, p. 17, (MS 372), OHS, Portland. White men in California are also reported to have encouraged native women to have abortions or practice infanticide. In Australia, however, it was the white men, rather than their native women, who were reported to have destroyed their half-breed infants. See: Powers, p. 207; John Crawford, "On the Supposed Infecundity of Human Hybrids or

Crawfurd, "On the Supposed Infecundity of Human Hybrids or Crosses," Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. III, 1865, p. 359.

73. E.G. Chuinard, Only One Man Died: The Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980, p. 342. Since the early years of the nineteenth century, the origins of syphilis have been debated. Some experts, known as the Columbia School, maintain that syphilis was endemic to North America, while others known as the Pre-Columbian school argue that syphilis existed in Europe long before Columbus arrived in North America. In 1963, C.J. Hackett put forward a 'unitarian theory', which suggests that all treponemal diseases had a common ancestor with variants determined by differences in climate and domestic environment. Thus, some native people may have had strains of syphilis or other venereal diseases prior to European contact, but apparently new and more severe strains were introduced after contact. In the case of the Chinook, however, it seems likely that both gonorrhea and syphilis originated with the Maritime fur trade since they had no 'cure' for these diseases. For a discussion on the origins of syphilis and venereal diseases in general, see: David Barlow, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 12-13; D.H.H. Robertson, A. McMillan, H. Young, Clinical Practice in Sexually Transmissible Diseases, Bath, Pitman Medical Press, 1980, pp. 64-65; Theodore Roebury, Microbes and Morals: The Strange Story of Venereal Disease, New York, Viking Press, 1971, pp. 3-83. For nineteenth century beliefs about the origins of venereal diseases and Indian treatments of them, see: Joseph M. Toner, "Some Points in the Practice of Medicine among North American Indians," Virginia Medical Monthly, Vol. IV, 1877-78, pp. 347-49.

74. "The Nicholas Biddle Notes," Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854, edited by Donald Jackson, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1962, p. 506. The men on the Lewis and Clark expedition who contacted venereal disease from Chinook women were given Rush's Pills, a concoction of mercury chloride mixed with jalap originating with Dr. Benjamin Rush, the medical advisor for the expedition. In addition to the effects of mercury, the jalap acted as a laxative. Although bled, purged and salivated, the men were still suffering when the expedition returned east. See: E.G. Chuinard, Only One Man Died, pp. 28, 133, 506; O. Larsell, "Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," OHQ, Sept. 1955, pp. 221, 225; Coues, History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark, Vol. II, pp. 711-12, 779-80.

75. Robertson, et. al., Clinical Practice in Sexually Transmissible Diseases, pp. 5-7.

76. Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 156.
77. W.J. Brown, et. al., Syphilis and Other Venereal Diseases, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970, pp. 6-7; Karen J. Taylor, "Venereal Disease in Nineteenth-Century Children," Journal of Psychohistory, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1985, pp. 432-433; Chuinard, pp. 312, fn. 5, 342, fn. 8-10; O. Larsell, "Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," OHQ, Vol 56, 1955, p. 221; Rosebury, Microbes and Morals, p. 54.
78. Elliott Coues, ed., New Light on the Early History of the Great Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799-1814, Vol. II, New York, Francis P. Harper, 1897, pp.890-891.
79. The British military reported a steady increase in venereal disease from 1823 onward. By 1864, one out of three sick cases in the army were venereal in origin. In common with the military, the Hudson's Bay Company was concerned over the loss of labour resulting from men too sick to work and in the early years attempted to punish those who contracted the infections by forcing them to pay the medical costs of their treatment. See: Judith R. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, London, Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 49. For conditions in the United States military and Hudson's Bay Company, see: Chuinard, p. 41; D.G. Davies, ed., Letters From Hudson Bay 1703-40, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965, pp. 247, 290, 305, 309.
80. The new Hudson Bay Company regulations concerning women and children are reprinted in Innis, "Notes and Documents," No. 124, p. 317.
81. Merk, pp. 99, 140. Other examples of the crippling effects of venereal diseases on the Hudson Bay Company workforce are given in the Fort Langley Journal, 1827-29, (Microfilm copy), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
82. T. Sterber, M. Zimmerman, "Investigations of Psychological Processes in Patients with Neurosyphilis," American Journal of Syphilis, Gonorrhea and Venereal Diseases, Vol. 34, 1950, pp. 532-533.
83. Although no evidence has been found that the Chinook destroyed deformed infants, the practice was widespread in native cultures. See: Virgil J. Vogel, American Indian Medicine, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, pp. 54, 152, 239; Daniel Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travel in the Interior of North America, Toronto, George N. Morang and Company Ltd., 1904, p. 271.

84. Robertson, pp. 144-145; Rosebury, pp. 78-79.
85. Brown, et. al., Syphilis and Other Venereal Diseases, p. 20; Robertson, pp. 12, 144.
86. Bancroft, p. 242.
87. Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1975, p. 329. Also see: Rev. T. Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, Toronto, The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914, pp. 87, 295.
88. Brown, et. al., p. 128; Robertson, p. 12; Daisy Robinson, "Heredity and Venereal Diseases," Eugenics in Race and State, Baltimore, William and Wilkins Company, 1923, pp. 318-321; Jay Cassel, The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada 1838-1939, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1987, p. 16.
89. Parker, p. 277; Lee, Frost, p. 155; Chuinard, p. 158; Bancroft, p. 245; Scouler, p. 176; Townsend, pp. 284, 312-313; Ross, The Fur Hunters, p. 194; Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers, p. 98.
90. Robertson, p. 178.
91. Powers, p. 417. Also see: Townsend, pp. 312-313.
92. Larsell, "Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," pp. 221-222; Chuinard, p. 342.
93. Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers, pp. 307-308. The belief that Indians could cure themselves of venereal disease was not entirely false. Some plants used by native people had antibacterial qualities and were adopted into Euro-American medical practices. The Chinook, however, were not among those natives who had cures that worked. In contrast to Ross's statement, Governor Simpson wrote of the Chinook: "They have no knowledge of Simples or Medical herbs but are now beginning to discover the value of our drugs." See: Merk, p. 99. Plants used by native people to cure venereal diseases are discussed in: Michael A. Weiner, Earth Food: Plant Remedies, Drugs and Natural Foods of North American Indians, New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1980, pp. 134-136; Vogel, American Indian Medicine, pp. 211-212, 295, 298, 331-332, 363, 377, 390, 410.
94. Charles Henry Carey, ed., "The Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, North America, Commenced 1834," OHQ, Vol. 23, 1922, p. 241.

95. Charles Henry Carey, ed., "Diary of Reverend George Gary," OHQ, Vol. 24, 1923, p. 84.
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97. David Barlow, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979; Chuinard, pp. 264-265.
98. Vogel, pp. 134, 172, 212, 291, 295, 298, 330-332, 363; Michael A. Weiner, Earth Food, New York, MacMillan Publishing Co., 1980, pp. 134-136.
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103. Parker, p. 245; Lee, Frost, p. 233; John Dunn, The Oregon Territory and the British North American Fur Trade, Philadelphia, G.B. Zieber & Co., 1845, pp. 86-87; Gibbs, pp. 202-204.
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106. Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 185; William Fraser Tolmie, "Letter From Dr. Tolmie," Transactions of the Oregon Pioneers Association, [hereafter TOPA] 1884, p. 37; Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, pp. lxxix-lxxxii, 45.
107. Scott, "Indian Diseases," p. 153.
108. Tolmie, "Letter," pp. 33-35. Also see: Ray, pp. 86-88; Wilkes, Vol. IV, p. 394; Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 81; Scouler, "Journal," pp. 165-167; Toner, pp. 334-340;

Fred Lockley, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Frank Collins," OHQ, Vol. 17, 1916, pp. 369-370.

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110. Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 175; Tolmie, "Letter," p. 34; Jackson, Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 503; Scouler, "Journal," pp. 203-204; Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers, p. 159; Merk, p. 99. For the use the Chinook made of the Fort Vancouver hospital, see: Dunn, p. 86; O. Larsell, "An Outline of the History of Medicine in the Pacific Northwest," p. 441.

111. Vogel, pp. 1-12; Chuinard, p. 38.

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Chapter Two

Transitions: Childbirth and the Education of Native Wives

This chapter explores childbirth in the context of the transitions native women made when they left their Indian cultures to become wives of fur traders and members of a fur trade culture. It will be argued that these transitions were complex and varied and even involved changes to the women's sexuality. The chapter begins by first examining childbirth within native coastal cultures and concludes by looking at childbirth on Hudson's Bay Company brigades. The suggestion here is that while native childbirth methods were relatively safe, childbirth while travelling was dangerous to both mothers and infants. Moreover, while childbirth in coastal tribes was highly organized and ritualized, in the early years of fur trade culture women could be left without any equivalent support system to that offered in their own native societies. Central to this interpretation is the idea that fur trade culture in the Pacific Northwest was essentially Euro-American in character and to that end, the traders attempted to eradicate their wives' 'Indian traits' and transform them into their version of white womanhood, while at the same time heightening their own sense of masculinity. The success of this indoctrination process varied. Few native women, however, escaped the transitional process altogether.

II

To nineteenth century writers who believed 'civilization'

would triumph over 'savagery,' the rituals and customs surrounding childbirth demonstrated native people's ignorance and limited knowledge of 'materia medica.' The Victorians exaggerated the material poverty of the Indians, while at the same time inflating the benefits of industrialized society, which included scientific progress in the field of medicine.¹ As a consequence, doctors and anthropologists began their studies with preconceived ideas about Indians and were unable to distinguish the birth practices of native women, which were relatively safe, from what they believed to be dangerous superstitions that "caused women to give up their lives."² While Euro-American medicine borrowed freely from native curatives, native medical practices were ignored.³

Each native culture had distinct beliefs about the proper diet and behaviour for wives and their husbands during pregnancy and the post-natal period. Such rituals lessened the anxieties of pregnancy and motherhood and gave the women a sense of security.⁴ Many of these ancient traditions, which accorded a spiritual and symbolic importance to the birth process, were similar to 'old wives' tales in Euro-American society.⁵ As in Europe, different native cultures had different beliefs and methods of delivering infants, which were closely related to food procurement and the lifestyles of individual tribes.⁶ Most importantly, these beliefs reflected the manner in which the people saw themselves in relation to nature and the universe.

The work of the nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropologists who gathered data on native childbirth reflects the Victorian and Edwardian mania to collect, separate and classify. Their empirical mind set seldom considered childbirth practices in the context of native belief systems. As a result, little attention was given to the spiritual or metaphysical importance of the event and the age old rituals surrounding birth in native cultures were looked upon as peculiar and irrational.⁷

Moreover, most anthropologists and many of their informants were men. Indian women showed a great reluctance to talk about pregnancy, childbirth or any other subject related to their sexuality among themselves, let alone white male scientists. The impropriety was, in fact, shocking to native females. What we know about the secret and sacred subject of native childbirth derives from the limited kinds of questions men asked, and the equally limited answers of both native men and women.⁸

However incomplete, the descriptions of rituals surrounding childbirth do reveal something of the ancient psychological and social structures which supported and nurtured the women during and after pregnancy. Among the more common native beliefs about birth was the idea that the body was a spiritual instrument possessing "a multiplicity of virtual -- apparational and transformational -- facilities."⁹ The fetus was considered a living thing that could feel, think, see, experience and sympathize with the world of its

parents and the animal world. Since the fetus could be affected by the actions of its parents, Indian women were instructed on ways to create harmony between themselves and the unborn and, later, the newborn baby.

III

At the heart of Chinook beliefs about birth was the idea that babies came from the sun and that if they died, they returned to the sun and might be born again to the same mother. It was also thought that certain people were 'guardian spirits' who could learn whether the newborn intended to return to the sun or not. In effect, the belief in child reincarnation, endowed the unborn and newborn child with an independent and free spirit which had the power to choose to live, die, or be born again.

Many Chinook beliefs were related to their maritime culture. For example, it was thought that if a husband singed the fur of a seal over the fire (a pre-butchered process) while his wife was pregnant, the child would be born with blisters. If the expectant mother blew up one of the seal bladders, used as floats in the seal hunt, the child would suffer wind or gas. Pregnant women were forbidden trout or steel-head salmon because these fish were regarded as less pure than animal flesh. While the significance of some of these beliefs is unclear, many practices were obviously designed to insure good health during pregnancy.¹⁰

Like folk traditions in Euro-American culture, visionary and symbolic imagery determined much about the pregnant

women's dress and behaviour.¹¹ Chinook women were not supposed to wear beads, bracelets, or other forms of ropes to insure that their infants would be free of entanglement in the umbilical cord at birth. It was assumed that what the pregnant woman saw could affect the fetus. The women were told to avert their gaze from snakes, raccoons, otters, dogs with unopened eyes, corpses, or anything dead or rotting, lest the child look like a reptile, faint often, be born blind, or ugly. These aversions also applied to the expectant fathers who were not allowed to kill raccoons, otters or birds since it was thought that the fetus could become sick in sympathy with animals and birds, which, in the larger scheme of things, possessed varying degrees of spiritual powers superior to those of man.¹²

Whereas some California and Great Basin native women, such as the Hupa, Northern Shoshoni and Maidu, used their menstruation huts for birth, the Chinook and Puget Sound Indian women considered this to be "a terrible thing." Like other coastal native children, Chinook infants were born either in a special lodge constructed for the purpose and dismantled afterwards, or behind a mat partition in the communal dwelling house secluded from the gaze of others, especially the sick.¹³ To be born outside was considered improper. Women were admonished that if this happened their children would be reproached for it throughout their lives.

The childbirth attendant or attendants varied from tribe to tribe, but might include a shaman, paid midwives,

relatives or friends. In some cases, social status determined the attendants so that the higher a woman's rank, the more expert attention she received.¹⁴ Midwives might administer 'secret' medicines to hasten delivery and various childbirth teas brewed from 'Johnny Jump Ups' or the sprouts of wild roses, nettle buds and June plum bark boiled together. From the onset of childbirth, the mother-to-be was the centre of attention in a familiar environment.

The Makah of Neah Bay, Puget Sound, had a special midwife for the third stage of labour who insured the delivery of the placenta by expert manipulation of the abdomen with her hands. Among the Clatsop and Chinook, a bandage or 'squaw belt' was placed around the abdomen as soon as the baby was born to keep the placenta from withdrawing into the body. To assure a speedy expulsion, the accoucheur created a gentle traction on the cord with one hand, while manipulating the uterine globe with the other.¹⁵

A period of rest followed birth. Among the Snugualmi of Puget Sound, a woman was required to stay in her birth hut for 12 days. Among the Nisqually, the period of withdrawal was 15 days. Chinook women were not supposed to sleep for five days after delivery for fear of haemorrhage and had to remain secluded for another five days after that. During this time, new food and work taboos related to sexual dimorphism were imposed.

Like the rituals themselves, the role of the father varied, even among tribes that lived in close proximity to

one another. Chinook husbands were allowed to be present during confinement. Nisqually men were banned both during delivery and their wives' rest period. Sunqualmi men were also excluded during childbirth, but were expected to attend to their wives' needs during the post-partum period. Cleanliness was considered very important at this time. Most women bathed as soon as they were strong enough, taking care not to wet their breasts, which were steamed over boiling water to hasten milk production. After the first five days of seclusion, Chinook women were washed with medicinal water. In some tribes, both parents were required to bathe twice daily during the rest period.¹⁶

The emphasis placed by the Chinook and other native people on isolating their women during partus, followed by the removal of soiled materials used during childbirth, insured the women's freedom from puerperal fever, a major cause of childbirth death in Euro-American society.¹⁷ This fact seldom went unnoticed by the medical profession who attributed the salutary aspect of native childbirth to "pure air and plenty of exercise" rather than cleanliness among the Indians.¹⁸ A 'squaw belt' or binder facilitated the expulsion of the placenta and cessation of haemorrhage, two other common causes of deaths in childbirth among white women.¹⁹ Like other Indians, Chinook remedies to ease childbirth also included varying the woman's positions in labour and using manipulation for malposition of the infant. Such methods determined that few native women ever died in childbirth with native children

while in their own culture.²⁰

The simple fact of having been born, however, did not necessarily imply membership in the tribe, but was a recognition of a new living being among existing life forms. Around the turn of the century, the last Puget Sound Makah Indian "was welcomed into the world by the old custom of placing a sliver of whale blubber into the newly born infant's mouth."²¹ Among the Chinook, the first rite of passage came when the baby was swaddled and placed in its cradle where it lay in an extended position, its body protected by the rigid frame, its face isolated from dust, insects and direct sunlight by a cloth draped over the hoop. At this time, the arrival of the newborn was announced to the cosmic forces, and calls were made for the child's safety throughout life. A cradle was always crafted immediately after birth by a shaman, apparently to acknowledge the infant's sex and spirituality. There were various types of cradles, or cradle-boards, but they all shared the common flattening board or strap which shaped the baby's head in various conical forms.

The head-flattening process took from eight to twelve months or until the child was able to walk. Girls were subjected to more rigorous head compression than their brothers, but the bodies of both sexes were loosely swaddled with bandages, then cushioned from the hard wood of the cradle by moss or soft bark which could be changed frequently. In addition to head flattening, efforts were made to elongate the baby's nose and ears by pulling on them to make the newborn

more beautiful.

A month or so after a child was born, it was customary for the father to host a potlatch, which took the form of dancing (the creative force of life made visible), singing and gift giving. The baby's ears were perforated at this time with two holes. When the child left the cradleboard and was able to walk, five more ear holes were made. The child was now ready to become a member of the Chinook tribe. Another potlatch, this time arranged by the child's grandparents, was held in the child's honor.

This potlatch bestowed an ancestral name upon the child, chosen by the father's mother if the infant was male, or by the mother's mother, if it was female. The baby was held high in the air and its name was shouted to the gathering. Then the story of the ancestor to whom it formerly belonged was told. Good wishes for the child, followed by singing, dancing and feasting completed the child's formal introduction into the tribe. The year-long waiting period marked the completion of head flattening, and the resulting physical deformity that the child now shared with other members of the coastal tribes.²² The time period also signified the survival of the child through the months when infant mortality was greatest.

IV

It is highly unlikely that any fur trade Metis infant was announced to the world by a shaman, or that any of their fathers hosted a potlatch in their honor. Fur trader fathers in Oregon wanted their children to be civilized and Christian;

the pagan customs of their wives, including those surrounding childbirth, were discarded as quickly as their wives could be assimilated into the fur trade. Little is known about the persistence of coastal native rituals in the new environment, but what seems certain is that the richness of the childbirth experience in the home cultures evaporated as native wives were thrust into the foreign environment of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest among a potpourri of various ethnic and racial groups. As traders' wives, the women became members of a Euro-American socio-economic system over which they had little control.²³ The passage was not a smooth one.

In general, as the fur trade became established in the Pacific Northwest, the birth of fur trade children increasingly became Euro-Americanized. By the mid-1840s, Euro-American trained doctors delivered gentlemen's wives, while Metis midwives attended childbirth among the servants. In remote locations or while travelling, however, native methods and Euro-American folk practices persisted among all ranks and classes. There was very little unusual, however, about fur trade childbirth practices. Fathers appear to have participated in the delivery of their children more than was customary in Euro-American society and childbirths on brigade became ritualized holidays, but such distinctions were also found to a lesser extent among white pioneers on the North American frontier.²⁴

V

The 'ideal' fur trader's wife was a 'white lady' and

since such women were unavailable in Oregon, both gentlemen and servants (in varying degrees), acted as mentors in converting their native wives' appearance and modifying their behaviour to Euro-American standards. The fur traders' perceptions of femininity, like white male perceptions of femininity in general, were governed in large measure by faulty conceptualizations. The negative effects of gender separation were espoused as early as 1790 in Catharine Macaulay's Letters on Education, which asserted the need for co-education. In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft advocated that boys and girls be educated together as a remedy for "sexual distinctions that taint the mind."²⁵

In Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (1985), Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, one of America's foremost feminist historians, examined the nineteenth century writings of hundreds of white American women, including California and Oregon women, and concluded that males and females grew up in relatively homogeneous and segregated groups bounded by emotional ties with others of their own sex. As a result, each gender tended to be distant from the other and operated within its own sexual culture.²⁶ She writes:

Women revealed their deepest feelings to one another, helped one another with the burdens of housewifery and motherhood, nursed one another's sick, and mourned for one another's dead. It was a world in which men made only a shadowy appearance. Living in the same society, nominally part of the same culture (bourgeois, farming, or working-class), certainly members of the same family, women and men experienced their worlds in radically different ways. Female rituals rigorously excluded male kith and kin, rituals so secret that men had little

knowledge of them, so pervasive that they patterned women's lives from birth to death.²⁷

In brief, rather than first hand knowledge of the opposite sex beyond perhaps that of their mothers or sisters, the real world of white women was not fully understood by white men and as a consequence, the education of native wives and Metis daughters to 'white' womanhood, by white fur trade husbands and fathers, was a kind of hit or miss affair based on their perceptions of what they thought femininity and the ill defined 'cult of domesticity' should be.²⁸ Although variation could be found in individual traders' households, the transformation of native wives to white womanhood in the Pacific Northwest followed a pattern which included such things as substituting much of the women's native attire for the clothing worn by white women, acquainting wives with Christianity and Christian virtues, giving the women Christian names and addressing them by using the term Mrs. before their husband's surname, tutoring them in British-American domesticity, teaching them to speak the English or French language and acculturating them into the rhythms of life and work in the capitalist enterprises of the fur trade. In the case of gentlemen's wives, lessons in reading and writing in English were not uncommon.²⁹ As will be discussed later in the chapter, the older fur trade wives, especially those of the gentlemen, assisted the husbands in the indoctrination of new brides by acquainting them with fur trade domesticity.

As the fur trade developed, many of the Hudson's Bay

Company servants regarded the officers' native and Metis wives and their families as 'white'. For example, Sarah Scarbrough, a Metis girl, described the mixed-blood family of clerk James Birnie at Fort George as "the only white family here."³⁰ The 1834 Hudson's Bay Company Journal at Fort Simpson (close to present day Prince Rupert, B.C.) recorded the arrival of Dr. Kennedy and his family as "Mr. Kennedy arrived with his family -- the first white family in the place." Yet, John Frederick Kennedy was the mixed-blood son of a chief factor and his wife was a daughter of Legaic, the highest chief in the Tsimshian hierarchy on the Pacific coast.³¹

The training of wives, however, was fraught with difficulties. Since most company employees had entered the trade as teenagers, they knew very little about the real hardships of white women's housework, let alone how to teach household skills to their wives. By the 1840s, however, even the company's servants were attempting to instruct their native wives in the kitchen. Chief factor John McLoughlin was in the habit of collecting bread recipes and distributing them to the men so that they might teach their wives the art of bread making. On April 23, 1841, McLoughlin wrote to clerk Alexander Anderson, stationed at the Hudson's Bay Company farm on Cowlitz Plain: "I send you this recipe to make bread...I have eaten bread made with milk by Mrs. McDonald at Colville and never tasted better bread. There are two tins or sheet iron pans in which to bake the bread, on board the Cadboro for

your place."³²

Unfortunately, this recipe has not survived, but the skill of the retired servant's native wives at Champoege in the Willamette Valley at bread baking are noted in Eva Emery Dye's historical novel McLoughlin and Old Oregon (1900), based on more than twenty years of correspondence with fur traders and their children. She writes:

Of nothing were the Canadians more proud than of their wives' skill in bread-making...Nearly every time the bateaux went down to Fort Vancouver some Canadian carried to Dr. McLoughlin a sample of his wife's baking, neatly browned and rolled in a towel. And to every one the encouraging governor said, "Bless me! Bless me! The best bread this side of London" -- a compliment the proud housewife stored ever after in her heart.³³

Cooking lessons were not isolated to Fort Vancouver or the Willamette Valley. In the Fort Nisqually Journal of August 19, 1851, for example, Hudson's Bay Company clerk Edward Huggins noted of one the servants: "Northover at home teaching his wife the art of cookery."³⁴

Yet, while some men may have taught their wives bread making and other Euro-American dishes, it also appears that older fur trade wives were training the new, younger wives. McLoughlin may have been busy collecting bread recipes, but it was his wife, Marguerite (Margaret) McKay McLoughlin (the daughter of Swiss fur trader and merchant Etienne Wadin and his Cree or Chippewa wife), who taught some of the women at Fort Vancouver how to cook. Margaret, who was described by historian Alberta Brooks Fogdall as "a loving mother and an excellent housekeeper and manager," was particularly well

qualified for the position.³⁵ She came to Fort Vancouver after a childhood spent in the Canadian fur trade around Sault Ste. Marie and a earlier marriage to Alexander McKay, one of John Jacob Astor's partners who was killed in the Tonquin maritime disaster on the Pacific coast in 1811 while trying to establish the Astorians in the coastal fur trade. She was nine years older than John McLoughlin and the mother of four McKay children when the couple met at Fort William and subsequently married. As a merchant's daughter and partner's wife, Margaret, who apparently had never learned to write, was nonetheless well schooled in the refinements thought to be important to a fur trade gentleman's wife.³⁶

In one local family history is the story of a daughter of a Cascade Indian headman, Betsy or White Wing, who was married to a Hudson's Bay Company seaman Richard Ough, who learned "White Man's Cooking" from Mrs. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver.³⁷ Similarly, the Willamette freemen may have been proud of their wife's bread and have assisted in its preparation, but it is known that at least some of the women were tutored in bread making by the Methodist missionaries in the valley.³⁸ Although historical evidence of female networks whereby one native wife taught another and older women taught younger ones is sadly lacking, it seems likely that informal networks of this sort operated among those women who were able to communicate with one another in the multi-linguistic fur trade of the Pacific Northwest.

In their own cultures, coastal native women not only

produced the household utensils which served their family needs, but such items as cedar bark mats and finely woven baskets had economic value as trade goods with the fur trade companies. Among their own people, Chinook and other coastal women controlled the food supply, gathered and processed many edibles and exchanged their surplus products in the native trading system.³⁹

In the new scheme of things, native tools were gradually replaced by English-American consumer goods such as washing barrels, covered pails and "bakers;" items used by women in American households and introduction to fur trade wives by female missionaries and nuns during the 1830s and 40s.⁴⁰ At the forts, some of the women's jurisdiction over food was undermined by the agricultural enterprises of the Hudson's Bay Company, which supplied many of their families' needs through their husbands' rations and goods purchased at the company store. The result was that the highly independent coastal women lost much of their traditional power as their management over local crafts and the family food supply were supplanted by the capitalist and male oriented fur trade.⁴¹

Despite the attempts of husbands and older fur trade wives to teach native wives the arts of Euro-American domesticity, however, both the female missionaries and nuns, who were largely from middle class backgrounds, agreed that fur trade wives were "not first rate housekeepers."⁴² There were shortages of Hudson's Bay Company merchandise. The "old chemise," patched dresses and knee length pieces of dirty

cloth fastened to shoe tops, as leggings, that were worn by servants' wives "quite shocked" the Belgian Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur when they arrived in 1844 in the Willamette Valley, after almost seven months at sea from Antwerp. Apparently, the coastal native practice of eating head lice had stopped, but as a result the women and girls were covered with a "prodigious number of certain insects" and "almost every scalp was marked with unhealed irritations."⁴³

The nature of the fur trade itself stamped domestic life with characteristics different from its Euro-American counterpart. The high degree of mobility among fur trade families, especially those who travelled on the year long brigades, made the acquisition of material goods impractical. As a result, it was, as the missionary Narcissa Whitman recorded, "the custom of the country to possess nothing and then you will lose nothing while traveling."⁴⁴ Moreover, officers' wives had servants to perform the drudgery associated with women's work in North American society, while many of the servants' wives had Indian slaves to assist them. The missionary ladies, whose sense of domesticity were based on their ethnocentric concepts, misunderstood the labour of native wives and believed it was "not very fashionable for women to do any kind of work, especially housework."⁴⁵

Nevertheless, at least some native and Metis wives quickly added to what their husbands had taught them by copying the domestic practices of their white women mentors. For example, Mary Walker, a missionary, noted that Jane, the

Metis wife of chief trader Archibald McDonald, was "fond of making improvements, particularly in cooking" and quite readily learned how to prepare such Yankee dishes as "toast, custards, puddings, and gingerbread" from her instruction.⁴⁶ In the Willamette Valley, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, were similarly engaged in teaching the servant's wives the basic arts of Euro-American housekeeping.⁴⁷

While fur trade domesticity bore only a passing resemblance to its Euro-American counterpart, the traders' slavish attempts to imitate the Euro-American cult of the 'womanly woman' inevitably stamped their wives and Metis daughters with distinctive characteristics.⁴⁸ Exemplary behaviour for women was considered highly desirable. The intangible virtues of white womanhood such as chastity, modesty, kindness, hospitality and humanity were heavily stressed. It appears that if a husband failed to make headway with his native wife, his Metis daughters often displayed submissive, passive and demure countenances. Indeed, the impression is given that Metis women married to officers were altruistic and self-sacrificing individuals. As a unknown contemporary wrote of Jane Klyne, wife of Archibald McDonald, she "went about doing little acts of kindness."⁴⁹

By conforming to their husbands' vision of white womanhood, however, officers' wives appear to have gained considerable influence in household and, in some circumstances, Hudson's Bay Company matters. For example, Dr. William McKay (the grandson of Mrs. McLoughlin), recalled that

when his step-grandfather chief factor McLoughlin, was in a fit of anger, acting "impetuous and ungovernable" and threatening some "terrible penalty" on an employee who had made a mistake, his grandmother would continue "with her knitting, for she was always busy; [and] when the exuberance of wrath had somewhat subsided she made wise suggestions, and in the end was always able to bring him to reason and induce him to do exactly what was right."⁵⁰

Nevertheless, observations of Indian life did little to lessen the traders' belief that the minds of native women were unfathomable, their cultural outlook uncivilized, and that very little could be expected of them beyond passive obedience to their husbands.⁵¹ Such thinking coincided with the most common and conservative Euro-American prescription for the 'proper' education of women, which held that "sexual morality was the key to innocence and, moreover, the root of all morality." Such education was not meant to expand the intellect, but to direct women to their proper sphere of womanhood. The basic lesson was one which reminded women that they were dependent on men for their welfare.⁵²

VI

The first stage of the transformation process in Oregon was to change the sexual habits of native girls in an attempt to insure that they would be virgins at the time of marriage. In Quebec, where many of the servants had been raised, the principal virtue for women, according to historian Peter Moogk, was chastity. It was the one quality, above all others,

men sought in their wives.⁵³ The extraordinary emphasis placed on purity, however, was elevated to new heights in the fur trade of the Pacific coast where the high incidence of venereal disease made traders wary of sexual promiscuity and adultery. In 1825, Governor George Simpson lamented about the gentlemen in Columbia District who, he felt, were more interested in the chastity of their wives and in their families in general than they were in Company business.⁵⁴ If Simpsons' views were correct, then it seems that chastity held less importance for the wives than it did for their husbands.

So strong was the desire for virtuous and faithful wives that the traders worked to bring about changes in the sexual conventions of their largest supplier of brides, the Chinook. In the pre-contact period, the Chinook had not regarded chastity before marriage as an asset, but in the post-contact era, they began to closely guard girls of high rank in the tribes. The importance white men placed on sexual innocence may have had little meaning to them, but they understood clearly that virgins would fetch the highest bride prices, would marry the most important white men, and would secure the continuation of the Chinook role as middlemen in the coastal fur trade.⁵⁵

Despite the efforts of the Chinook headmen to restrain their daughters, prostitution was not curbed and the traders continued to think that coastal girls had been raised in permissive sexual climates where "chastity was not looked

upon as a virtue."⁵⁶ As a consequence, they assumed these native women had greater sexual appetites than their white counterparts and a pervasive sense of 'manhood in danger' was evident in such behaviour as keeping their wives under close scrutiny. In April of 1825, when Governor George Simpson was at Okanagan as part of his first tour of inspection of Columbia, he noted in his journal:

...it is a lamentable fact that two Chief Traders out of Three now in the Columbia say Messrs D....& M....are so much under the influence of their Women and so watchful of their chastity that what they say is Law and they can not muster sufficient resolution in themselves or confidence in their Ladies to be 5 minutes on end out of their presence and even for that short time keep them under Lock & Key altho they have more than once discovered that "Love laughs at Locksmiths."⁵⁷

The traders' concerns with chastity were probably fueled by the growing belief in Euro-American society that lusty female sexual behaviour was deviant and could be hereditary.⁵⁸ In Euro-American society, the denial that women had sexual urges safeguarded male sexual potency, but it was hard to give credence to this belief when native wives ran off with Indian lovers.⁵⁹ A great deal of what Sigmund Freud called 'reaction formation,' an arsenal of psychological defenses whereby the individual or group converts impermissible or horrifying thoughts into their opposite, such as fear of effeminacy into ostentatious toughness, appears to have taken place among the fur traders.⁶⁰

Through such 'reaction formations', traders enlarged and expanded upon Euro-American and Indian concepts of

masculinity, until they represented the very quintessence of frontier masculinity. They cultivated virility, mental toughness, and physical strength; their Metis sons strutted their masculinity like "Great Dandies" or "Peacocks".⁶¹

Studies on the concept of masculinity in North America are relatively new, but as labour historians are beginning to point out, the masculine ideal was bound up with a worker's pride and skill at his job, his status among his peers, the competition as well as the teamwork between himself and his fellow workers. For the frontier worker, the outdoor nature of the work allowed for a certain amount of freedom since the work could never be fully controlled from above or routinized.⁶² While manliness in the fur trade has yet to be studied, it seems reasonable to assume that at least some Hudson's Bay Company employees regarded their work as voyageurs, trappers, hunters, and brigade leaders as a challenge, a test of their physical strength and stamina. Like the "machismo" norm in Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba which stresses the display of male power, however, the traders elevated the cult of 'masculinity' to the extent that Indian and Metis women were made the 'weaker sex' -- both worshipped and abused, placed on a pedestal or beaten at the discretion of husbands and fathers.⁶³

Initially, the traders' marriages to native girls mixed Indian and Euro-American practices. In coastal native cultures, marriages were arranged by parents and most daughters dutifully followed their parents' wishes in the

choice of a husband.⁶⁴ Fathers frequently offered their daughters to the traders and they followed the Indian custom of paying a bride price for the young girls.⁶⁵ As a parting gesture, the father of Chinook daughters of high rank gave them a farewell potlatch before they crossed the Columbia River to Fort Astoria to begin their new lives.⁶⁶

The wedding ceremony exposed the girls to their first rites of passage. In the early years of the fur trade at Fort Astoria (George), brides were subjected to a kind of symbolic purification whereby the girl's short cedar bark skirt and salmon oil cosmetics were removed and replaced with cumbersome Euro-American petticoats, shirts and leggings, which covered their bare breasts and legs.⁶⁷ Such rituals may have had a positive psychological effect in converting Indian girls into fur trade wives. At least, in the reverse circumstance, when Euro-American women were captured by Eastern Indians and beaten and bathed to remove their 'whiteness' before being adopted, they reported that they felt truly 'Indian' after the experience.⁶⁸

As part of their wedding ceremony, new brides witnessed Euro-American dancing and the effects, if not the taste, of alcohol. After the establishment of Fort Langley in 1827 when a "great flurry of bride buying" took place, marriages were celebrated with a "half pint" of rum and sometimes with a dance.⁶⁹ The new brides were now removed from their kin, where polygamy and the sharing of duties between wives was normal, to a monogamist society where individual women were

more likely to be responsible for their own households and children.⁷⁰

It was generally agreed that the task of educating wives was a difficult one since much of the women's native culture had to be eradicated. In the battle against the forces which had shaped the women in childhood, all the Euro-American institutions at the traders' disposal were employed. The teachings and practices of Christianity were particularly important. As part of their indoctrination, wives' names (which were unpronounceable to most whites), were replaced by Christian ones.⁷¹ Long before the arrival of priests and clergymen, native wives heard Sunday Bible readings at Fort George and Fort Vancouver and witnessed religious celebrations such as Tous Saints and Christmas.⁷² In all of this, the women were made aware that the scriptures taught that a woman should forsake her father and mother and cleave to her husband with full confidence in him as being next to God.⁷³

With the establishment of Catholic and Protestant Missions in Oregon during the 1830s, most wives were converted, if only nominally, and couples were married according to the doctrines of the church. As the Methodist and Catholic Church Records of Fort Vancouver and the parish of St. Paul in the Willamette Valley amply demonstrate, Metis infants were baptised and raised as Methodists or Catholics. Godparenting among the Catholics followed the customs of Quebec where prominent citizens were godparents many times over to infants of humbler parentage.⁷⁴

From Catholicism came a persuasive ideology of true womanhood. Rooted in the veneration of the Virgin, the symbol of self-sacrifice, passivity and motherhood, Catholicism promulgated its views of the true role of women as effectively as the Protestant version brought to Oregon by the American missionary women. In time, Christianity would become one of the most persistent features of Metis communities, distinguishing the Metis from the Indian and allowing mixed-blood people to be more readily absorbed into the dominant society later on.⁷⁵

As the years passed, marriage alliances between Hudson's Bay Company employees and Indian women became less important to the profits of the trade. Moreover, there were fewer native women to marry after the malaria epidemics had severely reduced the coastal tribes. The new fur trade recruits increasingly took Metis daughters as wives because they exhibited the virtues of femininity more often than their native mothers and offered patronage ties within the fur trade. Rather than purchase Metis girls, marriages were arranged by parental permission, as was common in mainstream North America, and the couples were usually married by clergy. Moreover, for native wives who were widowed or deserted, subsequent marriages were often arranged by the gentlemen of the company, not by their native kin. Thus, "Utah," as the servants called Peter Ogden, could order a widow, whose husband had just been killed, to marry another trader immediately.⁷⁶

VII

Of course, the idealized wife as envisioned by the fur traders was as much a figure of the imagination as it was real. The actual degree of acculturation of native women to fur trade life and Euro-American beliefs is difficult to measure. Although many criticisms were levied against the women's native customs, it did not mean that they were abandoned. For some wives, the marriage alliance gave them contact with whites without fully separating them from their people. For others, there was no going home. What can be said with certainty is that cultural systems are both resilient and persistent and that many Indian wives must have struggled in their lives coping with a tangle of traditional native roles and newly acquired white behavior patterns.

For example, in November 1835, when the daughter of a Sequalitchew Indian headman began her first menses while working as a servant in the household of William Kittson at Fort Nisqually, "she attempted to follow the tribal ritual prescribed for such an event by not eating or drinking during the period of the flow." On the job, however, she could not seclude herself in a menstruation hut nor conduct the required rituals for cleanliness. After her third day of fasting, she fainted. Kittson intervened over the objections of her parents by stopping "the superstitious practice." He put an end to the fasting, but worked out a compromise on the rituals, whereby she was ordered to "bathe nights and morning for ten nights" and was not allowed to enter the main house at the

fort for one month.⁷⁷

Arriving at such compromises was not without difficulty. The Fort Langley journals for 1828-29 depict a running battle between husbands who attempted to keep their highly independent Fraser and Columbia River native wives "within due bounds," sometimes by giving them a "sound drubbing," and the wives who were continually "decamping", or running away because they felt they were badly treated.⁷⁸ In the new environment, the traditional behavioral boundaries, such as those imposed by native husbands on their wives in tribal society, were gone and new ones which the traders offered appear to have been poorly understood.⁷⁹

Even among officers' wives, who were considered to be the most acculturated to Euro-American lifestyles, native practices continued. For example, once a year Charlotte Birnie, the Cree-Metis wife of James Birnie at Fort George (Astoria), followed Chinook traditions and went to Shoalwater Bay each year for elk meat, clams and cranberries. According to Thomas Strong Nelson, who was a young boy at the time:

Mrs. Birnie's canoe was one of the wonders of the lower river. No larger one in the memory of Indians had ever been seen there. It was said that it could carry seventy people. In the fall of the year this canoe, manned by twenty or thirty Indian men and women, with all their belongings and household furniture aboard, would start seaward from Cathlamet. Mrs. Birnie, all fire and energy, would be in command, and no woman on the river could command better ... After a few weeks of hunting and fishing the party, with its spoils, would return ... Mrs. Birnie would doff her Indian character and again assume her role as the grand dame of Birnie

Hall.⁸⁰

There was much ambivalence in traders' attempts to mould their native wives into white women for they also recognized that they were Indians with certain skills and attributes which made a sizable contribution to the profits of their business enterprise. Traders relied on the native women's expertise at Indian domesticity in the wilderness and their ability to act as liaisons with other tribes.⁸¹ Many of the servants' wives provided cheap and necessary labour around the forts, doing such things as planting and harvesting the Hudson's Bay Company's potato and other crops.⁸²

Some servants, like the English-born George Gay, professed that a single native wife was "worth three white women," but, by and large, his attitude was unusual.⁸³ More often, in the early years of fur operations in the Pacific, the impression is given that traders employed a double standard -- extolling the sanctity of marriage in their countries of origin, while shunning it in the fur trade. Michael La Framboise, a literate French Canadian Astorian, who later worked for the Hudson's Bay Company as an interpreter and as the Umpqua-California brigade leader, boasted of a wife in every tribe, yet with, the arrival of the priests in 1838, he married Emelie Picard, a Metis girl, whom he taught both French and English "in a winter of deep snow", and lived out his life as a "provident, if indulgent, father" to their children.⁸⁴

Framboise, however, was somewhat exceptional. In reality,

the cavalier image the men presented and what they actually did were inconsistent. "The marriage tie is not indissoluble," wrote clerk Ross Cox about Chinook marriage, yet only three Astorian clerks are known to have abandoned their Chinook and Clatsop wives and children when Fort Astoria was taken over by the Northwest Company in 1814 and some Astorians returned East.⁸⁵ In 1825, Governor George Simpson advocated that the "Women and Children (be) sent to their Indian relatives" to reduce company expenditures west of the Rockie Mountains, but it does not appear that his plan was ever carried out.⁸⁶ At Fort Langley, native wives were threatened with being 'turned-off' or abandoned if they did not obey their husbands, but this too seems to have been an idle threat.⁸⁷

From the Indian perspective, "fur gathering people did not seem to be permanent guests" since they had not brought their wives and families with them.⁸⁸ When they gave their daughters in marriage, they probably expected them to come back to the tribe when the strangers left. But, as time passed and the newcomers became permanent settlers, it became much harder for the women and their Metis children to return to their Indian relatives.

While traders apparently assumed that the wives they abandoned would be happier among their own people, it appears many of the women were no longer welcome or could not adapt to their former lifestyle after exposure to fur trade life. Moreover, "if a wife were to be sent back to her family, it

would disgrace her as well as her family." The girls' bride price had brought honor to their families; being 'cast-off' signified that a solemn promise with the white man had been broken. The woman's family and tribe shared in the shame.⁸⁹

For some wives, returning to their kin meant the anguish of abandoning Metis children to their husbands or the Company. The women were aware that their youngsters could be cruelly treated by the larger, full blooded children on account of their birth and realized they had no means of supporting them. Sister Mary Dominica McNamee writes that, in the aftermath of the California gold rush of 1848-49, where many of the retired servants from the Willamette died, some of their native widows upon returning to the valley abandoned their children to the care of the nuns. She writes:

From that time on, Sainte Marie de Willamette might be classed a home for orphans, children whose fathers died on the mining expedition and whose mothers returned to their native villages when they found themselves without support.⁹⁰

Throughout the West, native women were aware of their plight. After the mid-nineteenth century, they came to believe the only way to safeguard their unions with white men was to be married by clergy. Nat-ah-ki, the Blackfoot wife of free trader, James Schultz, confided to her husband that: "Many white men who have married women of our tribe according to our customs, have used them only as playthings and then have left them. But those who took women by the sacred words of the sacred white man, have never left them."⁹¹ In the end, many cast-off wives in Columbia either remarried other

traders or assumed a kind of beggarly existence in the vicinity of the forts. Others, as noted, returned to their tribes.⁹²

VIII

As part of their conversion to Christianity, native wives were supposed to forsake their 'pagan' superstitions, including those concerned with childbirth. In effect, Christian beliefs and the fur trade lifestyle required that the women relinquish the most visible aspects of womanhood in their own cultures, namely their menstrual and childbirth huts, and most importantly, the ancient psychological support system which had guided their mothers and grandmothers through pregnancy and childbirth.⁹³

In the early years of the fur trade, however, at least some aspects of traditional native childbirth practices remained in force. At Fort Nisqually, birth lodges were in use as late as the 1850s by the local Indian women who often worked at the fort, and may have also been employed by their female relatives who had married traders.⁹⁴

Prior to 1824, when the Hudson's Bay Company was reorganized west of the Rockies, traders tended to spend the better part of a year at a single fort. Wives were largely drawn from tribes in close proximity to the forts. These were women who shared a common culture and were related to one another through kinship lineage. As such, they could exercise a powerful collective influence over the men. It was in the traders' self-interest to respect the wishes of their wives

when they were nearing childbirth, since they were greatly outnumbered by Indians and dependent on them for furs and foodstuffs. Coastal native people were still considered hostile and traders would have been foolhardy to jeopardize their welfare by offending their women.⁹⁵ "It is a lamentable fact," wrote Simpson, "that almost every difficulty we have had with Indians throughout the Country may be traced to our interference with their Women."⁹⁶ Moreover, if a woman died in childbirth, the traders could avoid the wrath of their native in-laws by insuring that traditional childbirth practices had been followed.⁹⁷

This did not mean that being born into the fur trade was free of strife. At the outset, there was a sharp cultural conflict between fur trade fathers and Chinook mothers over the flattening of their children's heads. The men refused to tolerate the practice. When ordered to remove the strap or board from the baby's skull, some wives responded by killing their infants instead. As the Hudson's Bay Company came to exercise increasing influence over the lives of the wives, however, the clash over head flattening disappeared. Metis infants' heads were left untouched.⁹⁸

As part of the 1824-25 re-organization of the fur trade in Oregon, Governor George Simpson felt it was "necessary that a radical change should take place."⁹⁹ Simpson's main goal was to increase profits and to that end he greatly increased the mobility of fur trade families. Traders were no longer allowed to sit idle at the posts as they had previously done.

Instead, they became part of a mobile labour force moving from one post to another within the district with their wives and families as the expanding trade required over the next two decades.

Such traffic did not always lead to harmonious relations between the women, especially when wives from tribes that had been traditional enemies were housed within the same fort compound. Confrontations took place. For example, on March 20, 1829, Fraser River and Columbia River wives at Fort Langley "proceeded to actual blows." The "heroines" in this particular evening fray were the "enlightened ones imported from the Columbia," but the hostilities did not end.¹⁰⁰ Ultimately, chief factor John McLoughlin was forced to ban Fraser River wives from the company's headquarters at Fort Vancouver because of the 'trouble they caused' with other women.

Under Simpson's guidance and McLoughlin's instructions, the years came to be punctuated by annual and semi-annual brigades from Fort Vancouver to California, the perimeters of the Snake River Plain and the adjoining sections of Utah and Nevada, New Caledonia and Hudson's Bay itself. In addition to furs and cargo, the men brought back wives from these areas so that a multicultural Indian and Metis female population developed at the forts in the Pacific Northwest. The wives were now often geographically and culturally divorced from their own people and any hope of giving birth among them in traditional native setting and fashion quickly vanished.

Chinook women, for example, continued to be the largest single group of native fur trade wives at Fort Vancouver. Once the majority at Fort Astoria (George), they were now a minority in a diverse collection of wives from both sides of the mountains and north and south of the Columbia River. [See: Chart I] Moreover, their once powerful Indian culture had been severely eroded by disease. In the wake of the 'cultural despair' which followed, Chinook women had few choices but to try and acculturate to the new order.¹⁰¹

The diverse native backgrounds of the wives, however, does not appear to have produced an equally large variety of native childbirth methods in the fur trade. Despite female interpreters, language barriers between the women were nearly insurmountable. According to Indian historian Cecelia Carpenter, a member of the Nisqually Indian Tribe, the Chinook jargon, the trade patois was "sketchy at best."¹⁰² In addition to the problems of communications, little evidence has been found to show that wives had any more knowledge about giving birth than their husbands. Traders tended to marry very young native girls, sometimes before they reached the age of menarche. In all likelihood, only a few of these teenagers had been instructed in the art of childbirth before they were married and moved away from their families to the forts.¹⁰³

In general, Indian education prepared children for adult life by focusing on what was considered to be the appropriate and important forms of learning at each stage of growth, so that certain stages were designated as the correct ones to

begin instructing children in specific subjects and tasks.¹⁰⁴ Although there is some suggestion that post-pubescent Chinook girls learned about childbirth by assisting older women, secrecy usually surrounded the event.¹⁰⁵ In turn, the Metis daughters who were weaned on the cult of Victorian womanhood and the teachings of the Church, appear to have been even less informed than their mothers.¹⁰⁶ In both native and Euro-American societies, keeping girls ignorant about childbirth in order to relieve their fears about pain and death appears to have had a long history. This "wall of silence" functioned because each culture had support systems composed of childbirth specialists who were available to guide the pregnant woman through confinement. Women were thus educated about childbirth by their own delivery experiences.

In the fur trade, these support systems were lost, and new ones were in short supply. Consequently, it appears that some women were left to manage childbirth as best they could. Estranged from traditional native methods, kept innocent by their husbands, the expectant mothers faced a rude awakening when childbirth occurred. A Metis girl on the Canadian prairies, Marie Rose Smith, left an account of her first childbirth experience. She relates how her convent schooling failed to provide her with the necessary knowledge for childbirth. Although in a different setting and time period, it is not unreasonable to suggest that her experience may have been similar to that of the fur trade girls who attended the convent schools established in the Willamette and Oregon City

Chart I

Population and Languages of Native Wives of Known Tribes
at the Fort Vancouver Servants Village Taken From
Recorded Marriages (1827-1860)

<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Wife Population</u>	<u>Language</u>
1. Chinook	25	Lower Chinookan [LC]
2. Walla Walla	11	Sahaptin (West)
3. Cowlitz	9	Coast Salish [CS]
4. Chehalis	6	CS
5. Dallas	5	Upper Chinook [UC]
6. Nisqually	4	CS
7. Cayuse	4	--
8. Cascade	4	UC
9. Kathlamet	3	LC
10. Cowichan	3	CS
11. Calapooya	3	Calapuyan
12. Smomish	2	CS
13. Spokane	2	Interior Salish [IS]
14. Pend d'Oreilles	2	IS
15. Nez Perce	2	Sahaptin (East)
16. Clatsop	2	LC
17. Kalama	1	LC
18. Willamette	1	LC
19. Snake	1	Paiute
20. Okanagan	1	Interior Salish
21. Clallum (Klallam)	1	CS
22. Killmoux (Tillamook)	1	CS
23. Stikine	1	Tlingit
24. Molelis (Mollala)	1	--
25. Shasta	1	Shastan
26. Nipissing	<u>1</u>	Chippewan
Total	97	

+ 15 other native wives whose tribal origin cannot be identified

+ 142 Metis women of varied native ancestry

Total 254

These figures do not include officers' wives living inside the fort.

[Adapted from Susan Kardas, "The People Brought This and the Clatsop Became Rich," PhD. Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1971, pp. 208-13.]

by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. Her grandson, Jock Carpenter, who has edited her writing, states:

Little Joseph arrived on July 12, 1878 at Chicken Prairie, North West Territories...[where] they were camped. The young wife was not prepared for the violence of birthing and scarcely recognized the sounds wrenched from her clenched teeth as being her own.¹⁰⁷

IX

Unfortunately, neither officers nor servants left much information describing how their children were born.¹⁰⁸ Notices of Metis birth, if given at all, are usually conveyed in single lines sandwiched between other daily occurrences. A typical birth entry from the Fort Nisqually (Puget Sound) Journal of 1834 reads:

Wiscum McDonald has had an addition to his family, a daughter. Fair weather ... Anawiscum McDonald is making wheelbarrows. Louis' wife gave birth to a daughter. Traded a couple of beaver skins from a Chief of the Squamish.¹⁰⁹

Such fragmented writings form the bulk of the traders' records that concerned childbirth at the forts. Although there are a few references to the mothers, fathers' names are mentioned more frequently and indicate that British law, which made the child the legal property of its father, was in effect in the Company's territory.¹¹⁰

Away from the doctors and the civilized surroundings of the forts, however, the arrangements for birth fell to the parents. The role of the midwife, either by choice or circumstances, was often taken up by the father. Although some feminist historians have argued that childbirth in former

times was an 'all female experience', the precedent for male involvement in childbirth was found in both native coastal cultures and in Euro-American societies.¹¹¹ As medical historian J.J. Malkin points out in "The Rise of Obstetrics in British Medical Practice:"

The first specialists were the husbands ... It is clear that they ... felt themselves to be important, as the system of 'couvade,' where the women got up immediately after delivery, while the husband retired to bed for the puerperium, implies.¹¹²

Most of the traders, whether European or American born, came from rural farming communities where information about the birth of animals, if not women, would have been familiar to them. Some may have been knowledgeable about British folk practices where husband assisted in childbirth or experienced a 'gossip' where husbands, friends and relatives gathered to give support to the labouring woman and witnessed the birth. In Hawaii, where Kanaka laborers were recruited for the fur trade, childbirth was public and witnessed by men.¹¹³

In addition to this pool of knowledge, there were childbirth practices already established in the fur trade, which spread westward to the coast with the flow of commerce. Many of the employees were seasoned traders whose knowledge about childbirth stemmed from their own fatherhood experiences with native women elsewhere. Moreover, a sizable number of the servants in Oregon were themselves Metis and were probably familiar with male midwives, that is, men delivering babies, on the frontier.¹¹⁴

The journals of explorers and American missionaries to

Oregon support this conjecture. En route to the Pacific, the famous Sacajawea, the Shoshoni wife of Toussaint Charbonneau, the Metis guide and interpreter with the Lewis and Clark expedition, gave birth to a son. Sacajawea was about sixteen. It was her first birth and "labour was tedious and pain violent." Although there were other women at Fort Mandan, where the birth took place in February, 1805, it was the men who determined what should be done.

According to Lewis, all the men present made suggestions, when Rene Jussome, another member of the expedition and father of Metis children, advised using powdered rattlesnake rattle, an old Indian medicine, which was supposed to ease the pain in difficult childbirth cases. Lewis wrote:

Having the rattle of a snake by me, I gave it to (Jussome) and he administered two rings of it to the woman, broken in small pieces with the fingers, and added to a small quantity of water... I was informed that she had not taken it ten minutes before she brought forth.¹¹⁵

Another well-known figure in the history of the west, Marie Dorion, the Iowa wife of Metis Pierre Dorion, gave birth on the trail while accompanying the 1811 expedition of Astorians under Wilson Price Hunt to the Pacific. When the Dorions' joined the party with their two young children, aged four and two, Marie was pregnant. Near the site of North Powder, Oregon, Marie's third child was born with the assistance of her husband. On the day of the birth, it was snowing and the half-starved party were twice obliged to ford icy streams. Marie's advanced pregnancy was a source of

concern to the Astorians who regarded unnecessary stops and delays as threatening to their survival.

Pierre, however, treated the matter as an occurrence that could soon be arranged and need cause no delay. He remained by his wife in the camp, with his other children and his horse, and promised soon to rejoin the main body, who proceeded on their march.¹¹⁶

In 1836, Rev. Jason Lee, who was travelling with a Hudson's Bay Company brigade, noted that they "did not raise camp" the day Mrs. Walker "brought forth a son," but that, on the following day, "Mr. Walker and Squaw arrived about an hour after" the rest of the party had begun its daily march.¹¹⁷ Two years later, Sarah Smith, a member of the second overland missionary party to Oregon, who was also with a Hudson's Bay Company brigade, made a similar observation. In this case, when Mrs. Connor, the Nez Perce wife of one of the Company's freemen, went into labour, Sarah felt it was "unchristian" to leave the Connors' behind and she and her husband stayed with them during the birth. "Before sunset," wrote Sarah, "we had the happiness of welcoming to our number a little half breed. Fine little girl."¹¹⁸

Sarah and her husband Reverend Asa Smith were the only missionaries in the party who showed any concern over the birth of the Connor baby. As with other groups of travelers, it appears that husbands were expected to assist their wives in childbirth, while the rest of the party continued on their journey. The day after the Connor birth, Mary Walker, another missionary on the trek, commented; "Another quiet Sabbath. The

Squaw came into camp about 10 with her child in her arms."¹¹⁹ Such records indicate that husbands' involvement in childbirth was not only accepted, but was part of a long frontier tradition -- one which lasted among Metis families in remote areas, such as the Northwest Territories of Canada, until the late 1940s.¹²⁰

Although it is possible that Reverend Asa Smith, who was a doctor, delivered the Connors' daughter, quite a different impression is given in most records of the Connor and other trail births.¹²¹ Almost without exception, western literature suggests that native women married to white men gave birth alone on the trail. For example, after Marie Dorion's confinement, various journals indicate she and the baby rode some 20 miles to overtake the Astorians, when in fact, it was the entire Dorion family that made its appearance the next morning:

Pierre came trudging along in the advance, followed by his valued, though skeleton steed, on which was mounted his squaw with her new-born infant in her arms, and her boy of two years old wrapped in a blanket and slung at her side.¹²²

In most native and Euro-American cultures, a period of rest following birth was accepted practice. While travelling, however, post-partum women were obliged to forsake the customary lying-in time. This was as true for white women who gave birth while crossing the plains, as it was for fur trade wives on expeditions.¹²³ As Hudson's Bay Company Snake brigade leader John Work phrased it, the "sick", including women in labour, "cannot possibly be properly attended to

notwithstanding the trouble and delay occasioned to the rest of the party."¹²⁴ Among American mountain men, "hoots of disbelief and general grouching" greeted orders to lay-by camp for several days so that native wives could recover from childbirth.¹²⁵

Travelling too soon after birth, however, was detrimental to the mother's health and the child's welfare. A careful reading of various journals shows that Mrs. Connor had been sick for two days before the birth of her daughter and after rejoining the party, she quickly fell behind because of her physical condition.¹²⁶ Similarly, four months after Sacajawea gave birth, she still had not recovered. Clark attributed it "to an obstruction of the mensis [sic]" and despite his doses of bark, opium and mineral water, her restoration to health was slow.¹²⁷ Marie Dorion was also in poor health after childbirth. Her infant son died ten days after he was born, probably as a result of her inability to nurse while ill.¹²⁸

Although white women were seldom given any credit for their endurance during childbirth on the trail, the difficulties Indian women encountered were ignored and the "ease of parturition" myth was propagated. Even when it was evident that husbands were acting as midwives, authors like the American scientist John Townsend, or the first Fort Vancouver schoolteacher John Ball, felt compelled to comment that the native wives of the Hudson's Bay Company traders "generally require no assistance in delivery, being fully competent to manage the whole paraphernalia themselves."¹²⁹

Like other male commentators, Townsend and Ball attributed the ability of native women to give birth and function "as usual" the day after to some special quality of the "savage" state. What they failed to acknowledge was that all women, whether white or native, were forced to forgo the customary childbirth practices of their cultures when travelling and, as a consequence, risked their lives and those of their offspring.¹³⁰

X

Although some babies were born on the wagon trains to Oregon and California, this childbirth experience was not typical for most white woman. By contrast, giving birth while on brigade was commonplace for fur trade wives and, in fact, became a ritualized part of fur trade culture. If possible, the Hudson's Bay Company brigades would have a one or two day camp, which allowed the birth to take place and the mother a brief chance to recover. These rests may have reflected the traders' knowledge that inter-racial childbirth could be difficult. In any event, such stopovers were transformed into 'holidays' with horse races between the freemen trappers and the Indians along with other leisure pursuits.¹³¹ As well, the stops provided time for domestic chores that could not be done while travelling.¹³² Although no welcoming ceremonies for the fur trade baby (such as would have taken place in coastal native society), appear to have developed, the layovers demonstrated group solidarity during the arrival of a new community member.

Most records of fur trade children born on the trail are found in genealogical data on individuals, such as Peter Delore, who was born on a trapping expedition on January 1, 1821 near LaGrande, Oregon, or Christina MacDonald, who came into the world on September 20, 1847 at Big Camas Prairie, now Boise, Idaho, while her family was travelling.¹³³ Like the fort journals, the brigade journals were for the scrutiny of Company officials concerned with business, not domesticity or family life. As a result, there is little trace of the women and children in the writings, despite the fact that they usually outnumbered the men on the expeditions and their labour was extensively employed.¹³⁴

The arrival of a new baby, however, sometimes proved an exception to the usual business-like reports of the brigade leaders. For example, in chief trader Peter Ogden's journal of the 1824-25 Snake brigade, which was devised to keep 'the country closely hunted' on the eastern side of the Rockies as a means of safeguarding it from American competition, there are such occasional references as, "During the night Madame Montour increased our numbers with a fine boy."¹³⁵ Similarly, chief trader John Work's 1830 Snake River journal periodically recorded a birth: "Pritchett's wife in Labor we did not move camp... The woman delivered of a boy."¹³⁶

More commonly, however, childbirth went without notice. On one of the Snake expeditions, Ogden's wife Julia gave birth in a crude shelter in the bitter cold of winter after eight months of hardship and hunger. Their son only lived two

weeks, yet no record of his birth or death appear in the official journals.¹³⁷ On another Snake brigade, Work noted: "A child of J.S. Loranger's six week old who had been sick for some time, also died." Although it was March and the brigade had left Fort Vancouver in August, the child's birth, which must have occurred en route, was not mentioned.¹³⁸

Catherine McDonald's recollections of her girlhood experiences on a brigade provide some important insights about the role of the women and children. She writes of a lengthy trip to the mouth of the Colorado River in 1841, when she accompanied her mother Margaret, a Nez Perce woman, and her father Baptiste, an "Iroquois Frenchman," who was a long-time employee in the Hudson's Bay Company.

The first river we crossed was a swift stream of about 70 paces broad. The men made rafts to carry their little baggage, the women stripped and lightening their saddles on their best horses plunged into the stream with them, having tied their children one by one on their backs, and swimming along with their horses on the side made several trips that way across the river before they had their children all landed safely, as they would not trust their little ones to the ripples. I swam bearing my little brother, whilst my stepmother swam with her young child, my sister. The women were stripped to the cotton shirt. The water was very cold, rushing from its parent spring and higher peaks. Our hands and limbs were red as wild roses from the burning chill of the water, but the air was healthy and then the sun was cloudless and strong, and camping at once and the boiling soup and roasting of choicest bits of venison and faring generously thereon we were soon comfortable and joking on the different costumes of the women whose drenched shirts stuck to their bodies shaping them as if entirely nude.¹³⁹

While this passage portrays the communal endeavors of the women, it cannot be said with certainty that the domestic

arrangements made by the wives included childbirth. Not only were there male assisted births, but some women preferred to be confined alone. Later in life as a fur trader's wife, Catherine elected to give birth alone, even though her husband Angus McDonald, an officer in the Hudson's Bay Company, encouraged her to be attended by a fort doctor. She believed that babies brought into the world without midwives were more "self reliant and brave." This idea which she attributed to her mother Margaret indicates that at least some Indian childbirth practices were passed from native mother to Metis daughter.¹⁴⁰ Since Margaret had been on many Hudson's Bay Company brigades, it is reasonable to assume that she gave birth to one or more of her six children in the solitary fashion she described to her daughter, despite the presence of other women and her husband on the journeys.¹⁴¹

As the fur trade established itself in Columbia, wives in an advanced state of pregnancy were often left at the forts, while their husbands went on brigade. Some, however, preferred the hardships of travel and confinement with their husbands to the safety of the forts. For example, Josette Legace, the half-Spokane wife of John Work, insisted on travelling with him and bringing their three young daughters in spite of Work's decision to leave his family behind because "the misery is too great." In 1832, they went on the brigade to California, although they had just returned from more than 2000 miles on the Snake brigade a month earlier and had been attacked by hostile Blackfeet Indians.¹⁴²

For Chinook and other coastal wives, childbirth on brigade took place without their birthing huts, the post-natal rest period, or the psychological support system that guided them through labour in their own cultures. On the other hand, Indian wives from interior plateau groups such as the Spokane and Nez Perce came from equestrian, buffalo hunting cultures where trail births were commonplace. For them, the transition to fur trade brigades was probably less traumatic than for the coastal wives where the horse was a recent introduction to their maritime cultures. In addition to the transitions required to give birth on the trail, Chinook women had first to acquire the equestrian skills necessary for brigade travel itself.¹⁴³

XI

It is difficult to imagine a wider cultural chasm than that which existed between native wives and their fur trade husbands. Native wives were thrust into a world of alien values, which required them to make changes in the most intimate aspect of their lives, their sexuality. Seldom facing childbirth alone in native cultures, they now faced the trauma of pregnancy and childbirth in a male dominated foreign society where little consideration was shown to them. In the new fort environments, even the company of other wives from different cultures and language groups may not have sustained their loss in a meaningful way. The reasons native women married fur traders varied, but many paid for whatever new status they acquired with more frequent pregnancies and

greater dangers to themselves and their infants in interracial childbirth without the comfort of native kin. The generational discontinuity inherent in their new lifestyles as traders' wives meant that the women often faced the extra burden of more children to care for without the help of mothers or grandmothers.¹⁴⁴ As a result, the women seem to have placed a greater reliance on their husbands than might otherwise have been the case, following their lead even in matters of childbirth.

While it is possible to trace the changing childbirth methods used in the fur trade, historical examination does not yield any unique fur trade or Metis beliefs about birth. Rather, it seems that in the coming together of native women and Euro-American traders, a selective 'immigration-like' process was at work so that only the women of certain tribes and men from certain backgrounds and nationalities were represented in the fur trade population. In general, the traders in Columbia favored wives from Indian cultures which taught young girls to respect men and be submissive to them. Women from the Plateau cultures such as the Spokane (Flathead) and Okanagan were preferred over Chinook and other coastal women because they were assumed to be modest, chaste and "made good housewives." Although the traders concluded that Chinook women were faithful wives once married, some men were not above deserting their coastal wives and paying large bride prices in order to secure girls from the Flathead tribes, who were chaperoned by their mothers throughout their

courtships.¹⁴⁵

In the mixing, mingling and juxtaposing of people and ideas that comprised fur trade culture, such notions as female chastity took on new importance, while other beliefs were simplified or diminished. The evolution of Metis culture shared many of the same characteristics identified by theorists on the formation of new societies in eastern North America. Louis Hartz's idea of the "fragment" whereby North America was colonized by select groups or fragments of the colonizing population and his assertion that such fragments lacked the vitality needed to produce creative new ideas are borne out by other more recent studies and seem applicable to fur trade culture. For example, historian Peter Moogk has demonstrated that the type of colonist selected for New France enhanced conservatism in the colony, discouraged innovation, and simplified French culture, so that the culture of New France was impoverished when compared to that of the mother country France.

Similarly, in the fur trade milieu, something akin to the conservative forces which conspired to discourage creativity in New France, seem to have been at work insuring that fur trade-cum-Metis culture would be one where the impulse to preserve the existing social structure was stronger than the impulse to change society. As historian Frits Pannekoek has stated of the Canadian prairie setting, the Metis "responded to the events that were changing Red River's social structure; they did not initiate them." ¹⁴⁶

Put in the context of Columbia, it appears that many pagan native beliefs and rituals lost their original meaning and function. In this process, it appears that the creativity needed to generate new folk practices, especially where childbirth was concerned, did not exist. With the exception of childbirth on the brigades, the birth of Metis children appears to have moved quickly from traditional native methods to those of the dominant society of the traders and incoming settlers.

The transformation of native women to fur trade wives was not a smooth one. The encroaching fur traders sought to establish equilibrium between themselves and the Indians by evolving collaborative relationships with Indian girls through marriage. There was mutual accommodation, but there was also an overriding desire on the part of the traders to educate their wives to white womanhood. Their efforts were not entirely successful. The women entered the forts in the Pacific Northwest as natives, but they did not necessarily emerge on the other side scrubbed clean of their culture or acculturated to Euro-American standards.

In the wake of the transitional process, many native wives appear to have been left ignorant about childbirth and without any kind of a traditional support system to guide them. Indeed, the desire of traders to turn their native women into white ladies fostered sexual innocence and promoted the adoption of Euro-American childbirth practices. In the processes of interaction, cultural differences in native

childbirth methods were modified or eradicated in favour of childbirth practices based on Euro-American class distinctions. Increasingly, how women gave birth and who brought Metis children into the world was determined by the status of their husbands in the fur trade hierarchy. The fur trade newborn did not enter the world as their mothers had done. The richness of the cultural traditions in native societies was lost to the trader's child in the pursuit of furs. Eventually, it would be the Metis midwives and Hudson's Bay Company and American doctors of their fathers' culture who would determine how fur trade children would be born.

Notes

1. Jamake Highwater, The Primal Mind: Vision and Reality in Indian America, New York, New American Library, 1981, pp. 37, 119; Wolfgang G. Jilek, M.D., Indian Healing: Shamanic Ceremonialism in the Pacific Northwest Today, Surrey, Hancock House Publishers Ltd., 1988, pp. 5-6.
2. G.P. Bissell, "Description of Proceedings of the Clalam Squaws of Puget Sound in Some Cases of Difficulty in Accouchement," California Medical Journal, Vol. 10, 1889, p. 227; Fred Treon, "Obstetrics Among the Sioux Indian Women," Cincinnati Lancet-Clinic, Series 2, Vol. 24, 1890, p. 13.
3. Barbara Griggs, Green Pharmacy, Toronto, Methuen, 1981, pp. 174-175.
4. Germaine Greer, Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility, New York, Harper and Row Publishers, 1984, p. 18.
5. On European childbirth superstitions, see: Jean Donnison, Midwives and Medical Men, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1977, p. 4; Edward Shorter, A History of Women's Bodies, New York, Basic Books, 1982, pp. 49-53.
6. For examples, see: George Engelmann, Labor Among Primitive People, St. Louis, J.H. Chambers and Company, 1883.
7. Nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropology stressed linguistics, general ethnology and field methods. Texts were laid out so that the sum total of the various studies of native life styles were thought to equal culture. This model failed to acknowledge change over time and the relationship between the various subjects studied. Further, it made little attempt to deal with the collective consciousness of the people or the dynamics of intersocietal relationships. In these writings, native legends often appeared as 'quaint' and native people were often regarded as 'living fossils.' Such descriptions of native cultures bear little resemblance to what Metis author Jamake Highwater and others now regard as the essence of native life, namely a holistic world view operating on cyclical rhythms of seasons and biological life changes in which Euro-American concepts of reality and time had no place. On the evolution of anthropology, see: George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982, pp. 277-282. For examples of recent writings which have challenged the older perceptions of native cultures, see: Highwater, The Primal Mind, pp. 82-83, 104-109; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian, New York, Vintage Books, 1979, pp. 34-55.

8. Andrew Currier, "A Study Relative to the Function of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," Transactions of the American Gynecological Society, Vol. 16, 1891, p. 266. Also see: Engelmann, Labor Among Primitive People, p. 13; McClellan, "Obstetric Procedures Among Certain of the Aborigines of North America," Transactions of the Kentucky State Medical Society, 1878, p. 88; Guy Godfrey, "The Indian Woman in Labour," Medical Record, Vol. 46, 1894, p. 690; John Rothrock, "Pregnancy and Childbirth Among North American Indians," Minnesota Medicine, Vol. 22, 1939, p. 750; Franz Boas, Chinook Text, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1894, p. 5; Greer, Sex and Destiny, p. 19.

9. Highwater, p. 76.

10. In Chinook culture indemnities, such as a slave or a canoe, had to be paid to the husband's relatives as a kind of atonement when an infant died to compensate for the dead baby. Other taboos related to consumption, included avoiding red berries which were thought to be the source of birthmarks. The expectant parents were cautioned to abstain from any foodstuffs which had been found. Drinking water had to be fresh. The mother-to-be was threatened that if she failed to observe such food prohibitions the entire tribe would suffer food shortages in the future. See: Boas, Chinook Text, pp. 11, 251; Verne F. Ray, Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1938, pp. 67-68; Hermann Haeberlin, Erna Gunther, The Indians of Puget Sound, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1980, p. 54; O. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon: A Medical History, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1947, p. 8; George Pierre Castile, ed., The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1985, pp. 295-296.

11. On Euro-American superstitions about childbirth, see: Shorter, A History of Women's Bodies, pp. 49-53.

12. The Chinook believed that shamans could "shoot" snakes and lizards into people and make them sick. Raccoons and otters were believed to possess spirits, as were all animals, but why these two were singled out for birth related tabus is unknown. According to Franz Boas, a week or so before a baby was due, the Chinook woman heated five stones in the fire and placed two of them in a hole in the ground. Then, with her blanket clutched round herself, she took a steam bath for five days and nights, replacing the two stones with the others as they cooled off. When the time was up, she placed the stones and the cedar bark clothing she had worn in the hollow of a tree. The significance of five stones and five days of steaming is unknown, but as in Euro-American culture warmth was believed essential 'lest the blood get thick' and cause death. After the baby was born, heated rocks were placed around the new mother's resting place and water was poured over them to

produce steam and ensure the afterbirth would pass freely. See: Boas, pp. 9-11; Ray, Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes, pp. 66-71, 148-151; Haeberlin, Gunther, The Indians of Puget Sound, pp. 26, 43-45, 79.

13. Haeberlin, Gunther, p. 43; Boas, p. 11.

14. According to Boas's male informant, only the daughters of Chinook chiefs had paid midwives. By contrast, Ray's two female informants claimed that all Chinook women had paid midwives except the very poor. See: Boas, p. 10; Ray, p. 68; Haeberlin, Gunther, pp. 43-45; Castile, The Notebooks of Myron Eells, p. 294; Currier, "A Study Relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," p. 283; McClellan, "Obstetric Procedures Among Certain of the Aborigines of North America," p. 95.

15. After the baby arrived, special care was taken with the umbilical cord, which was seen as connecting the child to its natural parent and its divine parent, the earth. The attendant carefully pinched off one end of the navel cord with her fingers or, cut the cord with a sharp knife, then tied it with a piece of elk sinew and washed the baby in lukewarm water in a large wooden dish. The baby's mouth was cleaned, it's body was rubbed with bear oil and it was wrapped in blankets of soft shredded cedar bark, beaver, raccoon or goat skin. See: Engelmann, pp. 157, 172-175.

16. The Chinook called the afterbirth 'grandmother' and gave it presents of dentalium (shell money) and beads. If this was not done, the Chinook believed the child would die because 'grandmother' would reclaim it. If the mother wished her next child to be of the opposite sex, the midwife turned the afterbirth over, before hiding it. The childbirth bed of moss, ferns and mats were hung in trees to dry or were burned. The birth of a son required Chinook fathers and mothers to abstain from fresh foods, especially meat or fish, for five days, but when the baby was female this was extended to ten days. During this period, the post-natal woman drank fish soup so that her milk might be plentiful. Her newborn was given lukewarm water. The father was not permitted to fish or hunt for five days or ten days, depending on the gender of his infant. See: Boas, p. 10; Ray, p. 69; Gunther, pp. 43-45. Also see: P. Drucker, "The Tolowa and Their Northwest Oregon Kin," Univ. Calif. Arch. and Ethn., Vol. 36, 1935-39, p. 253.

17. Puerperal or childbirth fever were catch-all terms, which included diverse kinds of inflammations, differing forms of infections, including streptococcal, excessive bleeding and paralysis of the limbs. In the main, however, puerperal fever was associated with infection and as such was highly contagious. Knowledge of the germ theory and the introduction of antisepsis proved ineffective in curbing the fever until

the early years of the twentieth century. See: F.B. Smith, The People's Health 1830-1910, London, Croom Helm, 1979, pp. 13-15; Wilson G. Smillie, Public Health Its Promise for the Future: A Chronicle of the Development of Public Health in the United States, 1607-1914, New York, Macmillan Company, 1955, pp. 156-160; A. J. Youngson, The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine, London, Croom Helm, 1979, pp. 39-40.

18. Currier, p. 290; Godfrey, "The Indian Woman in Labour," p. 691; J. K. Simpson, "Midwifery Among the Alaskan Indians," Occidental Medical Times, Vol. 6, 1892, p. 62; J. King, "Obstetrics Among Aborigines," Codex Medicus, Vol. 3, 1896, p. 133; Alex Hrdlicka, Physiological and Medical Observations, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1908, p. 56. The first cases of puerperal fever among native women occurred in the late nineteenth century when they were delivered by white doctors on reservations. See: Treon, "Obstetrics Among the Sioux Indian Women," p. 13.

19. Smith, The People's Health, pp. 13-14. Also see: Simpson, "Midwifery Among the Alaskan Indians," p. 62; William Thornton Parker, "Concerning American Indian Womanhood," Annals of Gynaecology and Paediatrics, Vol. 5, 1892, pp. 333, 338; Engelmann, pp. 18, 25, 84-85, 160-161, 189-190; Walter J. Dilling, Girdles: Their Origin and Development, particularly with regard to their use as Charms in Medicine, Marriage, and Midwifery, Glasgow, A. MacDougall, 1914, pp. 5-39.

20. Godfrey, p. 691; Bissell, "Description of Proceedings of the Clalam Squaws of Puget Sound in Some Cases of Difficulty in Accouchement," p. 228. Also see: Virgil Vogel, American Indian Medicine, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, pp. 231-236.

21. Beatrice D. Miller, "Neah Bay: The Makah in Transition," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 43, 1952, p. 266.

22. Ray, pp. 66-71; Haeberlin, Gunther, pp. 43-45; Hubert H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1875, pp. 227-228; Castile, pp. 205-206, 301-302. On dance as worship in Indian cultures, see: Highwater, p. 136.

23. Mary C. Wright, "Economic Development and Native American Women in the Early Nineteenth Century," American Quarterly, Vol. 33, Winter 1981, p. 525.

24. For example, see: Grant MacEwan, Marie Anne: The Frontier Spirit of Marie-Anne Leigimodiore, Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1984, pp. 66, 89-91.

25. On Macauley and Wollstonecraft, see: U. Bates, F. Denmark, V. Held, et. al., Women's Realities, Women's Choices, New York, Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 409. Also see: Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, New York, W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1967, p. 247.

26. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 67-68, 75.

27. Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct, p. 28.

28. Robert L. Griswold, "Anglo Women and Domestic Ideology in the American West in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives, edited by Lillian Schilissel, Vicki L. Ruiz and Janice Monk, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1988, pp. 15-33. Also see: Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct, p. 13.

29. For more details on the formal education of native wives and Metis daughters in individual households, see: Chapters Five and Six.

30. F. Trotter, F. Loutzenhiser, J. Loutzenhiser, eds. Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. 1, 1937, p. 113.

31. Journal of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson, 1834-37 (Ms. P-C 23), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Also see: Helen Meilleur, A Pour of Rain: Stories from a West Coast Fort, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1980, p. 197.

32. John McLoughlin to A.C. Anderson, April 23, 1841, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, (AB20 V2M), PABC. (The Willamette Valley, Fort Vancouver and Fort Nisqually produced wheat and sea biscuits (and perhaps bread), for the Russian American fur trade in Alaska. McLoughlin's interest in bread was related to the quality of the wheat crop.)

33. Eva Emery Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon: A Chronicle, Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1900, p. 116.

34. "The Nisqually Journal," WHQ, Vol. 13, 1922, p. 230.

35. Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, p. 54.

36. Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia, pp. 53-55. Also see: S.A. Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. I, Portland, J. K. Gill Company, 1905, p. 192.

37. "Richard Ough's Princess," Clark County History, 1977, pp. 62.
38. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon, p. 116.
39. John Scouler, "Dr. John Scouler's Journals," OHQ, Vol. 6, 1905, p.165; Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journals, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968, pp. 171, 174; Elliott Coues, ed., New Light on the History of the Great Northwest, Vol. II, New York, Francis P. Harper, 1897, pp. 839, 854.
40. Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission who made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838, Vol. I, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, pp. 110, 112, 125; Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, Willamette Interlude, Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1959, p.146.
41. Ross Cox, The Columbia River, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, p. 266. A similar situation existed for Plateau Indian women in the interior of Oregon Territory. See: Douglas Hudson, "The Okanagan Indians," Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1988, p. 451.
42. Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, p. 110; McNamee, Willamette Interlude, pp.145-146, 159-160.
43. McNamee, pp. 159-160; Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, Edmonton, m.g. hurtig ltd., 1968, pp. 125, 128.
44. Drury, First White Women: Vol. I. p. 85.
45. Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, p. 110. Alexander Jondrau was the cooks at Fort Vancouver and provided baking for "all the employees around the Fort" and their families. See: "An Interview with Mrs. Louis Pellisier," Told by the Pioneers, p. 144.
46. Ruth Karr McKee, Mary Richardson Walker: Her Book, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1945, p. 193.
47. McNamee, p. 175.
48. Frits Pannekoek suggests that Red River society was slavish in its attempts to imitate British traditions. A similar comment might be made of Fort Vancouver, but here the American influence was also found. See: Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," Interpreting Canada's Past, Vol. II,

edited by J.M. Bumsted, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 273-87.

49. William S. Lewis, Naojiro Murakami, eds., Ranald MacDonald, Spokane, Inland American Printing Company, 1923, p. 83, fn. 55.

50. S. A. Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. I, Portland, J. K. Gill Company, 1905, p. 192.

51. See: Fort Langley Journal 1828-1830, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C., p. 174. The idea that women were the mysterious sex and had minds "little to be understood" dates to antiquity and was prevalent in Euro-American nineteenth century thought. The fact that their wives were Indian added to the mystery. On such views, see: Peter Gay, The Bourgeois Experience Victoria to Freud: Volume I, Education of the Senses, New York, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 169-71.

52. David J. Pivar, Purity Crusade Sexual Morality and Social Control 1868-1900, Westport, Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973, pp. 80-81; Bates, et.al., Women's Realities, Women's Choices, pp. 406, 408-409, 411.

53. Peter N. Moogk, "'Thieving Buggars' and 'Stupid Sluts': Insults and Popular Culture in New France," Interpreting Canada's Past, Vol. I, pp. 76-77. Like the fur traders in Oregon, the men at Red River were also concerned about chastity in their women. See: Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Changing Views of Fur Trade Marriage and Domesticity: James Hargrave, His Colleagues, and 'The Sex'," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1976, pp. 102-103.

54. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, pp. 131-132.

55. Merk, pp. 97-99. According to Sylvia Van Kirk, the Cree also practiced reserving daughters as wives for white men. See: Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties:" Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870, Winnipeg, Watson and Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980, p. 29.

56. Merk, p. 99.

57. Merk, pp. 131-132. The two traders appear to have been John W. Dease and Donald Manson.

58. On traders' attitudes towards Indian female sexuality, see: Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties", pp. 23-24.

59. Perhaps the best known case of an officer's wife running off with a native was that of Francis Ermatinger who had the Indian lover punished by cutting off the tip of his ear. This

matched a native custom where husbands' cut off their wives' noses when they committed adultery. See: E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, p. 227; Daniel Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travel in the Interior of North America, Toronto, George N. Morang and Company, Ltd., 1904, p. 297.

60. Gay, The Bourgeois Experience, p. 197; Peter L. Taylor, "'Denied the Power to Choose the Good:' Sexuality and Mental Defect in American Medical Practice 1850-1920," Journal of Social History, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1977, p. 473.

61. Sir John Bourinot, ed., "Diary of Nicholas Garry: Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-1835," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1900, pp. 111, 117, 146. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with Gordon Lennie on the Metis males of the Northwest Territories, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1984-1987. Sometimes an Indian clothed as a white man was considered half-Indian or Metis. On Indian and Metis masculine vanity, see. See: Grant MacEwan, Cornerstone Colony, Saskatoon, Prairie Books, 1977, p. 105; James Willard Schultz, My Life As An Indian, New York, Beaufort Books, 1983, pp. 22, 102-103; John Macoun, Manitoba and the Great Northwest, Guelph, Guelph World Publishers, 1882, p. 557; Fanny Kelly, My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians, Secaucus, Citadel Press, 1973, pp. 80, 814; John MacLean, Canadian Savage Folk: The Native Tribes of Canada, Toronto, William Briggs, 1896, p. 57; W.J. Healy, ed., Women of Red River, Winnipeg, Bulman Bros. Ltd., 1923, pp. 93-94; John I. Merritt, Baronets and Buffalo: The British Sportsman in the American West, 1833-1881, Missoula, Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1985, p. 91.

62. Ian Radforth attempts to grapple with the machismo appeal of bushwork to bushworkers in northern Ontario. Despite the passing of a century, his comments seem applicable to fur trade workers as well as other men working on the frontier in jobs considered to be extremely masculine. See: Ian Radforth, "Logging Pulpwood in Northern Ontario," On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada, edited by Craig Heron and Robert Storey, Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986, pp. 250, 252.

63. Bates, Denmark, Held, et. al., p. 507. For references to wife beating in the Pacific fur trade, see: Fort Langley Journal, pp. 173-174, 177, 198, 210; Harriet Duncan Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, St. Paul, French Prairie Press, 1980, p. A-36; "Richard Ough's Princess," Clark County History, 1977, p. 61; Susan Kardas, "The People Bought This and the Clatsop Became Rich," Ph.D. Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1971, pp. 215-216; Kelly, p. 196. On Euro-American wife beating in the nineteenth century, see: Myra C. Glenn, "Wife Beating: The Darker Side

of Victorian Domesticity," Canadian Review of American Studies, Vol. 15, No. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 17-33. (Wife beating in a present day Metis community in Alberta is shown in the Canadian film, Loyalties, ParAccomp, 1986.)

64. For example, see: Cecelia Svinth Carpenter, Fort Nisqually: A Documented History of Indian and British Interaction, Tacoma, Tahoma Research Service, 1986, p. 94.

65. For example, see: William Fraser Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, Vancouver, Mitchell Press, 1963, pp. 213-214.

66. Marie Leona Nichols, Ranald MacDonald Adventurer, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1940, pp. 32-36.

67. In Astoria, Washington Irving used Duncan McDougall's journal to describe the Chinook princess, Moon Girl, who came to her wedding painted and anointed according to Chinook toiletry, but was quickly taken aside and "by dint of copious ablutions ... freed from all adventitious tint and fragrant," before her marriage to the chief trader. See: Washington Irving, Astoria, Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1976, p. 42; Merk, p. 97; Cox, The Columbia River, pp. 209-211; Van Kirk, p. 37; Betty Cummings, "The Paradoxical Mr. Peter Skene Ogden," Fort Vancouver Historical Society, Vol. XI, 1970, p. 329. Also see: Thomas Nelson Strong, Cathlamet on the Columbia, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1906, pp. 64-65. Native people found some items of white attire "ugly." See: Kelly, My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians, p. 187. Dressing Indians in white attire was regarded as part of the civilizing process and clothing was included in Treaties made with Indians. For example, Treaty No. 4, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, 1874, gave a suit to each man and calico to each women.

68. James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in Ethnohistory of Colonial North America, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 185-191, 206.

69. Fort Langley Journal, pp. 115, 135, 137, 198.

70. On polygamy in coastal native society, see: Carpenter, Fort Nisqually: A Documented History of Indian and British Interaction, pp. 79, 105. When a fur trader had more than one wife he usually separated them at different forts, whereas in native cultures the wives were in a single household.

71. In contrast to the Christian first names the wives were given, their surnames prior to marriage were often derived from tribal names or place of origin. Harriet D. Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, Portland, Binford and Mort Publishers, 1979, p. A-25. On Indian naming in general, see: James Axtell, The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, New York, Oxford University

Press, 1981, p. 24. Euro-American ideas about naming children may have been employed in giving native wives Christian names. See: Schultz, p. 231; Jacqueline Peterson, "Women Dreaming: The Religiopsychology of Indian White Marriages and the Rise of a Metis Culture," Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives, p. 62. On naming in colonial America, see James Axtell, The School Upon a Hill, Toronto, George J. McLeod Limited, 1976, pp. 8-10.

72. Fort Langley Journal, p. 105.

73. Robert E. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indians, 1820-1880, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, p. 161.

74. See: Marcel Trudel, "The Beginnings of a Society: Montreal, 1642-1663," Readings in Canadian Social History, Vol. I, Economy and Society During the French Regime, edited by Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1983, pp. 50-53. In particular, the names of Mr. and Mrs. McLoughlin and Mr. and Mrs. Douglas figure prominently as godparents. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest.

75. Dolores T. Poelzer, Irene A. Poelzer, In Our Own Words: Northern Saskatchewan Metis Women Speak Out, Lindenblall and Hamonic, Saskatoon, 1986, pp. 29-43; Peterson, "Women Dreaming: The Religiopsychology of Indian White Marriages and the Rise of a Metis Culture," p. 50.

76. Harriet D. Munnick, "Grandma was an Indian," Marion County History, Vol. 7, 1961, pp. 8-9. Also see: Thomas Farnham, An 1839 Wagon Train Journal, New York, Greenley & McIlrath, 1843, p. 57.

77. Carpenter, p. 77.

78. Fort Langley Journal, pp. 173-174, 177, 198, 210.

79. Governor Simpson wrote: "When married or allied to the Whites they are under little restraint and in most cases gain such an ascendancy that they give law to their Lords, indeed this observation applies to the whole Indian Country on both sides of the Mountains and I am sorry to say that even Members of Council are not excepted." See: Merk, p. 99.

80. Strong, Cathlamet on the Columbia, pp. 98-100. Also see: Harriet D. Munnick, "The Transition Decades on French Prairie - 1830-1850," Marion County History, Vol. 4, 1958, p. 38.

81. Van Kirk, pp. 54-73; George F. Brimlow, "The Life of Sarah Winnemucca: The Formative Years," OHO, Vol. 53, 1952, p. 122-126.

82. "Occurrence at Nisqually House - 1833," Told by the Pioneers, pp. 35, 65; George B. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts: The Cowlitz Farm Journal, 1847-51," OHQ, Vol. LXIII, 1962, pp. 116-117, 119.

83. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. A-34.

84. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. A-54, A-77-78.

85. Robert H. Ruby, John A. Brown, The Chinook Indians, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, pp. 144-145. Also see: Lois Halliday McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Frances Ermatinger, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980, pp. 128, 159, 247-248, 251; Elliott, "A Hudson's Bay Company Marriage Certificate," pp. 325-329.

86. On his first trip west of the Rockies in 1824-25, George Simpson concluded: "Almost every man in the District has a family, which is productive of serious injury and inconvenience on account of their great consumption of Provisions; but by changing the men this evil will be remedied ... We must really put a stop to the practice of Gentlemen bringing their Women & Children from the East to the West side of the Mountain, it is attended with much expense and inconvenience ... business itself must give way to domestick [sic] consideration, the Gentlemen become drones and are not disposable in short the evil is more serious than I am well able to describe." Simpson's comments echoed those of Hudson's Bay Company Deputy-Governor Nicholas Garry, who made similar remarks in 1821 about the fur trade wives and children on the Canadian Prairies. See: Merk, p. 131; Bourinot, "Diary of Nicholas Garry, Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-1835," p. 133. Also see: Van Kirk, pp. 38-39; T.C. Elliott, ed., "A Hudson's Bay Company Marriage Certificate," OHQ, Vol. 10, 1909, pp. 325-329. Also see: Brown, "Changing Views of Fur Trade Marriage," pp. 93-94.

87. Fort Langley Journal, p. 174.

88. Carpenter, p. 26.

89. Carpenter, p. 105; Juliet Pollard, Discussion with Cheryl George, Vancouver, February 1989.

90. McNamee, p. 202. Although I have not been able to find any documentation besides the McNamee comment about the treatment of Metis children in coastal native societies, the oral history of coastal native people confirms that some mixed-blood children were abused because of they were part white. See: Juliet Pollard, Discussions on Metis child abuse by native people with Leslie Whyte, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1985-1987; Discussions on Metis child abuse by native people

with native students, University of British Columbia, Summer 1989. Such treatment appears to have been fairly common in western North America in the nineteenth century. For examples, see: Kelly, pp. 84-85; John S. Gray, "The Story of Mrs. Picotte-Galpin, A Sioux Heroine: Eagle Woman Learns About White Way and Racial Conflict, 1820-1868," Montana: The Magazine of Western History, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1986, p. 6.

91. Schultz, My Life As An Indian, pp. 177-178.

92. For example, the Chinook Princess Charlotte was regarded by the traders "as a person of importance and possessing great influence among the Indians" when she was a fur trade wife, but when she became an alcoholic she was banned from the forts and eventually wed to a petty Indian chief who beat her frequently with a paddle and musket butt. See: Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader, p. 215; Ruby, Brown, The Chinook Indians, p. 145. Also see: Van Kirk, pp. 34, 39, 46-51, 79. The traders' abandonment and abuse of native wives also fueled Indian resentment against white men and led to Indian-white conflicts. See: Kelly, pp. 84-85, 126, 144.

93. Peterson suggests in her study of Great Lake Metis, the abandonment of menstrual huts was more to the dismay of Indian males than it was to Indian females. Among the Siouan-speaking Winnebago of the same region, however, the onset of a girl's period marked the time for courting and her menstruation hut gave the young couple a place to flirt under the cover of darkness and away from the watchful eyes of parents. Rather than a repressive and isolated time in a girl's life, the autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, Paul Radin, indicates that courting via the menstruation hut was a time of fun for young women and their suitors. Wives may also have derived pleasure from the Euro-American sexual code of their husbands, which held few of the taboos governing sex after marriage common in native cultures. This impression, however, may have evolved from traders' egotistical belief that native women preferred them over Indian males and the tendency in their writings to emphasize such statements and minimize their rejection by native women. See: Jacqueline Peterson, "The People In Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Metis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981, pp. 79-80; Paul Radin, The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1963, pp. 11-12, 23-24.

94. Carpenter, p. 196.

95. Lewis, Murakami, Ranald MacDonald, p. 82.

96. Simpson concluded that "9 Murders out of 10 committed on Whites by Indians have arisen through Women." See: Merk, p. 127.

97. In 1834, native wives still employed shamans to cure them and it seems likely that some native childbirth practices also continued. William Kittson at Fort Nisqually noted: "All last night the Indians near us were singing to a medicine man who was doing his best in killing off Plomondon's wife who has been sick. Sometimes I have endeavored to stop the business but believe to no purpose as she is bent on getting blown by her countryman." See: "Occurrences at Nisqually House," Told By the Pioneers, pp. 39-40, 45. Plamondon's Cowlitz wife later died in childbirth. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, p. A-66; Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. A-80.

98. Merk, p. 101. Also see: Chapter One.

99. Merk, p. 65.

100. Fort Langley Journal, p. 141.

101. See: Chapter One.

102. Carpenter, p. 65.

103. Marriage for Metis daughters also came early. One woman who traced her ancestry to an early Chinook-trader marriage recalled: "Courtship was brief in those days and the girls had little to say about it. According to a French custom, parents arranged the match. I married a man 21 years older when I was 14. I had not seen him until a week before I was engaged to him." See: Mary Perras, "Reminiscences of Mary Perras," Told By the Pioneers, p. 190. On the early age of marriage in the fur trade, see: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, pp. A-34, A-35; Thomas E. Jessett. ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, p. 81. Laslett argues that in Euro-American society "if the date of a woman's marriage is known it can be assumed that she was sexually mature at the time." However, the age of menarche and the age of legal consent, which was from seven to twelve years in the United States in 1886, does not correspond with the age of menarche which began during the teen years for most girls, including native ones. See: Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 218. On the age of consent in the United States, see: Pivar, Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, pp. 141-143.

104. George A. Pettitt, "Primitive Education in North America," UC Publ. Arch. & Ethno., Vol. XLIII, 1946-1956, pp. 1-182.

105. Engelmann, pp. 61, 81.

106. Poelzer's study of Metis women in Northern Saskatchewan in the 1980s, found ignorance about childbirth commonplace. This appears indicative of the way the girls were raised in the nineteenth century. Fostered by desires to turn their Metis daughters into 'white' girls, many Metis daughters had only limited contact with native cultures and the education they received did not include instruction on childbirth. See: Juliet Pollard, Discussions with Professor Irene Poelzer, Department of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1985-86; Poelzer, In Our Own Words: Northern Saskatchewan Metis Women Speak Out, pp. 103-107. On the isolated upbringing of Metis daughters at Fort Vancouver, see: Mrs. Daniel Harvey (nee Eloise McLoughlin), Life of John McLoughlin, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Possessions on the Pacific Slope at Fort Vancouver, Portland, June 20, 1878, Ms, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, p. 13.

107. Jock Carpenter, Fifty Dollar Bride: Marie Rose Smith - A Chronicle of Metis Life in the 19th Century, Sidney, Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1977, p. 64.

108. The birth of gentlemen's children received little more attention than servants' infants. For example, at Fort Langley in 1830, the birth of chief trader Yale's daughter was recorded as: "Nothing new - Mrs. Yale a young daughter." Omissions in recording the birth of officer's infants also occurred when the officer had more than one wife at different forts. For example, there is no mention of the son born to Francis Heron's Metis wife at Fort Nisqually probably because he had another wife and two sons at Norway House. Fort Langley Journal, p. 218; Carpenter, Fort Nisqually, p. 61.

109. "Occurrences at Nisqually House," pp. 46, 51. Metis births were still only briefly mentioned after mid-century, as indicated by this entry from Fort Simpson: "about 3 AM the wife of Jeremie Soururier was delivered of a female child." Seven days later, the journal casually added, "about 8 PM the infant child of Jeremie Soururier died." See: Helen Meilleur, A Pour of Rain, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1980, pp. 204-4.

110. On child and wife custody in Euro-American society, see: Gay, pp. 174-75; Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law," A Widening Sphere: Changing Role of Victorian Women, edited by Martha Vicinus, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1980, pp. 8-9.

111. Boas, p. 10, Ray, p. 69, Haeberlin, Gunther, pp. 43-45; King, "Obstetrics Among Aborigines," p. 130; H. Driver, "Wappo Ethnology," Univ. Calif. Arch. and Ethno., Vol. 36, 1935-39, p. 199; Joseph Hooker, "Child-bearing in Australia," Journal of the Ethnology Society of London, Vol. 1, 1868-1869, p. 68.

112. H. J. Malkin, "The Rise of Obstetrics in British Medical Practice and the Influence of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists," The Evolution of Medical Practices in Britain, edited by F.N.L. Paynter, London, Pitman Medical Publication Co., Ltd., 1961, p. 57.

113. Engelmann, pp. 11, 14, 118, 179.

114. John Jackson, "The Metis in the Fur Trade of Oregon," (unpublished manuscript), 1988. Indications of the westward movement of Metis are given in the following works: Carol M. Judd, "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1980; T.C. Elliott, ed., "Journal of John Work's Snake Country Expedition of 1830-31," OHQ, Vol. 14, 1913, p. 299; Marcel Giraud, The Metis in the Canadian West: Vol. I, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1986, pp. 151, 215, 237, 332-338; Donald Chaput, "'The Misses Nolin' of Red River," Beaver, Winter 1975, pp. 15-16; John E. Foster, "The Plains Metis," Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, edited by R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1988, pp. 379-381.

115. Harold Howard, Sacajawea, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1971, pp. 19-20; Margot Edmonds, Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979, pp. 12, 15, 104. Most sources refer to Charbonneau as a French Canadian, but T.C. Elliott, a scholar on the subject, refers to him as "the half-breed interpreter and husband of Sacajawea." See: T.C. Elliott, "New and Comments," OHQ, Vol. 26, 1925, p. 205. William Clark became very fond of "my boy Pomp" as Jean Baptiste, Sacajawea's son was known, and financed his formal education. Later, Jean Baptiste accompanied Prince Wilhelm of Wurtemberg whom he met in St. Louis, back to Germany, and travelled with him throughout Europe and Africa for six years. On his return, he was variously a mountain man, scout for the Mormon Battalion to California, goldminer and clerk. He died of pneumonia on route to the Montana goldfields on May 16, 1866. See: "Clark to Toussaint Charbonneau, August 20, 1806," Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, edited by Donald Jackson, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1962, pp. 314-316; Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, Genealogy Files, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon. The use of the rattle of the rattlesnake to procure ease during childbirth was used by the Okanagan and other tribes. See: Hudson, p. 455.

116. J. Neilson Barry, "The First Born on the Oregon Trail," OHQ, Vol. 12, 1911, p. 167. Dorion and her children were among the first settlers on French Prairie in the Willamette Valley where she died on September 6, 1850. See: T.C. Elliott, "The Grave of Madame Dorion," OHQ, Vol. 36, 1935, p. 103; J.

Neilson Barry, "Astorians Who Became Permanent Settlers," WHO, Vol. 24, 1933, pp. 228-229; J. Neilson Barry, "Madame Dorion of the Astorians," OHO, Vol. 30, 1929; Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Louis Register, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1982, pp. 23-24, A-3.

117. Jason Lee, "Diary of Reverend Jason Lee, OHO, Vol. 17, 1916, p. 425.

118. Clifford M. Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Diary of Sarah White Smith, Vol. III, Glendale, Arthur W. Clark Company, 1963, p. 107.

119. Clifford M. Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Vol. II, Mrs. Elkanah Walker and Mrs. Crushing Eells, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, p. 115. Also see: Drury, First White Women, Vol. III, p. 106. fn. 89.

120. Juliet Pollard, Discussions on childbirth with Gordon Lennie, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1984-1987. Mr. Lennie was delivered by his father in 1948, while on a fur trapping expedition outside Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories.

121. On Smith's medical training, see: Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 116-117.

122. Barry, "The First Born on the Oregon Trail," p. 168. By contrast, the following works suggest Dorion gave birth alone. Gabriel Franchere, A Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, Chicago, R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1954, pp. 127, 207-209; Alexander Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers on the Columbia, London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1848, pp. 278-282; Philip A. Rollins, ed., The Discovery of the Oregon Trail, New York, Edward Eberstadt and Sons, 1935, pp. 69, 179, 300-302, 312.

123. It is estimated that some twenty-two percent of white women gave birth while crossing the plains. See: Julie Roy Jeffrey, "Review: Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey by Lillian Schlissel," Signs, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1982, p. 143.

124. Henry Drummond Dee, "An Irish Man in the Fur Trade: The Life and Journals of John Work," BCHO, Vol. 7, 1943, p. 248.

125. Merritt, Baronets and Buffalo, p. 48.

126. The Connors' lagged behind the main party for the rest of the journey. See: Drury, First White Women: Vol. II, p. 116; Drury, First White Women: Vol III, pp. 107-108.

127. Larsell, pp. 53-54.

128. Barry, "Madame Dorion of the Astorians," p. 272; Barry, "The First Born on the Oregon Trail," p. 167.

129. Despite Townsend's comments, it is clear from his description that the tent where the woman was giving birth was also occupied by her husband. See: John K. Townsend, Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains, Philadelphia, Henry Perkins, 1839, p. 345; John Ball, Autobiography of John Ball, Grand Rapids, Dean-Hicks Company, 1925, p. 80; John Ball, "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago," OHQ, Vol. 3, 1903, p. 93.

130. In John Ball's words, only a day after giving birth one of the trader's wives "sat her newborn baby, feet down, into a deep basket that she hung to the pommel of her saddle, mounted her horse and rode on in the band as usual." See: Ball, Autobiography of John Ball, p. 80. Also see: Ball, "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago," p. 93.

131. For examples of rest days on the brigades while wives gave birth, see: E.E. Rich, ed., Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-25, 1825-26, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950, p. 210; Glyndwr Williams, ed., Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-29, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971, p. xvi; William S. Lewis, Paul C. Phillips, eds., The Journals of John Work: A Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company During his Expedition from Vancouver to the Flathead and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, pp. 105-106, 125; T.C. Elliott, ed., "Journal of John Work Covering Snake Country Expedition of 1830-31," OHQ, Vol. 13, 1912, p. 366; Dee, "An Irishman in the Fur Trade," p. 248.

132. For example, the women might avail themselves of a hot spring or other opportunity to wash the family's clothes. See: Elliott, "Journal of John Work 1830-31," p. 369.

133. Keith Clark, Donna Clark, "William McKay's Journal," OHQ, Vol. 79, 1978, p. 155, fn. 109; Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams, "The Daughter of Angus MacDonald," WHQ, Vol. 13, 1922, p. 107.

134. For example, the 1824-5 Snake brigade was composed of 65 women and children and 58 men and lads; the 1830 brigade consisted of 41 men and 74 women and children. See: Rich, Ogden's Journals, pp. 186, fn. 1, 218; Elliott, "Journal of John Work," p. 366.

135. Rich, Ogden's Journals, pp. 7, 186, fn. 1, 210, 218. Williams, Ogden's Journals, p. xvii.

136. Elliott, "Journal of John Work," p. 366.

137. Cummings, "The Paradoxical Mr. Peter Skene Ogden," p. 48; Meilleur, A Pour of Rain, pp. 199-200. Rich, Ogden's Journals, pp. 7, 210; Williams, Ogden's Journals, p. xvii.

138. Lewis, Phillips, The Journal of John Work, p. 139.

139. Winona Adams, ed., "An Indian Girl's Story of a Trading Expedition to the Southwest about 1841," Frontier and Midland, Vol. 10, 1930, pp. 338-343; Williams, "The Daughter of Angus MacDonald," p. 107. Another view of the women and children on brigade is given by Jason Lee while he was travelling with a Hudson's Bay Company party in 1838 from Fort Vancouver to the Whitman Mission. He wrote: "The water was high in the streams. Overtook Mrs. Pambrun and daughters and a very old woman (Marie Dorion) who crossed the mountains with Mr. Hunt and a grown daughter. We were obliged to cross on small trees which bent and trembled with us so as to make it difficult to keep the centre of gravity. I thought a man who was with us and I should have enough to do to cross all the stuff. I took a little girl in my arms and started across and to my astonishment was followed by the females with larger loads than I should probably have ventured which consisted of children, saddles, bridles, blankets, saddle bags, dogs, etc., and all came safe over." See: "Jason Lee Leaves Record of Hardship in the West," Told By the Pioneers, p. 71.

140. F.W. Howay, William S. Lewis, Jacob A. Meyers, eds., "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," WHQ, Vol. 8, 1917, p. 204. On the Nez Perce childbirth practices of Margaret, see: Engelmann, pp. 16, 75, 91, 136-138.

141. Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," p. 338.

142. On the Snake expedition, the Works' housekeeper had been severely wounded by the Blackfeet. See: Elliott, "Journal of John Works," p. 314; Lewis, Phillips, pp. 128, 181; Meilleur, p. 200.

143. The account of a captured Kutenai Indian, who made his escape from the Chinook after teaching his Chinook wife to ride, indicates that few of the coastal women were acquainted with horses. "My little woman objected...but I would have my way. She was terribly scared, for she had never ridden a horse. I saddled one, got on him, and rode around a little; he was gentle. So I fixed the saddle, put her up in it, shortened the stirrup straps, and showed her how to hang to the saddle. Then I mounted the other horse, and leading hers, we started over the trail." See: Schultz, pp. 103, 110-111. On the introduction of the horse among the Chinook and other coastal people, see: Daniel L. Boxberger, "The Introduction of Horses to the Southern Puget Sound Salish," Western Washington Indian Socio-Economics: Papers in Honor of Angelo Anastasio, edited by Herbert C. Taylor, Jr. and Garland F.

Grabert, Bellingham, Western Washington University, 1984, pp. 103-119. (Wives from the Interior Oregon tribes were more common on the Snake brigades, where their knowledge of the native people and modes of travelling in the Rocky Mountains and plains territory could be put to the best use. On the treks to California, however, coastal women seem to have been preferred because of their familiarity with the region and contacts among the various native cultures on route. This stratification, designed to facilitate profits for the company, must have created a certain degree of homogeneity among the women.)

144. Generational discontinuity was also a problem for most immigrant women in the west. See: Joan M. Jensen, Darlis A. Miller, "The Gentle Tamers Revisited: New Approaches to the History of Women in the American West," PHR, Vol. XLIX, No. 2, 1980, p. 191.

145. Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1849, pp. 153, 280; Cummings, "The Paradoxical Mr. Peter Skene Ogden," pp. 46-47; Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travel, pp. 295-296; Hudson, "The Okanagan Indians," pp. 454-456. Also see: Kelly, My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians, pp. 127, 196.

146. At the same time, what has appeared as an impoverishment of Metis cultural attainments has until recently blinded historians to the reality of Metis cultures and made them wary of applying the term 'culture' to various Metis lifestyles. See: Louis Hartz, The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964, p. 23; Moogk, "'Thieving Buggers' and 'Stupid Sluts': Insults and Popular Culture in New France," pp. 72-74, 79-80; Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society," p. 285.

Chapter 3

"A Natural Affliction": Obstetrics in the Fur Trade

The fur trade was a unique manifestation of the North American frontier, but it was never so remote that it remained unaltered by the new ideas emerging from nineteenth century Great Britain and North America. This chapter continues the discussion of childbirth in the fur trade by focusing on the introduction of Euro-American obstetric and medical practices in the fur trade culture of the Pacific Northwest -- practices that reflected and mirrored larger Euro-American cultural and social ideologies. In the fur trade, as in Euro-American society, obstetrics were influenced by the attitudes of the dominant class. It will be argued that, although pregnancy was considered "a natural affliction", the class status of the childrens' fathers often determined whether a doctor or midwife delivered Metis infants. These changes in midwifery were part of a larger movement which sought to replace native medical practices which lingered in the fur trade with those of the Euro-American fur traders.

II

When single women applied to work as missionaries among the Indians, the American Board of Foreign Missions made marriage a condition of employment and undertook the task of finding suitable husbands for them. Love was not considered a necessary part of the relationship. Courtships were brief and the marriages were hastily arranged on the eve of

departure for Oregon.¹ This measure averted the dangers of childbirth en route, but did not prevent the women from becoming pregnant on their honeymoon trips across the continent.

Narcissa Whitman, a member of the first Presbyterian missionary party, was three months pregnant by the time she arrived at Fort Vancouver on September 12, 1836. She immediately began to teach at the fort school, and, in her fifth month of pregnancy, made the hazardous journey up the Columbia River to establish Waiilatpu, the Whitman mission among the Cayuse Indians.² Mary Richardson Walker was also pregnant by the time she reached Oregon in 1838. The day before her son Cyrus was born in the makeshift hut that served as home to the Walker family and mission to the Spokane Indians, she "had the floor washed and went out and split wood and built a fire to dry it ... made two table cloths" and went to bed about twelve p.m.³

Pregnancy was as common a fact of life for these former New England school teachers as it was for the wives of the fur traders. As in earlier centuries, when "great bellied" women were considered the norm, pregnancy was considered a "natural affliction" and was taken for granted.⁴ Even Victoria, the new Queen, who feared having children, "danced within a fortnight" of her confinement.⁵ Unless they were sick, native, Metis and white women continued with their domestic work until the onset of labor curtailed their activities.⁶

III

During the nineteenth century, however, a new sensibility towards pregnancy and childbirth developed that had not been present in earlier generations. On the one hand, there was a new interest in childbirth, which reflected the changing status of women in industrializing societies. Old assumptions, such as the belief that women had to suffer in childbirth, were cast aside as medical science discovered substances to kill labor pain.⁷ At the same time, such terms as 'big-bellied' and 'great-bellied' became distasteful. Victorian morality regarded pregnancy and childbirth as unfit for discussion and the subject was rarely mentioned in contemporary writings. Often, the first indication that a woman had been pregnant came after the birth of her child.⁸

The first half of the nineteenth century marked the birth of modern medicine, but, like so many other fields nurtured through new scientific discoveries, old medical practices continued to exist alongside newer ones.⁹ There were, for example, debates between midwives and doctors over who should take care of the parturient women. In North America, the controversy was settled in favour of the doctors. Indeed, with each passing decade, the professionalization of doctors which capitalized on their 'scientific' approach to obstetrics gained acceptance until, by century's end, there were few women willing to have a child without a doctor's supervision.

The changes in childbirth practices which occurred in

Euro-American society were felt in the fur trade of the Pacific Northwest. As agents of civilization, Hudson's Bay Company and missionary doctors from the United States introduced Euro-American concepts of obstetrics among the fur trade and Metis population in Oregon. From the mid-1830s onward, an increasing number of fur trade wives began having their babies delivered by doctors.

This trend, most noticeable among the urban middle classes in Euro-American society, followed a similar pattern in the fur trade.¹⁰ The first wives to have their children delivered by doctors were those of the officers. Women with childbirth complications might also seek assistance from doctors, but, in general, servants' wives, tended to rely upon midwives until doctors and facilities became more available. Even then there was great variation in the way Metis children were born. Many women, even officers' wives, gave birth to some of their children without the assistance of doctors or paid midwives, while at other confinements they were assisted by professionals. Some women clung to the traditional modes of native-fur trade childbirth, but, in the end, under the pressure of changing social customs, an increasing number of Metis children were brought into the world by doctors.

IV

Medical historians like O. Larsell, Robert McKechnie and T.F. Rose have written biographical sketches of the various Hudson's Bay Company doctors who practiced medicine in the

Pacific Northwest in the period from 1824 to 1870 -- John McLoughlin, John Frederick Kennedy, Meredith Gairdner, William Tolmie, John McLoughlin, Jr., Frobes Barclay and John Sebastian Helmcken -- but have revealed little about their midwifery practices.¹¹ All the doctors were ranked in the gentlemen class of the Company hierarchy and were required to clerk or take charge of posts as well as practice medicine. Under these circumstances, their medical practices sometimes became secondary to their other commitments.

Secondly, there were never enough doctors to service all the fur trade posts. At any given time, there were seldom more than three or four Company doctors for the immense Hudson's Bay Company Pacific region, known as the Oregon Territory, which stretched from San Francisco to Russian Alaska. As a result, the task of doctoring commonly fell to the chief traders at the forts, who were supplied with a medical chest and a few medical texts. The traders could write to the doctors for advice, but diagnosis by mail was probably of little value when dealing with pregnancy and childbirth.¹² Traders could send serious medical cases to the forts with doctors, or seek assistance from doctors aboard the various vessels which travelled in coastal waters. Difficult childbirth cases, however, probably fell outside these options.¹³ Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken at Fort Victoria summed up the medical treatment given at most of the forts when he wrote:

--an emetic as soon as the men fell ill, followed by a purge -- then the man was well or had to get well by simples, the Trader or Factor being the doctor ... No one died.¹⁴

V

In the Willamette Valley and in the Upper Oregon Country, there were other doctors associated with the American Methodist and Presbyterian missions to Oregon. These men also practiced medicine among the fur traders and delivered their babies.

Alice Clarissa Whitman was born on her mother's twenty-ninth birthday after an easy labor. She was delivered by her father, the missionary Dr. Marcus Whitman, who had formerly practiced medicine in Upper Canada. Catherine Humperville, the Cree-Metis wife of Pierre Pambrun, who was in charge of Fort Walla Walla, came to assist, "but was not able to render much assistance, on account of her ignorance of the ways of white people."¹⁵ As a consequence, Alice's father was her "physition [sic] & nurse."¹⁶ This was the beginning of Whitman's obstetric practice in Upper Oregon. In the years which followed, the missionary would take many lengthy trips by horse and canoe to deliver white and Metis children.¹⁷

Reverend Jason Lee's Methodist mission in the Willamette Valley also enjoyed the services of doctors. The arrival of Dr. Elijah White in 1837, however, did not prevent the death of Lee's New York born wife, Anna Maria Pitman, and their two day old son following a lengthy labor.¹⁸ Like Whitman, Dr. White, followed by doctors Ira Babcock and Rev. J.P. Richmond,

a Methodist minister, spent a good deal of time travelling between the main Willamette mission, where they had a small hospital, and the other missions at the Dalles, Clatsop and Nisqually, delivering youngsters.¹⁹

The letters and journals of the women missionaries reveal their fears of infant and child mortality.²⁰ The ladies had good reason for their apprehensions. By 1844, little Alice Whitman had drowned and the four sons born to the Whitmans' Metis friend, Jane Klyne, the wife of chief trader Archibald McDonald at Fort Colville, had died.²¹ Almost every household, fur trade and missionary, experienced the death of a child.²²

Despite medicine's inability to deal with many of the causes of child death, the missionary women and many of the wives of Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen willingly accepted male doctors as midwives. Simply put, the women wished their children to be 'spared' and believed that trained experts, although they employed what we would consider as primitive obstetric practices, offered the best chance for the survival of their infants and themselves.²³ In fact, the missionary women felt "considerable anxiety" when a doctor could not be present at a birth, forcing them to manage on their own.²⁴ Similar misgivings about childbirth also appear to have been common among the officers' wives. In June 1842, for example, chief trader Archibald McKinley brought his wife, Sarah Julia Ogden, daughter of chief trader Peter Ogden, and his Nez Perce wife Julia, to the Waiilatpu mission so that she could be

delivered by Dr. Whitman. Their daughter, Elanor, died from croup 17 months later, but her birth was indicative of the growing acceptance among the gentlemen's Metis wives of Euro-American obstetrical practices.²⁵

Three years later, in 1845, at Fort Vancouver, chief physician Forbes Barclay, a graduate of London's Royal College of Surgeons, asked his superior, Dr. John McLoughlin to assist him in what proved to be a difficult childbirth for Barclay's Metis wife, Maria Pambrun. According to Kate Barclay, the doctor's daughter, McLoughlin excused himself with the promise "I will pray for you."²⁶

McLoughlin's unwelcome response may have been related to the fact that his first fur trade wife, a native woman thought to be "a Chippewa Indian of Red River descent" had died in childbirth in 1809 leaving him with a son, which he named Joseph.²⁷ After forty-seven years of practicing medicine, starting with his studies in 1798, McLoughlin must have been aware that inter-racial childbirth could present difficulties. Conversely, at the age of 61, and facing retirement, McLoughlin may have felt too old and tired to be of much use in this task.²⁸ In either case, McLoughlin, who has often been characterized in Oregon history as a doctor in name only, or as a poorly qualified physician at best, began his fur trade career as a doctor in the Northwest Company at Fort William where he was afforded ample opportunity to deliver infants.²⁹

At Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin's medical practice was not overshadowed by his executive duties as chief factor. Indeed, from 1824 until 1828, when Dr. Richard J. Hamlyn arrived, he was the only doctor at the fort.³⁰ Rather than being a doctor in name only, McLoughlin continued to practice medicine from time to time throughout the 1830s and 40s and was well informed on the latest developments in medicine.³¹ In 1803, when the nineteen year old McLoughlin received his license to practice "surgery and pharmacy" in Quebec, there were no medical schools in British North America. The only way to become a doctor without leaving Quebec was through apprenticeship.³² McLoughlin was supervised in his four years of study by Dr. James Fisher, an outstanding physician who initiated much of the early medical legislation in Canada. In addition, and probably of no small consequence for a doctor stationed in the 'uncivilized' regions of North America, were McLoughlin's links to the Canadian and European medical world.

From Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin carried on a lively correspondence with his uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser of Terrebonne, Quebec, and his younger brother, David, who had been appointed physician to King Louis-Philippe of France because of his outstanding skills at midwifery and works on such communicable diseases as syphilis.³³ McLoughlin also exchanged letters on such scientific subjects as horticulture and meteorology with William Jackson Hooker, Director of the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew in England, and the Academy of Sciences in Paris, which

published one of his studies. In his leisure time at the fort, McLoughlin read the works of such eminent scientific scholars as Erasmus Darwin, Antoine Fourcroy and Antoine Lavoisier.³⁴

Fort Vancouver was medically well equipped largely because of McLoughlin's efforts. In 1833, following the arrival of Dr. William Tolmie and Dr. Meredith Gairdner, whose education included extensive study in midwifery and the diseases of children, McLoughlin established the Fort Vancouver Hospital.³⁵ Although the hospital's records have been lost, it is known that it treated some 200 to 300 patients annually.³⁶ In the larger Euro-American society in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, the management of birth in an atmosphere of disease, that is, within the walls of a 'lying-in' hospital, was the resort of women from the urban poor and working class.³⁷ At Fort Vancouver, the hospital may have provided similar obstetric services for the wives of Company laborers or servants who had childbirth complications.

Supporting this conjecture is the comment of Dr. William Tolmie, who was delighted to find on his arrival at Fort Vancouver, "a very excellent supply of surgical instruments" including "two midwifery forceps."³⁸ Like the missionaries and other Hudson's Bay Company doctors, Tolmie had come to the Pacific Northwest prepared to deliver babies and brought with him texts on midwifery and the diseases of women and

children.³⁹

VI

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the practice of medicine and the training of doctors lacked standardization. The title 'doctor' signified an occupation, not an education. The concept of the 'professional doctor' differed fundamentally from its modern counterpart, emphasizing the importance of personal character rather than the mastery of a formal body of knowledge. During the 1830s, the number of medical schools in the United States doubled, but few operated under university auspices. After a few months of comparatively inexpensive training, accompanied, perhaps, by an apprenticeship, almost any man in the United States could declare that he was a physician and begin to practice medicine. Indeed, medical degrees were so easy to come by that there were more doctors in some United States cities in the nineteenth century than there were in the twentieth century.⁴⁰

The quality of medical education in Great Britain was not much better than in the United States. In many cases, British doctors were as deplorably under-educated as their American counterparts.⁴¹ Given the standards of the times, one would expect that the doctors in Oregon were poorly qualified, but both the missionary doctors and those employed by the Hudson's Bay Company seem to have been fairly well educated.

By the 1830s, the Company doctors who had trained under medical apprenticeships, such as McLoughlin, were gradually

being replaced by certified doctors from the better medical schools, like Edinburgh, which provided the most thorough medical training available in Great Britain.⁴² Moreover, the Company was also able to employ some doctors, like Meredith Gairdner and Forbes Barclay for the Oregon fur trade, who were considered outstanding medical practitioners.⁴³

In addition to these new recruits to the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest were the Metis physicians John Kennedy, John McLoughlin Jr. and William (Billy) McKay. They were the sons of Company gentlemen who had been sent from the fur trade country of their births to study medicine in Great Britain and the United States and had now rejoined the Company in Oregon as doctors.

Some Company officials felt their Indian ancestry would serve them well in their practice among the fur trade's native and Metis people. Governor George Simpson, however, had misgivings. Simpson was blatantly racist in his attitude towards Dr. John Frederick Kennedy, the eldest son of chief factor Alexander Kennedy, who was born at Cumberland House in 1805, and later graduated from the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. In 1830, when the 25 year-old Kennedy, who Simpson called "A half breed Native of Cumberland" was posted to Fort Vancouver, Simpson noted in his journal:

If he turns out well however, I shall be agreeably surprised as it is a lamentable fact that very few of his breed have hitherto conducted themselves with propriety. Country & Color disqualify him from his situation as neither Gentlemen Servants nor Natives will have confidence in or respect for him.⁴⁴

In large measure, Kennedy disproved Simpson's opinion of him. McLoughlin wrote to Simpson in September 1832 that he found Kennedy "most careful and attentive and anxious to give satisfaction."⁴⁵ Kennedy rose in the Company's hierarchy to become a chief trader in 1847, while Simpson was still Governor, but was retired in 1856 because of his "habits of intemperance."⁴⁶ After his retirement, however, he was the elected representative for Nanaimo in the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island. He died in April 1859 during the heyday of the Fraser River goldrush in British Columbia.

Shortly after his arrival at Fort Vancouver, Kennedy contracted malaria and McLoughlin subsequently posted him to Fort Simpson (Nass) where he was less likely to suffer from a reoccurrence of the disease which struck yearly in the Fort Vancouver - Columbia River region. For many years, he remained at Fort Simpson where he was the only Company doctor serving the remote northern forts and coastal native populations of New Caledonia, as British Columbia was then called.⁴⁷ Helen Meilleur, who was born in Fort Simpson and is the author of A Pour of Rain (1980), which explores the fur trade world there, writes with insight of Kennedy's dilemma as a Metis doctor:

The Company placed limited confidence in the part-Indian sons of its gentlemen and Kennedy himself deferred to other doctors. Yet, among the journal keepers he alone showed a social consciousness that we can comprehend today; he saw the Indians as people and expressed concern for the men's coldness, tiredness, hunger and thirst.⁴⁸

Unlike Kennedy, Dr. John McLoughlin, Jr., McLoughlin's eldest son from his marriage to Margaret, embodied all the negative qualities which fuelled the Euro-American stereotype of the 'half-breed'. At the age of seven, John Jr. was left to be educated in Quebec, while his parents went to Fort Vancouver. His formative years were spent being shifted between various relatives. Eventually, he studied medicine with his uncle David McLoughlin in Paris, but, according to members of his own family, he lacked steadiness, committed "atrocious acts", chased women, disgraced the family, and had a perverse disposition. In short, he was considered incorrigible.⁴⁹

Along with three other well educated fur trade sons, who found their paths to successful careers blocked in part because of their Indian origins, John McLoughlin Jr. joined General James Dickson's ill-fated "Indian Liberating Army" in 1836, which hoped to establish a nation for Indians and Metis in Rupert's Land, the original Hudson's Bay Company territory.⁵⁰

In order to quell Dickson's army, Governor Simpson bought off two of the disappointed and disgruntled Metis by finding appointments for them in the Company. Suddenly, McLoughlin's previously rejected application for a position as post doctor was reconsidered. He was engaged as a surgeon at 100 pounds a year and sent to Fort Vancouver. Here, between the years 1837-1840, he served as a clerk and doctor much to the

satisfaction of his father and his father's assistant James Douglas. Simpson, however, placed the twenty-nine year old McLoughlin in charge of Fort Stikine, "a miserable place" on the far northern coast of New Caledonia, where, in 1841, he was murdered under curious circumstances by his own men.⁵¹

Like Kennedy and McLoughlin, Dr. William (Billy) McKay's medical career was involved with Metis and native people. McKay was a true son of the Pacific Northwest. He was born at Fort George (Astoria) in 1824 to a daughter of Chief Concomley of the Chinook tribe and Thomas (Tom) McKay, the son of Margaret McLoughlin by her first marriage to Alexander McKay. The fourteen year old Tom, who had come with his father and the other Astorians to Columbia, was sent east for a time after his father's death on the Tonquin in 1811, but he returned a few years later as an employee in the Hudson's Bay Company, where he became "an almost legendary scout and Indian fighter."⁵² After his wife's death, shortly after the birth of Billy, Tom placed his son under the care of his mother, Mrs. McLoughlin.

Thus, much of William McKay's childhood was spent in the McLoughlin household at Fort Vancouver where his step-grandfather John McLoughlin had him "help in the dispensary so as to learn from the resident doctor how to put up prescriptions."⁵³ McLoughlin wanted Billy to study medicine in Scotland, but the American missionary Dr. Whitman intervened and persuaded Tom McKay that Oregon was destined

to become part of the United States and that an American medical degree would serve his son better than a Scottish one. As a consequence, McKay attended Willoughby Medical School in Upper New York State.

When he returned to Fort Vancouver with the Hudson's Bay Company brigade in 1843, the nineteen year old Dr. McKay only worked for the Company for a few years. The reasons for this are unclear and may have involved his strong pro-American sympathies. In any event, McKay soon moved on to become the physician for the Umatilla Indian Reservation and a physician and surgeon to the U.S. Army during the Indian wars in Oregon and Washington territory. According to his daughter Lelia McKay, her father upgraded his medical degree later in life by attending Willamette University Medical School.⁵⁴ In 1873, William McKay was awarded an honorary degree of medicine by the Oregon government. Despite these major achievements, his life was seldom free from racial prejudice (as will be discussed in subsequent chapters), among those who regarded 'half breeds', even well educated doctors, as inferior to white men.⁵⁵

Although all three Metis doctors experienced racial prejudice, the irony was that they were also respected members of the very society which shunned them. These physicians appear to have shared the common British-American belief that native people had to abandon their cultures and adopt 'white' values in order to survive.⁵⁶ Their work as doctors was a

means to this end.

Like Charles Eastman, the famous Sioux doctor, lecturer and author of the late nineteenth century, the three Metis doctors in the Pacific Northwest believed that people of mixed blood could function within both Indian and white worlds by utilizing the best attributes from each culture.⁵⁷ The Fort Simpson medical records imply that Kennedy practiced obstetrics, and, while there is no record of McKay or McLoughlin Jr. delivering babies, midwifery was part of their jobs as general practitioners.⁵⁸

As a consequence, it seems likely that these Metis doctors assisted native acculturation to the dominant society by lessening Metis and Indian women's fears about white man's medicines and childbirth practices. While native women were reluctant to have white doctors attend them, they appeared more willing to be looked after by doctors who were themselves part Indian. In the end, the work of Metis doctors was reflected in the changing views of Indian women towards professional medical care during their confinements.⁵⁹

VII

In addition to the Company and missionary doctors, there were visiting physicians such as the American Dr. John Townsend, who practiced at Fort Vancouver in 1833, and the British Dr. William J. Bailey, who arrived as a settler in 1835.⁶⁰ The shortage of physicians was also partially compensated for by individuals who had some medical training.

According to family history, for example, chief trader Archibald McDonald had apparently studied medicine, but never used his training "except in cases of emergency."⁶¹

These emergencies may have included delivering his own children. About 1865, Dr. Tolmie pointed out to Christina MacDonald the abandoned and overgrown site of her cousin Ranald's birth on February 3, 1824 at Fort George.⁶² In that year, Fort George had a population of about 150 persons, seventy men and eighty or so Chinook women and their Metis children.⁶³ Dr. John Scouler, a visiting English doctor, did not arrive at the fort until April of that year and Dr. McLoughlin did not reach the Columbia until the following November so that when Ranald was born the fort appears to have been without a doctor, except for his father.⁶⁴

It is known that Ranald's mother, a Chinook teenager and daughter of one of the most important Chinook headmen, did not cross the river to the Chinook camp to give birth. It is also known that Car-cum-cum, his mother's sister, was his nurse.⁶⁵ Ranald could have been born in one of the native childbirth lodges at the fort, but it is more likely that he was delivered in the fort quarters by his father.

The presence of Hamilton's Midwifery and Hamilton on Female Complaints at Fort George suggests that, when there was no doctor available, the gentlemen themselves managed their wives' confinements with the aid of native women.⁶⁶ This was not surprising given their negative opinions of

Chinook culture. Like McDonald, who was educated at the University of Edinburgh, their world views were shaped by their religious and scientific convictions. In McDonald's case, his staunch Presbyterian beliefs could not be reconciled with the ritualistic practices involved in Chinook childbirth, which he would have considered pagan.⁶⁷

Princess Sunday, Ranald's mother, died "a few days" after Ranald was born.⁶⁸ McDonald promptly took steps to ensure his son's future would be within mainstream North American society, rather than his mother's native culture. He would not allow his son's head to be flattened in the traditional Chinook manner and he named his newborn after his Scottish great-grandfather. If McDonald's childbirth practices were in any way to blame for his native wife's death, it did not deter him from using his Scottish obstetrics with his next wife, Jane Klyne, a young Swiss Metis girl.⁶⁹

In Jane, McDonald found a receptive pupil for his moral values. Jane, who was fully "educated by her husband", was regarded with much esteem even by the high-minded and often critical missionaries.⁷⁰ Although McDonald was in charge of various posts, most were small and none had doctors. As a result, it seems likely that he oversaw the delivery of his thirteen sons and one daughter with Jane.⁷¹ He was probably assisted in this task by native women, who were increasingly hired as childbirth nurses by both fur traders and white settlers.⁷²

What can be said with certainty is that, when the McDonald twins were born in July 1830, and Jane was unable to breast feed, Archibald found an Indian wet-nurse. The native woman's own child was given cow's milk following McDonald's instructions. "This was an entirely new departure for the Indians and half breeds," according to McDonald's niece, Christina, "and the Indian youngster received the name La-Let" which he bore for the rest of his life.⁷³

Like McDonald, Solomon Smith, the second teacher at the Fort Vancouver school, had studied medicine, but did not use his training as an occupation.⁷⁴ Among the Presbyterian missionaries, however, Henry Spalding, who had taken some medical courses, attempted "to treat the Indians." Rev. Asa Smith, who was the best qualified next to Dr. Whitman, probably did the same.⁷⁵ Mary Richardson Walker had also studied medicine, but other than taking "morphine and calomel" before and after her pregnancies, she makes no references to using her medical knowledge outside of her family.⁷⁶ The same could not be said of William Henry Gray who, after 16 weeks of public lectures at Fairfield Medical School in New York, began to practice medicine. Whitman declared him a fraud and was able to ensure that the missionary board, which had accepted his questionable medical qualifications, refrained from addressing him as 'Doctor.' Despite this sanction, Gray continued to practice medicine among the Indian and immigrant populations, apparently with some success.⁷⁷

VIII

Dr. Whitman was ahead of his time in protesting the "prostitution of the title M.D.", which became a topic of heated debate in the late 1860s and 70s as the medical profession became increasingly organized in the Pacific Northwest.⁷⁸ How much it mattered is questionable. Both qualified and not so qualified doctors were governed by the limited knowledge of obstetrics at the time. A doctor's education did not provide him with much of an understanding of the "living function of menstruation, conception, faetal growth and birth."⁷⁹ The mechanism of labor was more or less understood, but the 'correct position' of a woman in labor was a subject of much discussion.⁸⁰ The first American text on midwifery, Valentine Seaman's The Midwifery Monitor and Mothers Mirror (1800), lists three proper positions for the laboring woman -- standing on her knees, sitting on the lap of another, or laying on her side in bed.⁸¹ By the 1830s, however, doctors educated in North American, like Whitman and McKay, favoured positioning the women flat on her back in bed during childbirth, while their British trained counterparts, like Tolmie and Kennedy, opted to place the woman in labor on her side in bed.⁸²

While the doctors were arguing over the best position for women during labor, common people continued to rely on age old and local methods of nativity. According to one English doctor, the hand loom weaver's wife was:

... upon her feet, with a woman on each side; her arms are placed round their necks; and in nature's agony she almost drags her supporters to the floor; and in this state the birth takes place.

The historian E.P. Thompson used this citation to describe the conditions of the working class and accepted the doctor's statement that the woman's position was due to a lack of clean bedclothes. It is just as likely, however, that the standing position for delivery was favoured in the community.⁸³ Indeed, throughout Great Britain and Europe, each county and region had its own particular position for childbirth.⁸⁴

The complaints of European physicians, who tried to convince stubborn women of the virtues of delivery in the safety of a bed, were echoed by American doctors who lamented that the immigrants had transported their traditional birth practices to their new homeland. They argued that the positions assumed by women in childbirth were dangerous since the newborn might be dropped at birth and injured.⁸⁵ Their sermonizing met with little success in the first third of the nineteenth century. Women were convinced that their traditional methods of parturition, which had worked well in Europe, would work well in America. Although there were some new world changes to old world birth practices, they were not always those envisioned by the doctors.

From Virginia and Pennsylvania to Southwest Missouri, one common mode of delivery was for the husband to sit on a straight-backed chair with his laboring wife reclining in his arms while an accoucheur, who might be a neighbor, relative,

friend, or paid midwife, sat upon an inverted half-bushel barrel placed between the legs of the woman to 'catch the baby' when it came. Variations of this position were also found in Ohio and other frontier regions. Until the 1850s, a familiar position for French Canadian and Vermont women was to give birth with their heads and shoulders raised at a sharp angle.⁸⁶ A Wisconsin woman, later to be a paid midwife, recalled her second childbirth in the 1840s:

I was on my knees by the side of the bed because it goes faster that way, I think. Little Clarence [her two year old son] crawled down there out of bed. He looked around and said, "Hello Baby."⁸⁷

Like the regional and local variations in Europe and North America, every native culture had traditional birth positions believed to be the correct one or ones for laboring women.⁸⁸ For example, among the many native cultures represented by the fur trade wives at Fort Vancouver, some Flathead (Spokane) and Kootenais gave birth in a semi-recumbent position over a box covered with buffalo robes while their abdomens were massaged by an attendant.⁸⁹ Among the Plains Cree, the women kneeled against a chest-high support created by lashing a pole across two forked uprights.⁹⁰ Nez Perce women had different positions for each stage of labor.⁹¹ Among the Chinook, some women waited until the moment of birth was near before assuming an erect kneeling position. A young woman assistant stood behind the parturient woman clasping her under the arms in order to support her and forcibly hold her up.⁹² Other native women from the Puget Sound area favoured a squatting

position while grasping a pole or small tree for support.⁹³ In short, in native cultures as in Euro-American ones there were great variations in the way babies were born, but kneeling and squatting were the most common postures for delivery.⁹⁴

Indeed, after studying native childbirth positions, obstetrician Dr. George Engelmann attacked the contemporary medical practice of positioning the laboring woman upon her side or back as "almost entirely a product of modern civilization, and, I must say, of prudery rather than science."⁹⁵ Dr. Currier, another obstetrician, who studied Indian childbirth, reached the same conclusion and restated Engelmann's argument: "the squatting or kneeling position is far more favorable to muscular effort than the position with which we are familiar in the lying-in-chamber."⁹⁶ Their comments made in the 1880s, however, had little or no impact on other American obstetricians, who had by then, managed to confine women of all classes in the "most unnatural and disadvantageous position" for birth -- recumbent on their backs in bed.⁹⁷

IX

One of the first influences of Euro-American obstetrics in the fur trade was the adoption by native and Metis wives of giving birth in bed. This idea, adopted by the English and Americans from French obstetrics, was rooted in the medical belief that childbirth was a sickness and that the parturient woman should be treated as an invalid and kept in bed.⁹⁸

Anna Manson recalled the birth of her sister at Stuart Lake, New Caledonia, on the very day her father, chief trader Donald Manson, returned from his annual six-month brigade to Fort Langley. Although it cannot be determined how her mother, Felicite Lucier, the daughter of a Chinook woman and an Astorian servant, was born at Fort Astoria, by the late 1840s, when this baby arrived, the first generation of Metis daughters, like Felicite, had already adopted the Euro-American practice of giving birth in bed. Anna noted:

My sister Lizzy was born and my mother was still in bed, and when the cry was made that the boats were coming, we were all so eager to have papa see the baby.⁹⁹

Moreover, by this time, giving birth in bed was no longer exclusive to gentlemen's wives like Felicite Manson, but encompassed servants' wives as well. For example, according to family tradition, Betsy Ough, the Indian wife of a Company seaman and a midwife "gave birth to most of her children" in a solid walnut "bed" purchased by her husband in England and shipped to Fort Vancouver.¹⁰⁰

X

Although courses in midwifery dated from the mid-seventeenth century in Great Britain and the United States, they were not a compulsory part of medical training. There was a growing recognition, however, that obstetric knowledge was useful. In France, it was the surgeons who became midwives; in Britain, it was the physicians. In North America, the term 'general practitioner,' which was applied

to missionary and fur trade doctors alike, came into use around 1812 and referred to men who combined apothecary skills, surgery and midwifery. By the early years of the nineteenth century, some professors of midwifery began calling themselves obstetricians, "a scientific-sounding title free of the feminine connotations of the word midwife."¹⁰¹

As already indicated, the obstetric debates of Britain and the United States were brought to Oregon with the arrival of doctors from these countries. For example, Dr. Whitman studied midwifery under Dr. Willoughby, the founder of Fairfield Medical School in New York, who strongly opposed the use of forceps and influenced Whitman's decision not to use them.¹⁰² Whitman's views on natural childbirth were shared by his wife Narcissa, a "Thomsonian," who came to Oregon in the heyday of Thomsonian popularity with her lobelia and cayenne pepper plants, which, she stated, "will answer my purpose better than some of the apothecary medicines."¹⁰³

Thomsonians followed the wisdom of Samuel Thomson, a New Hampshire farmer, who taught that in order to maintain good health the body had to eliminate all waste and impure materials. There was nothing new about this empiric system of medicine, which was a principal theory of medical practice, but Thomson's advice that purging be accomplished by herbs and plants, especially lobelia, which would induce vomiting, and cayenne pepper, to promote free perspiration, was a departure from existing medical practice. In brief, the Thomsonian

regime, known as "puke medicine," preferred botanical cures over drugs, and natural childbirth over the use of instruments.¹⁰⁴

By the 1850s, botanical and other fringe medical practices, such as electricism, homeopathy and mesmerism, were popular in Oregon.¹⁰⁵ Like Thomsonian medicine, with its emphasis on self-reliance and energetic home doctoring with vegetable compounds, these alternate forms of medical treatment fitted into the new age of pioneering, where the image of the self-reliant man was reinforced in the Thomsonian slogan "Everyman his own physician" and where regular doctors were not always available, or were too expensive for many families.¹⁰⁶

The irregular medical practitioners exploited the rising tide of protest against the doctors' excessive use of calomel (mercurous chloride), which was used at the time as a panacea for all types of illnesses, including childbirth.¹⁰⁷ They deplored the doctors' habit of forcing castor oil and calomel down the throats of new-born babies. Thomsonians and other fringe medical groups advocated that infants be fed on breast milk only and not purged at all.¹⁰⁸

This cynical distrust of the medical profession, which historian Richard Shryock states grew "beyond ordinary bounds during the early Victorian decades," also found expression in the growth of patent medicines. Many of these concoctions were dangerous, especially the 'soothing syrups' for babies

which were reported responsible for 15,000 infant deaths in England each year.¹⁰⁹ Others were harmless, but fell short of their grandiose promises to cure illness.

Such appears to be the case with the bottled medicines sold by the Oregon Indian Medicine Company founded by 'Colonel' Thomas Augustus Edwards and headed by his friend Donald McKay, Dr. William McKay's half-brother. Capitalizing on his national fame as the "Scot-Indian" military hero of the Madoc Indian War of 1873 and recognizing the popularity of herbal medicines and 'Indian cures,' Donald McKay began selling "KA-TON-KA" on the Indian wild-west show circuits of the 1870s.¹¹⁰

Like other physicians who took advantage of the patent medicine boom, Dr. William McKay apparently collaborated in his brother's "hundred dollars a day" scheme.¹¹¹ According to the advertisements, KA-TON-KA was a "Blood Purifier" composed of "roots, herbs and barks gathered by the Warm Spring Indians on the Umatilla Reservation."¹¹² It is highly unlikely, however, that Donald McKay's appeal to his brother William, who was then the physician on the Umatilla Reservation, to "git the old wemen [sic] to gather the ruts [sic] and dry it and you send it to me," provided any ingredients that did not come from Pittsburgh, where the concoction, which promised to cure almost every ailment known to adults and children, was manufactured.¹¹³

Although the missionary and Company physicians used

unpleasant therapeutics and extreme measures like 'copious bleeding,' cupping, purging and blistering, their procedures were not far removed from the irregular doctors. Like them, they depended on their senses -- sight, smell, sound and taste -- to make their diagnoses. The physicians were empiricists about treatment, using whatever seemed to work without regard to any firm theoretical base. As a result, there were many ambiguities in the doctors' practices. For example, Dr. Helmcken believed in the healing power of nature, while at the same time lamenting that "bloodletting has been too much neglected of late." In his practice, he borrowed from the 'electricist' doctors and used magnets in his treatment of "nervous diseases."¹¹⁴

Much like their irregular counterparts, the doctors also used many botanical curatives.¹¹⁵ According to Dr. Helmcken, there were only two patent medicines available when he arrived at Fort Victoria in 1849, Turlington's Balsam and Juniper Peppermint, and it fell to the doctors to grow, supply, and compound most of their own medicines.¹¹⁶

Despite the doctors' distance from the centers of science, however, medical breakthroughs were not slow in reaching the Pacific Northwest.¹¹⁷ In the summer of 1848, for example, chief trader Joseph McKay recorded that the frigate *Constance* reached Fort Simpson "and brought us news -- the breaking out of the French Revolution and the invention of chloroform," which eventually revolutionized childbirth by

eradicating the parturient mother's pain.¹¹⁸

In short, although the doctors borrowed from irregular medicine, in public they allied themselves to the world of science and openly denounced alternative theories. Whitman may have been the only doctor without a pair of forceps, but, like the other physicians, he relied primarily on galenicals (simples made from vegetable compounds) in pre-and post natal cases. Alternative medical curatives were simply added to the existing herbal remedies the doctors already used for various ailments.¹¹⁹ The popularity of irregular medicine, however, appears to have acted as a moderating force against the wholesale use of harsh drugs as well as the indiscriminate use of instruments in childbirth.

XI

In general, new developments in obstetrics lagged behind other branches of medicine because moral and religious questions complicated the purely scientific ones. For example, progress might have been hastened if the dissection of women who died in labor had been practiced, but female cadavers were much more difficult to obtain than male ones and their dissection was socially less acceptable.¹²⁰ While obstetric advances made before 1850 were not always unqualified improvements, they included a number of successful operations such as ovariectomy (1809), abdominal pregnancy delivery (1817), and the repair of vesico-vaginal fistula (1840). Breakthroughs in other branches of medicine, such as

hand washing in chloride of lime before operations (1843) and the use of ether (1846) and chloroform (1847) as anesthetics, also improved conditions for successful childbirth.¹²¹

How such operations affected the lives of Metis children is difficult to assess. In contrast to the normal Euro-American or Indian childbirth experience, the greater genetic differences between native women and their Euro-American husbands increased the risks in childbirth and placed the women in a situation where operations could have been used. One problem mentioned in medical literature dealing with 'half-breed' childbirth was the size of the babies, which were "usually so large as to make (their) passage through the pelvis of the Indian mother almost impossible."¹²²

In the seventeenth century, it was recognized that a disproportion between head size and pelvis size was a cause of childbirth deaths and a number of methods for solving the problem were suggested. A British midwife, P. Willoughby, recorded:

Where the head and body bee too great, shee whill not be delivered, nor the child saved, unless the birth bee turned from the head to the feet, and afterwards to bee, by the feet, produced.¹²³

In many cases where this occurred among white women, however, the mother and child were left to die. This also appears to have been true among native people. Even medical doctors who were staunch supporters of Indian childbirth practices admitted that native women died from exhaustion,

undelivered, when native midwives had exhausted their expertise.¹²⁴

By the nineteenth century, increasing scientific knowledge about the mechanism of childbirth led French doctors, then the leaders in obstetrics, to recognize that the flexibility of the cranial bones, combined with the power of uterine contractions, allowed some women in this situation to deliver normally. At the same time, it was noted that the women's pains were more violent and that the duration of labor was longer. In short, it was well recognized that giving birth under such circumstances was more difficult and dangerous.¹²⁵

When the contracted diameter of the cervix was extremely small, less than 3 inches, according to the English, or less than 2 inches, according to the French, a natural labor at term was considered physically impossible because too great a disproportion existed between the dimension of the birth canal and the baby's body which had to traverse it.¹²⁶ Several courses of 'interference' were recommended to doctors to remedy the situation.

The first method was to bring on premature labor in the seventh month if the doctor suspected that the child would be too large for the mother to deliver. It was, however, almost impossible to determine the exact relationship between the head of the child and the pelvis in the seventh month. Moreover, the manoeuvres necessary for inducing labor such as perforation of the membranes, plugging the vagina, and uterine

douches were dangerous. Although Condie's Midwifery, one of the medical texts in the Fort Vancouver Library, spoke highly of 'exciting' labor in the seventh month as a means of preserving the life of the child, the Catholic Church denounced the practice because it interfered with the natural process of childbirth.¹²⁷ Since most of the fur trade population in Oregon was nominally Catholic, it is unlikely that this procedure would have been acceptable.

A second method was to deliver the child by either podalic or cephalic version, or turning, which meant the accoucheur introduced his or her hand into the womb and turned the child to deliver it feet first (podalic version), or head first (cephalic version). Version, the most common form of interference in childbirth, had only limited success with large babies, however, since there usually was not enough room for the hand in the womb.¹²⁸ As a last resort, doctors were forced to perform either a caesarian section or a craniotomy (embryotomy) to terminate the labor.¹²⁹

Without anesthetics, caesarian section was considered to be "one of the most serious operations in surgery." Over three-quarters of the women who underwent the surgery subsequently died.¹³⁰ As a consequence, craniotomy was preferred by British doctors who justified mutilating living infants in order to save the mother. Craniotomy was an old operation whereby a crotchet or long hook was inserted into the baby's skull, the brain was drained and crushed, and the

infant was removed. Various new instruments for performing this operation were available by the early nineteenth century. The most popular was Smille's forceps scissors, which perforated the cranium with a cutting edge. The pieces of the infant's body were then extracted with regular forceps.¹³¹ In England, craniotomies were performed in about one out of 200 cases and the mortality rate of the women was about one in five.¹³²

How often doctors in the Pacific Northwest resorted to such operations is unknown, but, by the end of the century, they were being performed on reservation native and Metis women. Dr. Fred Treon, the physician at Crow Creek, South Dakota, recalled attending one of his Sioux patients:

As the child was dead mutilation seemed the only thing left for me to do. But at 6 o'clock I concluded to make one more desperate effort to turn. This time I succeeded in getting hold of the feet, and delivered by performing podalic version.¹³³

The medical text used by the Hudson's Bay Company doctors, however, called for the early use of forceps to prevent the necessity of having to perform a craniotomy. Forceps provided a successful solution in many cases, because the mortality rate of mothers and infants was less than in other operations. Forceps were useless, however, if the baby's head was tightly wedged in the birth canal.

Nevertheless, Hudson's Bay Company doctors appear to have shared in the growing faith that the new and better designed forceps would hasten delivery and save "many children, which

otherwise must have been destroyed."¹³⁴ Doctors were advised to warm the forceps in hot water and smear the blades with butter or oil to make introduction easier and less painful.¹³⁵ Without anaesthesia, however, inserting the tongs of various sizes and shapes about the baby's head and pulling could be fatal for the parturient woman. By 1850, medical texts were alerting doctors to the fact that many women went into shock when forceps were used. The texts instructed doctors to keep the patient quiet, or in more severe cases, to administer opium and ammonia, or wine and water before using the tongs.¹³⁶ Edward Shorter suggests in A History of Women's Bodies (1982), that the use of forceps was so gruesome for the women and the doctors that they were only used "in perhaps two percent of all deliveries" in central Europe in the nineteenth century.¹³⁷ Not only do Shorter's statistics appear to be too high (in England, for example, only one in every 362 births used forceps in the years between 1789 and 1849), but his reason for the infrequent use of forceps is in error.¹³⁸ While other obstetric operations were regarded as repulsive, even by the doctors themselves, the use of forceps was generally accepted. Nor was the question of forceps as simple as a theoretical debate among obstetricians over whether childbirth was a natural event requiring physicians to 'wait on nature' or a pathological crisis demanding active and vigorous intervention. Rather, there appears to have been general agreement that nature should be left to take its

course in normal childbirth and that forceps should only be used in difficult cases because of the danger to mother and child. The discussions between doctors about the use of forceps only applied to what were called 'unnatural labors' and involved such issues as determining how many hours of labor should pass before employing them.¹³⁹

In contrast to Shorter's view of women as passive victims enduring the horrors of forceps, there is much evidence that, once the capabilities of the instrument became known, women asked for them in hopes of a faster delivery. Indeed, women who had been delivered with forceps, often requested that they be used again in subsequent confinements.¹⁴⁰

Without adequate records, there is no way of ascertaining how frequently forceps were employed in Metis childbirth, but because the risk of complications were greater it seems likely they were employed more frequently than might otherwise have been the case. Indeed, Dr. King, a reservation doctor writing in the 1870s, reported that he had hardly ever delivered an Indian woman "without instrumental assistance."¹⁴¹ What can be said with certainty is that forceps were present and no doubt used by the Company doctors in the fur trade community. Dr. Tolmie's delight at finding good quality forceps at Fort Vancouver has already been mentioned. Dr. Helmcken at Fort Victoria apparently brought his own forceps from London where he had spent a year practicing midwifery among the poor of that city as part of Guy's Hospital's "Extern Lying-in"

charity program.¹⁴² In brief, it appears that the Company doctors in the Pacific Northwest used forceps as part of their midwifery.

Whatever obstetric problems confronted the Hudson's Bay Company doctors, however, it seems clear that the shortage of Company physicians, coupled with their dual roles as both doctors and traders, meant that only a small proportion of Metis babies, the children of officers and of women with childbirth complications, were delivered by them.

XII

By the end of the nineteenth century, middle class fears about the impropriety of male doctors in female lying-in-chambers and the association of doctors with the deaths of mothers and infants had been largely eradicated. The medical profession in the United States had discredited midwives as 'dangerous impediments' to scientific progress and had won legislation to banish midwives from obstetrics altogether.¹⁴³

The medical propaganda against midwives had its roots in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when one medical text after another echoed the "many fatal consequences" that would happen to women and babies at the hands of the untrained and unskilled.¹⁴⁴ Feminist literature has challenged the stereotype of the 'ignorant midwife' by revealing that great variations existed in the practice of midwifery. In the process, however, another myth has been

created, namely that, before the intrusion of male doctors in the birth chamber, 'childbirth was an all female experience.'¹⁴⁵ As previously discussed, however, there is ample evidence to disprove this conjecture. Among the fur traders, native people and in Euro-American folk practice, male involvement in childbirth was commonplace. Recent literature on childbirth also fails to adequately define the term midwife which usually implies a female paid for her services. But, unless all women -- paid or unpaid, part-time or full time; friends, neighbors, or relatives -- are classified as midwives, the rich diversification of female 'helpers' is lost. For, in the first half of the nineteenth century, it appears that the majority of babies born to the lower classes were delivered without the assistance of any paid specialists, doctors or midwives.¹⁴⁶

At the heart of the debate between midwives and doctors were major differences in the way each treated the parturient woman. Midwives seldom used instruments and were less likely to insert their fingers into the womb, while doctors in the late eighteenth and early twentieth century not only put women "to the touch," as it was called, but were instructed to do so frequently "otherwise she will think you are giving her no assistance."¹⁴⁷

While the unskilled midwife was charged with causing deaths by yanking away the umbilical cord to hasten the removal of the afterbirth -- "where they save one, they murder

twenty" -- doctors used unsterilized instruments, which also had fatal consequences.¹⁴⁸ It seems clear, however, that both midwives and doctors practiced 'interference' in one form or another. The midwife, for example, might try manually to stretch the cervix if labor did not proceed normally, whereas doctors faced with the same problem would resort to opium, an enema of tobacco, or surgical separation of the pubic bones. Both physicians and midwives practiced version and some midwives undertook such operations as craniotomy.¹⁴⁹

In short, it is extremely difficult to conclude whether doctors or midwives offered the best medical treatment, but less difficult to assess social changes in the ritual of childbirth which accompanied the transition from midwives to doctors. In the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, when North American doctors were still groping for status, they would attend the birth, but were not involved in pre-natal or post-natal care, which was thought to be "the business of the nurse."¹⁵⁰ By contrast, midwives not only delivered infants, but provided a maternal support system for the mother and newborn. The transfer of childbirth from the concern of midwives to that of doctors caused a void in maternity care, which was not filled until around mid-century when the general practitioner assumed some of the services previously supplied by midwives. By that time, the so-called 'doctor-patient relationship' had developed, which implied that a new set of customs, behaviours and expectations had

superceded those of the midwife.

Increasingly, in mainstream North American society midwives were restricted to serving only working class and poor women.¹⁵¹ A similar transformation was taking place in the fur trade in Oregon by the 1840s whereby the class of the father often determined whether a midwife or a doctor was going to bring a Metis child into the world. In the retired Hudson's Bay Company servants' settlement in the Willamette Valley, for example, the children were usually delivered by midwives who often remained in the household after childbirth to take care of the family until the mother had recovered.¹⁵² By contrast, in gentlemen's households where doctors delivered Metis children, the families were able to employ nurses for post-natal care.

Although criticism of midwives was often vicious, the antagonism had its origins in the belief that midwives were "as ignorant of their business as the women they delivered."¹⁵³ Many doctors believed that midwifery for the common people rightly belonged in the hands of women, but argued that they should be schooled, licensed and supervised by the medical profession. In 1799, in New York, Dr. Valentine Seaman opened the first school in America to train midwives.¹⁵⁴ In the United States, however, by the late 1830s there was a surplus of male doctors who sought to protect their marketplace, (as part of professionalizing themselves), and were unwilling to relinquish their income from obstetrics

to trained midwives.¹⁵⁵ In Scotland, by contrast, where Hudson's Bay Company Doctors' Tolmie, Gairdner and Kennedy had studied, courses for women in midwifery began in 1780 and by the mid-nineteenth century, there was "scarcely a parish of Scotland" where women had not been instructed in midwifery.¹⁵⁶ In Quebec, the rural parishes were still using paid female midwives as late as the 1840's. Red River also had midwives to attend childbirth.¹⁵⁷ Thus, in the major areas where the Hudson's Bay Company recruited workers for the Pacific Northwest, midwives were the accepted people who delivered servants' children. It should not be surprising, therefore, that midwives, rather than doctors, served the servant population in Oregon.

The Indian tribes of the Lower Columbia River also had midwives to deliver their infants. How many of these women assisted in fur trade childbirths is unknown, but they probably concealed their sacred and hence secret activities from the watchful eyes of those who opposed their practices. For example, Fort Vancouver's chaplain Rev. Herbert Beaver condemned one Indian woman as "a reputed murderess of infants in capacity of midwife."¹⁵⁸

While fur trader's wives were often isolated from the childbirth support system of their native cultures, some of them still called upon shamans to restore them to health and continued to use native medicines. As previously mentioned, however, the extent to which wives were able to give birth in

traditional native fashion is unknown, but in the pioneer period of Oregon history (1840s-1880s) settlers recalled the Indian women "doctoring us when sick."¹⁵⁹ In short, native midwifery was probably far more common in the fur trade than historical documentation implies.

Nevertheless, of the three Metis and single Indian midwives known to be practicing among the Hudson's Bay Company servant population, all appear to have been schooled in Euro-American midwifery as much as in native methods. Three of these women had spent extended periods of time in the McLoughlin household at Fort Vancouver, where it is likely that McLoughlin or other Company doctors had given them an apprenticeship for their future occupation. The Company doctors undoubtedly believed that midwives should be trained and were able to teach the girls the anatomical knowledge necessary for good practice.

As chief factor, McLoughlin had an obligation to provide for the physical well being of his employees and their families, including their obstetric needs. As a Canadian doctor, McLoughlin was knowledgeable about the system in Quebec where midwives had religious as well as medical responsibilities, and were authorized by priests to perform emergency baptism on infants in danger of dying. Through the training of midwives, McLoughlin could supply the needs of his former and part-time employees while at the same time relieving the fort doctor for more serious medical

concerns.¹⁶⁰

Mary Rondeau, the daughter of a Canadian trapper and Chinook mother, was born in 1829 on the Company brigade to California. She became known as "the doctor and midwife for the whole (Chinook) country." The use of the term "doctor" is interesting, since Mary was brought up in the James Douglas - McLoughlin household after the age of five when her mother died. Mary, not only delivered infants, but also practiced other kinds of medicine. At one point in her career, she treated a member of the local garrison, General Ulysses S. Grant, who later became President of the United States for "delirium tremens" resulting from alcohol abuse. Mary's growing-up experience was largely confined to the middle-class environment of the gentlemens' families at Fort Vancouver. Marriage brought her even closer to this community when she became the bride of a officer, Rocques Ducheney, who oversaw the Hudson's Bay Company store at Point Chinook during the closing years of the fur regime in Oregon. In the fort environment, she had little opportunity to learn native medical skills. As a consequence, it seems reasonable to assume that Mary's training was in Euro-American medicine acquired at Fort Vancouver. Of her education in general, Harriet Munnick states that she received "superior training" at Fort Vancouver considered befitting her status as the grand-daughter of the Chinook Chief Concomley.¹⁶¹

Like Mary Rondeau, midwives Betsy Ough and Adrienne

Lachapelle also spent a number of years in the McLoughlin household. In a newspaper interview in 1919, when Adrienne was ninety-eight years old, she said nothing to either confirm or deny that her medical knowledge had been gained at Fort Vancouver. "Old Grandma," as she was fondly called, implied she was self-taught and that she had learned "the nature of all roots and herbs by studying and using them." With this knowledge, she claimed to have "delivered half the children" on French Prairie in the Willamette Valley and to have "tended the sick for miles around." Yet Adrienne, who was born at Fort Vancouver in 1824, spent much of her girlhood with the McLoughlin family in order to attend the Fort Vancouver school, while her parents, Etienne Lucier, a former Astorian servant and Hudson's Bay Company freeman, and Josephte Nouite (Nouette, Newatte), a native woman of the Kwakiutl tribe of northern Vancouver Island, were busy establishing one of the first farms in the Willamette Valley.¹⁶²

As previously mentioned, Betsy Ough, or White Wing, a Cascade Indian woman gave birth to her children in a bed, Euro-American fashion. Like Mary Rondeau and Adrienne Lachapelle, she also lived with the McLoughlins for extended periods of time and received special treatment because she was a chief's daughter. Mrs. McLoughlin taught her "how to cook White Man's Cooking" and, perhaps, Dr. McLoughlin taught her midwifery. In any case, she was regarded as a "skilled midwife who presided at the birth of many children of the

early pioneers." Like the other midwives, it seems likely that she acquired some of her knowledge at the fort.¹⁶³

Letitia Bird, the daughter of chief factor James Bird and the fourth midwife known to have practiced her skills among the fur trade and settler population came to Oregon in 1841 with her Metis husband Charles R. MacKay and their children in the first party of twenty-three Red River families sent to bolster British claims to the region. Letitia, who was born at Fort Edmonton in 1810 and educated at the Red River Academy, appears to have incorporated Euro-American childbirth practices with native ones which she acquired from her Cree mother, Oomenahowish or Elizabeth. The MacKay family eventually settled on the North Tualatin Plain along with other Red River Metis, retired Company servants, and American mountain men. Here, where "most of the people had but little money so they could not afford to hire doctors," Letitia's expertise at midwifery was frequently in demand. On these occasions, she would call to her grandson, Jimmy: "Saddle my mare, I'll probably be gone for a day or two."¹⁶⁴

Whatever their training, midwives were part of the social structure in the retired servants' settlements by the 1840s. With the overland settlers from the United States came white midwives, who, like their Metis counterparts, served the pioneer communities. Although the midwives are almost invisible in the historical documents, there were probably many who were like Mrs. Morrison, an American immigrant woman,

who served both the Metis and white community and was for many years "the sole dependence for midwifery and much other family help" in her community.¹⁶⁵

XIII

Medical practices reflect and mirror larger cultural and social ideologies and are always influenced by the attitudes of the dominant class. In the Pacific Northwest, it was the Hudson's Bay Company which introduced the economic and social changes taking place in the larger nineteenth century Euro-American society. Like other capitalist enterprises operating under the aegis of British colonialism, the Company transposed elements of the English class system to the 'wilderness' of Oregon. In this frontier environment, where English and American ideas tended to mingle, British-American notions of class influenced most aspects of Metis life and were noticeable even in childbirth where doctors tended officers' wives and midwives looked after the wives of the servants.

In the fur trade, the doctors served as one of many bridges in the acculturation of native and Metis women to the dominant culture which followed in the wake of the fur trade. In large measure, this process reflected a collective pressure exerted on native women to cast off those elements of native childbirth practices that continued to linger in the fur trade in favour of Euro-American obstetrics which the gentlemen regarded as superior. But the native women in Columbia

differed from the doctors who delivered them. They had not been born into a world with generations of Euro-American obstetrics as a legacy. They were forced to experience childbirth at the hands of doctors and midwives as if they were first-generation immigrants. The new mores came from the outside, by the operation of economic forces which they did not fully understand and over which they had little control. Their problem was how to adapt themselves to childbirth in fur trade culture. For many of their Metis daughters, however, who had been weaned on the tenets of fur trade capitalism, the intrusion of doctors and midwives at childbirth was expected and normal.

Notes

1. On the women's applications to be missionaries, their courtships and marriages, see: Mary Richard Walker Diary, January 1, 1833 - May 6, 1837, 1837-1838 (Mss. WA 69, WA 85), Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Clifford M. Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission who made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838: Vol. I, Mrs. Marcus Whitman, Mrs. Henry H. Spalding, Mrs. William H. Gray and Mrs. Asa B. Smith, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, pp. 29-30, 238-242; Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Vol. II: Mrs. Elkanah Walker and Mrs. Cushing Eells, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, pp. 28, 35-37; 48; Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Vol. III, Diary of Sarah White Smith, Letters of Asa B. Smith and other Documents relating to the 1838 reinforcement to the Oregon Mission, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1966, pp. 40-41, 52-57.

2. Three of the six female missionaries who crossed the plains in 1836 were pregnant by the time they arrived in Oregon. A fourth became pregnant shortly thereafter. Information on the women's pregnancies is compiled from marriage, departure and childbirth dates given in Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 22, 34, 203, 216; Drury, First White Women: Vol. II, pp. 12, 15, 120, 136; Rev. Myron Eells, Marcus Whitman: Pathfinder and Patriot, Seattle, Alice Harriman Company, 1909, pp. 30, 49, 52, 100, 103, 315-342. The Spaldings were initially disqualified as Oregon missionaries because Eliza was pregnant and the Board did not want to send a pregnant woman or a new mother on the trip. When the infant was stillborn, the Board consented to their trip. See: Bernard DeVoto, Across the Wide Missouri, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975, p. 248.

3. Ruth Barr McKee, Mary Richardson Walker: Her Book, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1945, p. 181.

4. Antonia Fraser, The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984, p. 60; Audrey Eccles, Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Tudor and Stuart England, Kent, Kent State University, 1982, p. 33. Germaine Greer argues that "pregnancy is regarded as an abnormal state" in contemporary society. See: Germaine Greer, Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility, New York, Harper and Row Publishers, 1984, p. 7.

5. John Hawkins Miller, "'Temple and Sewer': Childbirth, Prudery and Victoria Regina," The Victorian Family, edited by Anthony S. Wohl, London, Croom Helm, 1978, p. 31. The death of Princess Charlotte in 1817, after more than fifty hours in

labour, made Queen Victoria fear childbirth. See: Cecil Woodham-Smith, Queen Victoria: Her Life and Times 1819-1861, London, Sphere Books Ltd., 1975, pp. 13, 272, 278; Christopher Hibbert, Queen Victoria in Her Letters and Journals, New York, Viking Penguin Inc., 1984, p. 92.

6. For example, see: Henry Bridgman Brewer, ed., "Log of the Lausanne," OHO, Vol. 30, 1929, pp. 116, 118, 119.

7. The new interest in childbirth was also stimulated by growing concerns with public health and infant mortality. In England, Malthus' Essay on the Principle of Population (1798), which tied childbirth and the birthrate to the state of the nation, created new interest in the subject as well as a certain measure of anxiety.

8. Brewer, "Log of the Lausanne," pp. 116, 118, 119.

9. Richard Harrison Shryock, The Development of Modern Medicine: An Interpretation of the Social and Scientific Factors Involved, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1974, pp. 151-192.

10. Fashion played a part in the change from midwives to doctors. For example, by 1830, nearly all babies born to parents of the middle class in Philadelphia were delivered by doctors; whereas in the same year, in New York, only a small percentage of women of any class were willing to have their births attended by male midwives. See: Jean Donnison, Midwives and Medical Men, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1977, pp. 20-22; Catherine Scholten, "'On the Importance of the Obstetrick Art': Changing Customs of Childbirth in America," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, 1977, p. 427.

11. See: O. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon: A Medical History, Portland, Binfords & Mort, 1947, pp. 63-90; Robert E. McKechnie II, Strong Medicine: History of Healing on the Northwest Coast, Vancouver, J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1972, pp. 94-108; T. F. Rose, From Shaman to Modern Medicine: A Century of the Healing Arts in British Columbia, Vancouver, Mitchell Press Ltd., 1972, pp. 8-12.

12. For examples, see: Dr. Forbes Barclay, Fort Vancouver, to Mr. Philip Foster, Wallamett [sic], August 24, 1843, reprinted in Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, p. 89; Dr. J.S. Helmcken, Victoria, to I.D. Manson (July 22, 1860), James Murray Yale Papers, PABC, Victoria. (Both letters contain prescriptions for newborn babies). Also see: McKechnie, Strong Medicine, p. 100.

13 E.E. Rich, "The Fur Traders: Their Diet and Drugs," The Beaver, Summer 1976, pp. 48-51; Helen Meilleur, A Pour of Rain: Stories From a West Coast Fort, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1980, pp. 165, 170; Drury, First White Women: Vol. III, p. 213.

14 Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1975, p. 121.

15 Clifford Merrill Drury, Marcus Whitman, M.D.: Pioneer and Martyr, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1937, p. 175. Catherine, or Kitty Pambrun, as she was commonly called, spent three weeks with the Whitman's before and after the birth of Alice, but she was sick much of the time. See: Narcissa Whitman, The Letters of Narcissa Whitman, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1986, p. 47.

16 Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 126-127; T.C. Elliott, ed., "The Coming of White Women, 1836," OHQ, Vol. 38, 1937, pp. 54-55.

17 For example, seven months after the birth of Alice, the Whitmans took her on horseback 120 miles through the snow to Lapwai, the Spalding mission among the Nez Perces Indians, so that Marcus could deliver the first of Eliza Spalding's four children. See: Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 22, 203, 216; Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 184-187, 225. According to DeVoto, Whitman also delivered Indian children, but this is not supported by the documentation on his medical practice. Even in the late nineteenth century, native women showed a great reluctance to be touched or treated by white male physicians. Whitman may have been called in as a last resort when native childbirth measures would not work or when the woman's life was in danger but, he was not, as DeVoto states out delivering "red" children anywhere "within two weeks travel" of the mission. See: DeVoto, p. 267; Drury, Marcus Whitman, pp. 230-231, 251. Larsell also concurs that "there is no mention of his (Whitman) ever having served as obstetrician to the Indians." See Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, p. 119.

18 Anna Marie Pitman Lee died in June 1838. See: Anna Marie Pitman Papers, (P-A 330), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Charles Henry Carey, ed., "The Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, Commenced 1843," OHQ, Vol. 23, 1922, pp. 259-260; Carey, ed., "Methodist Annual Reports Relating to the Willamette Mission," OHQ, Vol. 23, 1922, p. 308; Robert Moulton Gatke, ed., "A Document of Mission History, 1833-43," OHQ, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 75-83; W.D. Fenton, "Jason Lee Memorial Addresses," OHQ, Vol. 7, 1906, p. 242.

Fenton, "Jason Lee Memorial Addresses," OHQ, Vol. 7, 1906, p. 242.

19. Larsell, pp. 92-98; Brewer, pp. 56, 116-119, 367; Edmond S. Meany, "Last Survivor of the Oregon Mission of 1840," WHQ, Vol. 2, 1907-1908, p. 22.

20. Juliet Pollard, "Aversion to Indians: Another Look at the White Women of the Oregon Mission," American Society for Ethnohistory Conference Paper, Chicago, IL., November 1985, pp. 3-4.

21. Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 144-146. The McDonalds had been stationed at Fort Colville and assisted the missionaries greatly. The eldest McDonald boy died from "Columbia leprosy," a disease common among the Chinook Indians. News of the deaths of their three other sons, including their five year old twins from scarlet fever at Fort Edmonton while en route to Red River, shocked the missionary ladies. See: George Simpson, Red River Settlement, to James Murray Yale, Fort Langley, June 19, 1845, James Murray Yale Papers (Add. Mss 537), Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia. Dr. Tolmie attended Angus McDonald's "Columbia Leprosy." See: William Fraser Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader, Vancouver, Mitchell Press, 1963, p. 342; Jean Murray Cole, Exile in the Wilderness: The Biography of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald 1790-1853, Don Mills, Burns and MacEachern Ltd., 1979, pp. 191-192, 201-202, 219-221; "Exile in the Wilderness: Archibald McDonald's Ten Years at Fort Colville," The Beaver, Summer 1972, p. 14; McKee, Mary Richardson Walker, p. 204.

22. Accurate figures for infant and child mortality among the fur trade population of the Pacific Northwest cannot be established. The loss of the Fort Vancouver journals, which probably recorded such deaths, makes questionable any statistics that can be calculated. The Catholic Church records, the next best source, did not begin until 1837 and are incomplete because of the roving nature of the mission. By my calculations taken from the 'Old St. Paul Cemetery Register,' one of the few remaining records of this sort, it appears that the number of child deaths was higher among the fur trade population than among the American population as a whole. However, all the names on the burial records are those of servants' children. As elsewhere, where working class child mortality has been studied, such figures probably reflect a higher percentage than the overall average. See: Harriet Duncan Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Portland, Binford & Mort, 1979. Also see: Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records of the Pacific

Northwest: Vancouver, St. Paul, French Prairie Press, 1980; Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Louis, Portland, Binford & Mort, 1984. On infant and child deaths in the United States, see: The Seventh Census, Report of the Superintendent of the Census for December 1, 1852, Washington, D.C., Robert Armstrong Printer, 1853, pp. 138-139; Wilson G. Smillie, Public Health: Its Promise for the Future, New York, Macmillan Company, 1955, pp. 117-119, 201-207. On child death in Europe, see: James Walvin, A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914, New York, Penguin Books, 1984, pp. 23, 29-45; Michael Mitterauer, Reinhard Sieder, The European Family, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983, pp. 34-35, 60-61, 146; Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1977, pp. 26, 199-204.

23. On obstetrics at the time, see: Shrylock, The Development of Modern Medicine, pp. 50, 85; Scholten, "On the Importance of the Obstetrick Art," p. 439. On women's fears about childbirth, see: Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 22-23, 171.

24. Drury, First White Women: Vol. II, p. 265, fn. 5.

25. Drury, First White Women: Vol. II, p. 232, fn. 36; Eells, p. 110; C.M. Drury, "The Columbia Maternal Association," OHO, Vol. 39, 1938, pp. 118-119; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, pp. A-63-64.

26. Harriet L. Smith, Forbes Barclay and His Family: An Oregon Vignette, Oswego, Smith, Smith and Smith Publishing Company, 1977, p. 6; O. Larsell, "An Outline of the History of Medicine in the Pacific Northwest," Northwest Medicine, Vol. 31, 1932, p. 443; Munnick, Catholic Church Records, St. Paul, pp. A-5, A-74.

27. Unlike the other McLoughlin children who were well schooled, Joseph apparently received no formal education. He was about fifteen when the family came to Fort Vancouver and he lived out his life as a ordinary engage in the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. He died in 1848 from the effects of a fall over a cliff in the Umpqua region. He was married to Victorie McMillan, the daughter of Kolakotah of the Clatsop tribe and James McMillan, a chief factor in the Northwest Company. The couple had no children. See: Fogdall, pp. 52-53, 58, 67; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, p. A-55.

28. McLoughlin retired from the Hudson's Bay Company late in 1845 and moved to Oregon City where he lived out his life.

See: Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, pp. 50, 262.

29. Fogdall discusses the various statements made by nineteenth and twentieth century historians concerning McLoughlin's medical qualifications and offers a corrected version of his medical background. See: Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia, pp. 32-34. Even in recent writings, some authors state that McLoughlin was trained in Edinburgh, rather than Quebec. For example, see: Donald Jack, Rogues, Rebels, and Geniuses: The Story of Canadian Medicine, Toronto, Doubleday Canada Limited, 1981, p. 98.

30. In 1830, Dr. Richard J. Hamlyn left Fort Vancouver after repeatedly quarrelling with McLoughlin. See: Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 68-72.

31. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, p. 65. In 1824, for example, Governor George Simpson experienced "much benefit" from McLoughlin's medical care. See: Frederick Merk, Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968, pp. 27-28.

32. McLoughlin's petition to practice medicine in Quebec and his certification are reprinted along with other background information, in: T.C. Elliott, "John McLoughlin, M.D.," OHQ, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 182-186. On medical training in Quebec at the time, see: Barbara R. Tunis, "Medical Licensing in Lower Canada: The Dispute Over Canada's First Medical Degree," Medicine in Canada: Historical Perspectives, edited by S.E.D. Shortt, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981, p. 139.

33. E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1828-1838, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, p. xxxv; Jane Lewis Chapin, "Letters of John McLoughlin, 1805-26," OHQ, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 320-321. Kenneth L. Holmes, "John McLoughlin," Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1972, pp. 110-112; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 63-70; Elliott, "John McLoughlin, M.D.," pp. 182-186. According to Fogdall, as a young man John McLoughlin remained in the fur trade to help finance his brother David's medical education in Europe. On Dr. David McLoughlin's career, see: Fogdall, pp. 32-57.

34. Holmes, "John McLoughlin," pp. 111-112; Chapin, "Letters of John McLoughlin," pp. 320-321.

35. Dr. Meredith Gairdner's father was one of first lecturers on midwifery and the diseases of children at the University of Edinburgh. See: A.G. Harvey, "Meredith Gairdner: Doctor

of Medicine," BCHQ, April 1945, pp. 93, 98; Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie, p. 250; Smith, Forbes Barclay, pp. 3-4.

36. John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure, Portland, Washington State Historical Society, 1957, pp. 146, 220-221. Sometime prior to 1841, there appears to have been a second hospital and dispensary set up to treat Indians. It was located in the Indian trade store inside the fort stockade.

37. Shryock, p. 92; Scholton, p. 430; Regina Morantz, Sue Zschoche, "Professionalism, Feminism, and Gender Roles: A Comparative Study of Nineteenth-Century Medical Therapeutics," Journal of American History, Vol. 67, No. 3, 1980, p. 575-577. In general, however, most babies were delivered at home. In the Fort Vancouver area, this practice lasted until the 1930s. See: John C. Brougher, "History of Medicine in Clark County: Hudson's Bay Doctors & Hospital," Clark County History, Vol. I, 1960, p. 26.

38. Tolmie, p. 173. On Tolmie's midwifery, see: "The Nisqually Journal," WHQ, Vol. 11, 1922, pp. 295-298; Vol. 12, p. 137.

39. Some of Tolmie's books were purchased for McLoughlin House Historic Site in Oregon City. These include Joseph Butler's The Principles and Practice of Obstetric Medicine and A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children. Nancy E. Wilson, Curator, McLoughlin House Historic Site, Oregon City, to Juliet Pollard, Sept. 19, 1985. Also see the list of Tolmie's books in: Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 82-83. For a list of Whitman's text on midwifery, see: O. Larsell, "Whitman: The Good Doctor," OHQ, Vol. 37, 1936, p. 225; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 110-111; Drury, Marcus Whitman, M.D., p. 42.

40. On the concept of professionalism in medicine, see: Gerald N. Grob, "The Social History of Medicine and Disease in America: Problems and Possibilities," Journal of Social History, Vol. 10, No. 4, Summer 1977, pp. 399-401. The best medical schools in America required two courses of lectures of 16 weeks each and various periods of training under a preceptor. About one in ten doctors in the U.S. were graduates of recognized medical colleges. As late as 1882, five out of the seven registered doctors in Clark County, where Fort Vancouver was located, had no degrees in medicine. See: Smillie, Public Health, pp. 222-225. Brougher, "History of Medicine in Clark County," p. 27; Drury, Marcus Whitman, pp. 39-42.

41. A.J. Youngson, The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine, London, Croom Helm, 1979, pp. 12-13.

42. On the study of medicine at the University of Edinburgh, see: Youngson, The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine, pp. 12-13.

43. On the training of Hudson Bay Company doctors in the Pacific Northwest, see: O. Larsell, "An Outline of the History of Medicine in the Pacific Northwest," pp. 390-572; A.G. Harvey, "Meredith Gairdner: Doctor of Medicine," pp. 89-111; Smith, Forbes Barclay, pp. 1-8; Elliott, "John McLoughlin, M.D.," pp. 182-186.

44. Glyndwr Williams, ed., Hudson's Bay Miscellany 1670-1870, Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975, pp. 215-216. It would be interesting to know what comments Simpson made about chief trader George Barnston's Metis son, James, who became an outstanding doctor, the first Professor of Botany at McGill University, a specialist in midwifery, Curator of the Canadian Natural History Society and a member of the editorial board of the Canadian Naturalist and Geologist before he died in 1858 at the age of twenty-seven. Barnston Sr. helped found Fort Langley. See: "Obituary: James Barnston, M.D.," The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist, Vol. 3, 1858, pp. 224-226; Alexander Caulfield Anderson, History of the Northwest Coast, (Add. Mss. 559), PABC, Victoria.

45. Williams, Hudson's Bay Miscellany, p. 216, fn. 1.

46. Williams, p. 215, fn. 6.

47. In contrast to Simpson's negative view of Kennedy as a 'half breed', the Fort Simpson journal stated: "Mr. Kennedy arrived with his family -- the first white family in the place." See: Journal of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson, 1834-37, (Ms. P-C 23), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. On Kennedy's career, see: Williams, Hudson's Bay Miscellany, pp. 215-216; E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, pp. 96, 234, 346; Burt Brown Barker, ed., Letters of John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver, 1829-1832, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1948, pp. 163, 166, 175, 218, 259; Harvey, pp. 91-92; Meilleur, A Pour of Rain, p. 170; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 71-72; Robert E. McKechnie, Strong Medicine, pp. 94-95.

48. Meilleur, p. 170.

49. Fogdall, pp. 139-180.

50. M. Elizabeth Arthur, "General Dickson and the Indian Liberating Army in the North," Ontario History, Vol. LXII,

No. 3, Sept. 1970, pp. 153, 157-158. On John's role in Dickson's Army, see: Fogdall, p. 149-150.

51. Fogdall, pp. 152-180.

52. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, p. A-54.

53. This statement was made by Lelia McKay, Dr. William McKay's daughter in an interview with Fred Lockley. See: Fred Lockley, Oregon's Yesterday, New York, Knickerbocker Press, 1928, p. 53.

54. Lockley, Oregon's Yesterday, p. 54.

55. McKay's employment with the Company from about 1843 to 1846 is sketchy. When McKay returned to Fort Vancouver, the fort was serviced by the highly capable Dr. Barclay and the need for two doctors may have been considered unnecessary and too costly. As a result, McKay appears to have been stationed for a time at the Company's operations in Oregon City. McKay's first wife Catharine died in childbirth in 1846 at Fort Vancouver and he may have blamed himself or Barclay for her death and thereafter left Company employment. Alternately, McKay's pro-American political sympathies may not have found a receptive climate at Fort Vancouver. His departure from Company employment appears to have occurred shortly after the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846 and may have been connected with the release of Company employees which took place at that time. On William McKay's career, see: Dr. W. C. McKay's Answers to Questions, T.M. Anderson Correspondence, (Ms 495), OHS, Portland, Oregon; William McKay to E.E. Dye, Aug. 10, 1891, Feb. 26, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms 1089), OHS; Dr. William Cameron McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS; William Cameron, Pendleton, Oregon, to H.H. Bancroft, May 1, 1886, Answers to Questionnaire -- Autobiographical Notes by the Grandson of Alexander McKay, Member of the Astoria Expedition 1811, Bancroft Collection, 56301, (P-A 166), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; William McKay, "Additional Light on the Whitman Matter," TOPA, 1887, pp. 91-92; Larsell, "History of Medicine in the Pacific Northwest," p. 564; Larsell, "Fairfield Medical School and Some Early Oregon Physicians," OHQ, Vol. 37, 1936, pp. 107-108; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 312-314; Keith Clark, Donna Clark, eds., "William McKay's Journal: Part I," OHQ, Vol. 79, 1978, p. 136.

56. For example, Kennedy was considered to be of great value as a negotiator of Indian treaties because he had the Indians confidence. See: McKechnie, p. 95.

57. Raymond Wilson, Ohiyesa: Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1983, pp. x, 41.

58. Meilleur, pp. 47, 164, 181-182, 197, 203-204.
59. For example, Dr. Susan La Fleche, a Sioux Metis, quickly convinced six "full-bloods and two half-breeds" on the Omaha Agency in Nebraska, who had formerly shown a distrust of American doctors, to allow her to deliver their infants. See: Andrew F. Currier, "A Study Relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," Transactions of the American Gynecological Society, Vol. 16, 1891, p. 281.
60. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 14-16, 29, 85-88, 93, 129, 168, 193, 205, 208, 343.
61. According to Donald MacDonald, the nephew of Archibald McDonald, his uncle was a doctor. See: Donald MacDonald, Marcus, Washington, March 2, 1902, Oct. 14, 1903, Nov. 13, 1903, to E.E. Dye, Oregon City, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089) OHS. (Various members of the McDonald family spelled 'McDonald' differently. In general, the older members such as Angus and Archibald used Mc, while their children tended to use Mac).
62. Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams, "A Daughter of Angus MacDonald," WHQ, Vol. 13, 1922, p. 113.
63. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, pp. 66, 90.
64. The Astorians did not have any physicians and the record of the doctors employed by the Northwest Company is incomplete. Of the three known to have been stationed at Fort George, one became deranged, another was sent home to stand trial for murder and the third committed suicide. See: Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 60-61. Dr. Scouler arrived as part of a botanical expedition, on April 3, 1824. See: John Scouler, "Dr. John Scouler's Journal of a Voyage to N.W. America," OHO, Vol. 6, 1905, pp. 162-163. McLoughlin arrived with George Simpson's party at Fort George on November 8, 1824. See: Merk, p. 64.
65. Merk, p. 86; Marie Leona Nicholas, Ranald MacDonald Adventurer, Caldwell, Caxton printers, 1940, pp. 39-43; William S. Lewis, Maojiro Murakami, eds., Ranald MacDonald, Spokane, Inland American printing Company, 1923, pp. 54, 76, 85, 92-97; Benjamin MacDonald, "Narrative of Benjamin MacDonald," WHQ, Vol. 16, 1925, p. 186; Robert H. Ruby, John A. Brown, The Chinook Indians, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, pp. 144-145, 169.
66. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, p. 61.

67. McDonald had also been a clerk and agent to Lord Selkirk. See: Cole, Exile in the Wilderness, pp. 1-22, 209. Drury, First White Women, Vol. II, pp. 150-151. (No doubt McDonald would have been pleased with the epitaph on his gravestone at St. Andrews, Quebec which reads: "One of the Pioneers of Civilization in Oregon." See: Lewis, Murakami, Ranald MacDonald, p. 790, fn. 50.)

68. In his manuscript and letters, Ranald stated that his mother died "a few days" after his birth. His half-brother Benjamin, who was often consulted about Ranald's life, thought her death had occurred a few months after Ranald's birth. This version has found its way into some of the writings on Ranald MacDonald. For Ranald's account, see: Ranald MacDonald to E.E. Dye, Sept. 3, 1891 and July 24, 1891, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. Also see: Nichols, Ranald MacDonald Adventurer, pp. 39-41.

69. McDonald was no stranger to inter-racial childbirth. Before his marriage to Princess Sunday at Fort George in 1823, he had an earlier alliance with an Indian woman on the Canadian prairies. A two year old son from this union accidentally drowned in a mud hole at Norway House in 1816. See: Lewis, Murakami, p. 84, fn. 57.

70. Although Jane, who married Archibald when she was about fifteen, had little contact with white women, the Presbyterians quickly observed that she was "a jewel ... of rare excellence" and that "the deportment of her numerous children was living testimony to her maternal efficiency." She spoke "good English" and adopted Ranald as her own. See: Lewis, Murakami, p. 83, fn. 55; Cole, Exile in the Wilderness, p. 189.

71. On the size of the McDonald family, see: Benjamin MacDonald, Butte, Montana, to E.E. Dye, October 8, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland; Lewis, Murakami, p. 97.

72. On Indian nurses, see: Thomas Nelson Strong, Cathlamet on the Columbia, Portland, Binforde and Mort, 1906, p. 155; F. Trotter, F. Loutzenhiser, J. Loutzenhiser, eds., Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. I, W.P.A. Sponsored Federal Project No 5841, 1936-38, p. 151; Drury, First White Women: Vol. II, p. 227.

73. Williams, "A Daughter of Angus MacDonald," p. 111.

74. "Solomon Howard Smith," TOPA, Vol. 15, 1887, pp. 81-89; Silas B. Smith to E.E. Dye, 1891-1901, E.E. Dye Papers, Ms. 1089, OHS; "Letters to Mrs. F.F. Victor 1878-83," OHQ, Vol. 63, 1962, pp. 198-199.

75. Spalding took some medical courses in Cincinnati, while attending Lane Theological Seminary. See: Larsell, "Fairfield Medical School," pp. 101-110; Larsell, "An Additional Note on Some Early Oregon Physicians," OHQ, Vol. 37, 1936, pp. 235-236. Asa Smith studied at Vermont and Berkshire Medical Colleges. See: Drury, First White Women: Vol. III, pp. 29-30, 121, 178; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 116-17.

76. S.T. Walker, Oct. 14, 1933 to E.E. Dye, E.E. Dye Papers, Ms. 1089, OHS; Drury, First White Women: Vol. II, p. 137.

77. Larsell, "Fairfield Medical School," p. 101; Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 237, 251; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 110-115, 281-277.

78. In British Columbia, the first ordinance governing the practice of medicine was passed in 1867. In Oregon, the first medical school was begun in 1865. "An Act to Regulate the Practice of Medicine and Surgery," however, was not passed until 1879 after several earlier attempts to restrict non-qualified doctors from practicing medicine. See: McKechnie, p. 112; O. Larsell, "The Development of Medical Education in the Pacific Northwest," OHQ, Vol. 27, 1926, p. 65, 81-82; Larsell, "History of Medical Journals in the Pacific Northwest," OHQ, Vol. 47, 1946, p. 6.

79. F. B. Smith, The People's Health: 1830-1910, London, Croom Helm, 1979, p. 16.

80. The work of Ambroise Pare (1510-90), surgeon to the King of France, made possible a greater understanding of the mechanism of labor, but it was not until the eighteenth century that advances in obstetrics, such as William and John Hunter's work on foetal and placental circulation, occurred. See: Donnison, Midwives and Medical Men, p. 10; J.H. Malkin, "The Rise of Obstetrics in British Medical Practice and the Influence of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists," The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain, edited by F.N.L. Poynter, London, Pitman Medical Publication Company, Ltd., 1961, pp. 59-60; J. Thornton, P. Want, "William Hunter (1718-1738) and His Contributions to Obstetrics," Br. J. Obstet. Gynaecol., Vol. 90, 1983, pp. 787-794.

81. Valentine Seaman, The Midwifery Monitor and Mothers Mirror: Three Concluding Lectures of a Course of Instruction on Midwifery, New York, Isaac Collins Publisher, 1800, p. 28.

82. On the debate over the correct position of women in labour, see: A. Tho. Michand, The Time a Woman Goes with Child, Sept. 25, 1783, Ms. 248, Osler Medical Library, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec; Edward Rigby, "What is the Natural Position of a Woman During Labour?," Medical Times &

Gazette, Vol. 15, Oct. 3, 1857, pp. 345-346; George Engelmann, Labor Among Primitive People, St. Louis, J.H. Chambers and Company, 1883, pp. 53, 150; P. Cazeaux, A Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Midwifery, Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston, 1860, pp. 771, 800; Thornton, Want, "William Hunter," pp. 789-790; Malkin, "The Rise of Obstetrics," p. 60.

83. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1979, p. 320.

84. For example, a common position for the laboring woman in northern Scotland was to hang about the neck of a person as tall or taller than herself who gently supported the woman's back with her knees fixed to the knees of the laboring woman. This practice was also followed in parts of Italy. In other areas of Scotland and England it was normal for women to give birth kneeling with elbows or hands on a chair or bed, while in Wales and Germany, some women gave birth sitting on their husbands' laps. In his Management of Pregnant Lying-in Women (1791) Dr. Ramsbotham complained, "the peasantry of Ireland placed themselves upon their hands and knees, and in Cornwall it is difficult to persuade the woman in labor to take any other posture than standing on her knees." See: Engelmann, Labor Among Primitive People, pp. 58-60, 66, 68-69, 82, 90; Eccles, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, p. 91.

85. Engelmann, pp. 97, 115.

86. Engelmann, pp. 81, 97, 115-116, 127-128.

87. Helen Olson Halvorsen, Lorraine Fletcher, "19th Century Midwife: Some Recollections," OHQ, Vol. 70, 1969, p. 45.

88. For examples, see: J.K. Simpson, "Midwifery Among Alaskan Indians," Occidental Medical Times, Vol. 6, 1892, pp. 61-62; H. Driver, "Wappo Ethnology," UC Publ. Arch. & Ethno., Vol. 36, 1935-39, p. 199; Andrew Currier, "A Study Relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," Transactions of the American Gynecological Society, Vol. 16, 1891, pp. 282-283.

89. In difficult cases among the Flathead and Kootenais, a male assistant might straddle the labouring woman with his hands clasped around her waist and press on her stomach during each pain to hasten the expulsion of the baby. See: Engelmann, pp. 14, 16, 91, 105, 146, 155. On the native cultures of the wives at Fort Vancouver, see: Susan Kardas, "The People Brought This and the Clatsop Became Rich: A View of Nineteenth Century Fur Trade Relations on the Lower Columbia Between Chinookan Speakers, Whites and Kanakas," Ph.D. Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1971, p. 208.

90. The head midwife stood behind the mother and massaged and supported her. Another midwife received the newborn and cut the navel cord, while a third woman was introduced to midwifery by assisting the other two. See: David G. Mandelbaum, Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study, Regina, Canadian Plains Studies 9, University of Regina, 1979, p. 139.

91. In the second stage, the Nez-Perce mother-to-be lay either on her side or back in a secluded place away from the village in the company of a female friend or relative. Sometimes she gave birth alone. See: Engelmann, pp. 16, 65, 74-75, 91, 136; Wm. Thornton Parker, "Concerning American Indian Womanhood -- An Ethnological Study," Annals of Medical Practice, Vol. 5, 1891-1892, p. 337; Currier, "A Study Relative to the Functions of the Reproductive Apparatus in American Indian Women," p. 281.

92. Engelmann, pp. 16, 81.

93. Currier, p. 283.

94. Engelmann, pp. 60-148; Joseph Hooker, "Child-Bearing Among the Natives of Australia and New Zealand," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, New Series, Vol. I, 1868-69, p. 68; Ales Hrdlicka, Physiological and Medical Observations Among the Indians of Southwestern United States and New Mexico, Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1908, p. 55; Fred Treon, "Obstetrics Among the Sioux Indian Women," The Cincinnati Lancet Clinic, Vol. 24, 1890, p. 13; Parker, "Concerning American Indian Womanhood," p. 334; Currier, pp. 282, 289.

95. Engelmann, p. 138.

96. Currier, p. 289.

97. Engelmann, pp. 97, 144, 150, 198. The position of native women in labor was often varied according to the advancement of labor and the position of the child's head in the pelvis. By changing positions, labor could be hastened or retarded in a way most favorable to a natural and safe delivery. This practice, which resulted in shortening the time in labor, may have been the source of the commonly held belief that Indian women had an easier time in childbirth than white women and was similar to the French "Crede Method," which gained popularity after 1850 in the United States. Most doctors, however, failed to notice the resemblance between Crede methods and Indian ones. In fact, one doctor went so far as to state that parturition among native women was more dangerous than among "civilized races, on account of the

extraordinary manipulations to which they are subjected by their attendants." In addition to the more favorable childbirth positions used by native women, doctors were amazed that native women did not suffer from puerperal fever. In England, for example, deaths from puerperal fever amount to 1.72 per 1,000 childbirths, between 1847 and 1854, and rose to 2.53 per 1,000, from 1854 until 1894, when they death rate began to drop. Similar statistics existed in the United States. See: Smillie, pp. 156-160; Smith, The People's Health, p. 13; Treon, "Obstetrics Among the Sioux Indian Women," pp. 13-14; Simpson, "Midwifery Among the Alaskan Indians," p. 62; Currier, pp. 286, 290; Guy Godfrey, "The Indian Woman in Labour," Medical Record, Vol. 46, December 1, 1894, p. 691; Hrdlicka, Physiological and Medical Observations, p. 56; G.P. Bissell, "Description of Proceedings of the Clalam Squaws of Puget Sound in Some Cases of Difficult Accouchement," California Medical Journal, Vol. 10, 1889, pp. 227-228; Virgil J. Vogel, American Indian Medicine, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, pp. 50, 231-232; Parker, p. 339; Joseph M. Toner, "Some Points in the Practice of Medicine Among the North American Indians," Virginia Medical Monthly, Vol. IV, 1877-1878, p. 347; E. McClellan, "Obstetric Procedures Among Certain of the Aborigines of North America," Transactions of the Kentucky State Medical Society, 1878, p. 95; J.C. King, "Obstetrics Among Aborigines," Codex Medicus, Vol. 3, 1896, pp. 130, 133.

98. The idea that women in labor were suffering from a disease was common in the eighteenth century. For example, in 1783, Dr. Michund instructed midwifery students that "women must be treated as being sick and given only food of easy digestion." See: A. Tho. Michund, The Time A Woman Goes With Child, Sept. 25, 1783; Eccles, p. 91; Janet Bodgan, "Case or Cure? Childbirth Practices in Nineteenth Century America," Feminist Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1978, p. 93. Regina Markell Morantz, "Making Women Modern: Middle Class Women and Health Reform in 19th Century America," Journal of Social History, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1977, p. 497. Among the missionary women in Oregon, Mary Walker, reflected on her confinement that, at "about nine I became sick enough" to go to bed. Narcissa Whitman recalled: "I was sick about two hours." Eliza Spalding wrote home: "On the 15th of last month, I was made the joyful mother of a daughter. My illness has not been severe, or protracted and the little one is still spared to us and appears in good health." See: McKee, p. 181; Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 126, 203.

99. Anna Tremewan (nee: Manson), "Mrs. Anna Tremewan," OHQ, Vol. 4, 1903, p. 263. When this interview was conducted in 1903, racism directed against people with Indian blood was rampant and it was not uncommon for fur trade children like

Anna to imply that their relatives were white, rather than Indian. In this interview, for example, Anna stated that she thought her grandmother had come from "east of the Rockies." Information on her Chinook grandmother, however, is given in: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. A-61; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, p. A-59. Her grandmother's last name, Nouite, Newette, or Nouette, suggests that she was a slave or the child of a slave among the Chinook since the Nouite were a Kwakiutl tribe of northern Vancouver Island. No date is given for the birth of Lizzy, but it was probably in the late 1840s. Donald Manson was placed in charge of New Caledonia in 1844 and stationed at Fort St. James in 1845. See: E.E. Rich, ed., Black's Rocky Mountain Journal 1824, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1955, pp. 324-342.

100. "Richard Ough's Princess," Clark County History, 1977, p. 62.

101. "Postscript," Br. J. Obstet. Gynaecol., Vol. 90, Sept. 1983, p. 786; Donnison, p. 45; Scholton, p. 436.

102. At the time that Dr. Whitman earned his degree, Fairfield Medical School was the third largest medical school in the United States. The school specialized in training frontier doctors for the American west and Upper Canada. Whitman's first medical practice was in Upper Canada. See: Drury, Marcus Whitman, pp. 42-44, 55, 135; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 101-105; Jack, Rogues, Rebels and Geniuses, p. 35.

103. Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, p. 43.

104. The Thomsonians (Thompsonians) received an enthusiastic response from the working class in North America and Great Britain. Friendly Botanical Societies, the first prepaid medical insurance plan in America was organized by Thomson and spread rapidly throughout the United States, Canada and Great Britain, enrolling some 3,000,000 members in North America alone. In England, Thomsonian medicine was known as "Coffinism" after Dr. Albert Coffin, who introduced the system in Britain. By and large, the medical profession opposed Thomsonian medicine, but the College of Medicine and Surgery in Chicago and the Physio-Medical College of Cincinnati trained doctors in Thomsonian methods for a time. Thomsonian practitioners claimed that they never lost a mother or a child in hundreds of obstetric cases. See: Barbara Griggs, Green Pharmacy: A History of Herbal Medicine, Toronto, Methuen, 1981, pp. 161-171, 175, 198-211; Thomas Hersey, The Midwife's Practical Directory ... For the Special Use of the Bontanic Friends in the United States, Baltimore, published by the author, 1836; Smillie, pp. 194-200; Larsell, "History of Medical Journals in the Pacific Northwest," p. 4; Jethro

Kloss, Back to Eden, Loma Linda, California, 1983, pp. 50-51; Shryock, pp. 254, 261.

105. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 156, 209, 409-413; Smith, The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, p. 48; On eclecticism, homeopathy and mesmerism see: Griggs, Green Pharmacy, pp. 179-183; Shryock, pp. 248-272; Roger Cooter, "The History of Mesmerism in Britain: Poverty and Promise," Franz Anton Mesmer und Die Geschichte Des Mesmerismus, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiebaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 152-162; Philip Rhodes, The Value of Medicine, London, George Allen Unwin Ltd., 1976, p. 37.

106. Griggs, pp. 172-175; Anita Clair Fellman, Michael Fellman, Making Sense of Self: Medical Advice Literature in Late Nineteenth-Century America, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, pp. 7-8.

107. Shryock, pp. 252-255; Griggs, pp. 187-197; Fellman, Making Sense of Self, p. 8.

108. Griggs, p. 206.

109. Shryock, pp. 248, 251.

110. Clark, Daring Donald McKay, pp. vii - xix.

111. Keith Clark, Donna Clark, eds., Daring Donald McKay or the Last War Trail of the Modocs, (facsimile of the third edition, 1884), Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1971, p. xiv.

112. Donald McKay, Daring Donald McKay or The Last War-Trail of the Modocs: The Romance of the Life of Donald McKay, Government Scout and Chief of the Warm Spring Indians, Chicago, Round Brothers, Second edition, 1881, first advertisement, no page number.

113. Clark, p. xiv. KA-TON-KA or "Nature's Gift to Nature's Child" promised to cure many childhood and adult diseases, taking advantage of the anti-calomel sentiments of the public by arguing that any physician who prescribed mercury or calomel was "an enemy to mankind." See: McKay, Daring Donald McKay, second advertisement, no page number.

114. J.S. Helmcken to I.D. Manson, July 22, 1860, James Murray Yale Papers, PABC. Smith, The Reminiscences of Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, p. 27; Rose, From Shaman to Modern Medicine: A Century of the Healing Arts in British Columbia, p. 10.

115. Shryock, pp. 5, 16, 19, 32, 57, 74, 118, 192; McKechnie, p. 109; Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon, pp. 156, 209.

116. Jack, p. 107.

117. For example, the new interest in surgery (which grew out of the belief that it was best to remove diseased parts whenever possible), led to a cancerous growth being removed from the lip of chief trader, John Work, after carrot poultices failed to work. The operation was performed by Dr. Kennedy and two surgeons from the 'H.M.S. Modeste' which had docked at Fort Simpson. See: Meilleur, p. 165; Shryock, pp. 172-173. There was a keen interest in the study of botany in the unexplored Pacific Northwest where there was the possibility of new medical discoveries. This interest promoted several botanical expeditions such as those of Dr. John Scouler and David Douglas and found keen collectors in Doctors McLoughlin, Tolmie, Gairdner and traders Archibald McDonald and George Barnston. See: Vera Joyce Nelson, David Douglas on the Columbia, Lake Oswego, Smith, Smith and Smith Publishing Company, 1978, pp. 1-13; David Douglas, "Second Journey to the Northwestern Parts of the Continent of North America During the Years 1829-1933," OHQ, Vol. 6, 1905, pp. 288-309, 340-351; George Barnston, "Sketch of the Life of Mr. David Douglas, Botanist, with a few Details of his Travels and Discoveries," Canadian Naturalist, Vol. 5, 1860, pp. 121-133, 200-208, 267-348.

118. Chloroform was not invented in the 1840s as McKay stated, rather it was identified and named in 1834. McKay's reference, no doubt, is to the first operations using chloroform, which were performed in 1847. See: Joseph William McKay, Recollections of a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Simpson, 1878, Ms. P-C 24, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 9-10; Shryock, p. 175; Rhodes, The Value of Medicine, p. 49.

119. DeVoto, Across the Wide Missouri, pp. 255, 264.

120. Scholten, p. 439.

121. Until 1829, France led in the number of new medical discoveries, including those in obstetrics. In 1830, Germany took the lead and remained in that position until 1909. Great Britain and the United States were in poor third positions by comparison. See: Joseph Ben-David, "Scientific Productivity and Academic organizations in Nineteenth-Century Medicine," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, No. 6, 1960, p. 830. Also see: Shryock, p. 50; Eccles, preface, p. 25; Rhodes, pp. 38-40, 48-49; Cazeaux, A Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Midwifery, pp. 444, 483.

122. Engelmann, pp. 2, 6, 8; Currier, p. 283; John L. Rothrock, "Pregnancy and Childbirth Among North American Indians," Minnesota Medicine, Vol. 22, 1939, p. 756.

123. Eccles, p. 26.

124. Edward Shorter, A History of Women's Bodies, New York, Basic Books Inc., 1982, pp. 76-77. On native practice, see: Treon, p. 13; King, "Obstetrics Among Aborigines," p. 130, 133; Simpson, p. 62; Currier, p. 290; Guy Godfrey, "The Indian Woman in Labour," p. 691; Hrdlicka, Physiological and Medical Observations, p. 56.

125. Cazeaux, pp. 558-560; Fleetwood Churchill, D. Francis Condie, On the Theory and Practice of Midwifery, Philadelphia, Blanchard and Lea, 1858, p. 269.

126. Cazeaux, pp. 562, 587; Churchill, Condie, On the Theory and Practice of Midwifery, p. 270.

127. Churchill, Condie, pp. 272-286; Cazeaux, pp. 831-846.

128. Cazeaux, pp. 769-796; Churchill, Condie, pp. 290-303; Shorter, Women's Bodies, pp. 81-84; Bogdan, "Case or Cure? Childbirth Practices in Nineteenth Century America," p. 94.

129. Churchill, Condie, pp. 312-341; Cazeaux, pp. 796-830; Bodgan, p. 96.

130. Caesarian operations date from the late fifteenth century. See: Cazeaux, pp. 860-866; Churchill, Condie, p. 358.

131. In contrast to English doctors, French and Germans doctors used forceps earlier in labour and usually only performed craniotomies when the baby was known to be dead. See: Cazeaux, pp. 866-876; Churchill, Condie, pp. 341-357.

132. Churchill, Condie, pp. 349-350.

133. Treon, "Obstetrics Among the Sioux Indian Women," p. 13.

134. Donnison, p. 59. For information on the improvement of forceps, see: Cazeaux, pp. 769-771.

135. Cazeaux, p. 800; Churchill, Condie, p. 332; Morantz, Zschoche, p. 580.

136. For example, see: Churchill, Condie, p. 332.

137. Shorter, Women's Bodies, pp. 84-85.

138. In England, maternal death was about one in twenty; child death, one in five, when forceps were used. See: Churchill, Condie, pp. 320-322; Cazeaux, pp. 827-828. In the United States, statistics did not appear until late in the century after the use of sepsis made forceps less dangerous and consequently more popular. Nevertheless, a survey of two New England lying-in hospitals reveals that forceps were used in less than 14 percent of cases and only with women who were in labor for significantly longer periods of time than normal. Of the two lying-in hospitals surveyed, one used forceps in 9.5% of cases and the other used them in 13.5% cases. See: Morantz, Zschoche, "Professionalism, Feminism and Gender Roles: A Comparative Study of Nineteenth-Century Medical Therapeutics," p. 580.

139. Cazeaux, pp. 820, 828; Michand, "The Time a Woman Goes with Child;" Seaman, The Midwifery Monitor, p. 82; Thomas Young, "The Method of Treating Women After Delivery," Sept. 25, 1885, (Ms. 284), Osler Medical Library, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec.

140. Cazeaux, p. 800; Scholten, p. 439.

141. King, pp. 130-131. King noted on one occasion when he delivered a dead child with forceps that "the old squaws had the child and fitted the forceps blades to the indentations in its head. They were carrying it around showing the "bucks" how I had killed it, and urging revenge. The "buck"...told me to "run quick."

142. Smith, Helmcken, pp. 54-55; Rose, p. 10.

143. Ann Oakley, Women Confined: Towards a Sociology of Childbirth, New York, Schocken Books, 1980, pp. 10-12; Bodgan, p. 98.

144. For examples, see: Alexander Russell Simpson, "History of the Chair of Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children in the University of Edinburgh," Edinburgh Medical Journal, December 1882, pp. 4-7; Michand, The History of Midwifery; Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985, p. 68.

145. For example, see: Scholten, pp. 429-430; Judith Leavin, "Review: 'Lying-In': A History of Childbirth in America," Journal of Social History, Vol. 3, 1979, p. 484; Glenda Riley, "'Not Gainfully Employed': Women of the Iowa Frontier, 1833-1870," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. XLIX, No. 2, May 1980, p. 260; Jeanne L'Esperance, "Feature Review: 'A

History of Women's Bodies'", Ontario History, Vol. LXXV, No. 1, March 1983, pp. 98-105.

146. For example, as late as 1870, the British Obstetrical Society reported that between 50-90 percent of all babies born in Britain were still attended by women with no training apart from folk traditions which had been passed on to them. See: Miller, "'Temple and Sewer': Childbirth, Prudery and Victoria Regina," p. 26.

147. Michand, *The Time a Woman Goes with Child*, npn.

148. Donnison, pp. 2, 8, 11, 22, 31; Bogdan, pp. 96, 98; Engelmann, p. xviii.

149. Bogdan, pp. 94-95; Edward Shorter, "Review: The People's Health 1830-1910," Journal of Social History, 1980, p. 314; Shorter, Women's Bodies, pp. 62, 87. On evaluating the relative strengths and weaknesses of midwives and doctors, see: George Counsell, The London New Art of Midwifery, London, June 24, 1752, pp. 46, 49-51; Regina Markell Morantz, "Making Women Modern: Middle Class Women and Health Reform in 19th Century America," Journal of Social History, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1977, pp. 496-497.

150. Michand, *The Time a Woman Goes With Child*, npn.

151. Donnison, p. 29; Jane B. Donegan, Women and Men Midwives, Westpoint, Greenwood Press, 1978, pp. 132-135, 191, fn. 4.

152. John C. Jackson, *Comments on the Birth Practices known to Letitia Bird MacKay in the North Tualatin Plains after 1841*, John C. Jackson, Portland, Oregon, to Juliet Pollard, June 27, 1984; "Richard Ough's Princess," p. 62.

153. Seaman, The Midwifery Monitor, preface.

154. Seaman, preface.

155. Scholten, p. 440; Donegan, pp. 115, 125-127, 134-135.

156. Simpson, "History Of the Chair of Midwifery," pp. 5-15; Michand, *The History of Midwifery*, npn; Youngston, p. 13; Donegan, p. 67.

157. Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant, pp. 58, 68; Jackson, *Comments on the Birthing Practices Known to Letitia Bird MacKay*.

158. Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, p. 74.

159. F. Trotter, F. Loutzenhiser, J. Loutzenhiser, eds., Told by the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. 1, 1937, pp. 40, 45, 167.

160. In Quebec, the clergy expected midwives to be respectable, Catholic women. Those trained at Fort Vancouver would have met with the priests' approval, whereas the pagan midwifery practiced by native women would have been discouraged. See: Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant, p. 68.

161. Mary Rondeau-Dermont, Genealogy Files, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, pp. A-23, A-71. Grant's drinking problem was well known. As one settler put it, "Grant was a drinker ... Lincoln knew he drank, for he said he objected to drinking and if all his soldiers drank like Grant did, he wouldn't have an army." See: Trotter, et. al., Told by the Pioneers, pp. 108-10.

162. Adrien Lacharielle (Lachapelle), Adrienne Lucier, Genealogy Files, OHS; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, p. A-50.

163. "Richard Ough's Princess," pp. 62-68. Mrs. McLoughlin was Metis, not white. But, to the Indians and many of the Company servants officers wives were regarded as 'white.' For example, Sarah Scarborough, a Metis girl noted that, James Birnie's Metis family "were the only white family here." See: Trotter, p. 113.

164. Fred Lockley, ed. "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man: Interview with James C. MacKay," Oregon Journal, March 4, 1932; John Jackson to Juliet Pollard, Comments on the Birthing Practices Known to Letitia Bird MacKay, 1985; John Jackson, A Family History, n.d., pp. 10-13.

165. John Minto to E.E. Dye, May 14, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, Ms. 1089, OHS. Also see: Bogdan, p. 94.

Chapter Four

"A Business in the Wilderness of Oregon": The Social and Economic Context of Childhood¹

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of industrial capitalism and the rise of the working class. There were, of course, wage-earners before industrialization, but it was only with the move from merchant to industrial capitalism that the wage earners became conscious of themselves as a class and began to make common cause. This fifty year period was one of continuity and change where old modes of production existed along side newer ones and where old forms of social relations in the workplace were slow to change. The transformations in workers lives were not uniform and many wage earners had not ceased to be peasants in their hearts.

Labor historians tend to agree that the rise of the working class took place in urban environments and was born of the new factory system. This chapter raises questions about this assumption and finds that many of the same configurations found in the urban areas of Canada and the United States were also common in the fur trade despite its 'wilderness' setting. Moreover, while there is a consensus among historians that Metis culture grew from both native and Euro-American roots, the conceptualization of Metis people as "in-between" tends to ignore the reality that fur trade culture and later, Metis culture, was shaped in large measure by the capitalist

institution of the Hudson's Bay Company operating on the frontiers of North America.

This chapter is concerned with these socio-economic configurations as they were manifested by the Hudson's Bay Company's operations at Fort Vancouver and in the Willamette Valley. It is about growing up within the socio-economic boundaries imposed by the Company's class structure and the implications this had for the future of fur trade children once the fur trade era was over. It is about children who would emerge from this milieu as members of the working or middle class in the Pacific Northwest later in the century.

II

In Atlantic Monthly (1902), Zitkala-Sa, a native author, described her growing up experience in traditional Sioux culture as "A wee child toddling in a wonder world."² Similarly, the young fur trade boy or girl growing up in Oregon must have found life wondrous and filled with adventure. In old age, Billy McKay remembered the technological changes most vividly. He was only four or five in 1828-29 when he watched "with delight" the excitement surrounding the removal of the first Fort Vancouver on the hill to its new site on the plain below. He recalled looking "on with wonder" as "the beautiful white flour come pouring out as it was ground" by rigged wheels and cogs at Fort Vancouver's first flour mill. The "happiest time" Billy could remember was when he was twelve and went on an excursion down

the Columbia River on the 1836 maiden voyage of the Hudson's Bay Company's first steamship, the Beaver.³

III

Fur trade babies first viewed the Pacific Northwest when they peeped out from their moss lined cradleboards. Since the cradles could be hung on any convenient object while their mothers worked, the newborns were afforded a variety of visual perspectives. With the cradleboard securely attached to the pommel of their mother's saddles, they went on their earliest journeys. A variety of toys hung from the cradle-hoop to amuse them and the bells on their mother's bridle reins jingled as they moved through the forests and the plains.⁴ Free of the cradleboard as soon as they could walk, young children watched the passing landscape nestled in baskets attached to their mothers' saddle. Ranald MacDonald recalled these childhood trips:

Somehow we were always on the move. Our journeys to Fort Vancouver were always by bateau, but to the Interior by horseback, my brother in one basket and me in another.⁵

Around the age of three, fathers would tie their children to small horses or ponies and teach them how ride. Both boys and girls learned to ride astride the horse in contrast to 'lady-like' white women who rode side saddle.⁶ The fur trade community prided itself on its "magnificent" horsemanship, which was a valued skill on the frontier and the basis for the popular sport of horse racing.⁷ Louise Pillisier, a servant's daughter, remembered that the arrival of the brigades was

always cause for excitement and celebration and that "some of the boys with the fastest horses would take the short trails and go many miles down the river to watch when the boats would come up. Then the boys would race their horses back to the fort and spread the news so all could gather at the landing."⁸

Acquiring equestrian skills, however, could be dangerous. When Thomas McKay tied his son Billy on a horse, "the animal took fright and ran off with the boy who fell and was severely hurt."⁹ Christian MacDonald told the historian Eva E. Dye that: "When I broke my arm I was quite young...I was riding behind a girl and we fell off the (buffalo) horse... My mother came and found me more dead than alive."¹⁰

IV

Fur trade newborns were the constant companions of their mothers who sometimes breast fed them until they were two or three years old. As a result, there was often a strong bonding between mothers and children. When they were able to chew, Metis infants were weaned on the diet of adults. Their meals varied according to the season and to the extent that the family supplemented its weekly Hudson's Bay Company rations by hunting, fishing and gathering, as well as purchasing foodstuffs from the local native people and the Company store.¹¹ Whatever the foodstuffs, however, the youngster's diets were much better than those of English working class children where sufficient protein was often lacking.¹² A typical meal for a worker's family for example, might consist

of "Canadian soup", pork, salmon or beaver, "bread made of flour without bolting" and muskmelons.¹³

Until 1836, when the newly arrived white missionary women from the United States introduced distinctive American infant wear to fur trade mothers, small Metis children were clothed and groomed much like their parents.¹⁴ While most children were dressed largely in English fashions, "all retained the braided, beaded or embroidered leggins [sic], of gay cloth and fine quality, as a peculiarity of their class."¹⁵ Clothing was passed from one child to the next and old clothes were either sold or given to the Indians.¹⁶ By the 1850s, however, the colorful and distinctive childrens' apparel had largely been replaced by the somber, home-made blue and brown denim, prints, gingham and wool clothing of the Oregon pioneers.¹⁷

Like the clothing they wore, the upbringing of Metis children also changed with each passing decade. In 1838, the lady missionaries established the Columbia Maternal Association, which was patterned after maternal organizations in the United States. Not only did these women subscribe to The Mother's Magazine, which instructed them on the best ways to raise their children, but they circulated their own thoughts on childrearing to each other and the fur traders' wives who were members.¹⁸ As a consequence, American ideas on child rearing gradually supplanted Indian ones. When the fur trade children became parents themselves, they sought

childrearing advise from textbooks and physicians. In the 1860s, for example, Dr. Helmcken at Fort Victoria corresponded with Metis parents, John D. Manson and his wife Aurelia Yale Manson at Fort Stuart, who were concerned about raising their infant daughter. Helmcken wrote:

As far as my experience of children goes, they certainly require but little medicine; attention to cleanliness, good nursing and proper feeding will do more to keep the child in health than any other means.¹⁹

Parents willingly sought such childrearing advice because almost every fur trade household experienced a child death and parents were anxious to prevent infant and child mortality.²⁰ The newborn was the most vulnerable, but all children were susceptible to a wide variety of diseases which nineteenth century medicine was unable to cure. From 1838 to 1847, the burial records for the retired servants in the Catholic parish of St. Paul in the Willamette Valley reveal forty-seven deaths of children under sixteen years of age out of seventy-one entries, a sixty-four percent mortality rate. Of these, fifteen, or twenty-one percent, were infants under the age of thirteen months.²¹ Such figures indicate that infant and child mortality was high, but may be misleading since the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver burial records have been lost along with other fort documents which might have shed light on the subject. According to the late B.C. Provincial Archivist, R.E. Gosnell, the records were thought to be "cumbering the earth," and along with other "large amounts of

rubbish" housed at Fort Victoria, were dumped into the city's harbour sometime before the turn of the century.²²

V

By 1841, Fort Vancouver was "swarming with fine looking children half-breeds and pure Indians."²³ The youngsters were part of a community of some 700 or more people, largely mixed-bloods of "English, French Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders, Crees and Chinooks" ancestry.²⁴ In this environment, the children became accustomed to the "babel of languages," as the artist Paul Kane described the 30 or 40 distinct languages spoken at the fort.²⁵ In addition to French and English, the Kanaka (Hawaiian) laborers had their language and Gaelic was the tongue of some Scottish employees.²⁶ Their mother's native tongue, which might be any one of two dozen or more languages, usually became the children's first language.

By the time the youngsters went to school, many of them also knew Chinook jargon, which was not only the 'lingua franca' of the trade, but the common language in many households.²⁷ The jargon, which some experts claim originated among the Indians west of the Rockies, evolved quickly in the fur trade where it assured ease of communications among the traders and their native trading partners.²⁸ As late as the 1890s, the jargon, which was "constantly changing" and "used very differently at the same time in different localities," was still heard on Indian reservations in Washington, Oregon, British Columbia and in

parts of Alaska.²⁹

Chinook jargon bridged national and racial differences among the diverse fur trade population and gave the youngsters a linguistic bond which strengthened their identity as fur trade children. As they matured, the children acquired "Canadian French," the language of the fort-yard, and English, the language of fort business, but the jargon was not forgotten.³⁰ In the twilight of fur trade culture, the language endured. As an old man, Billy McKay was constantly asked to give speeches in Chinook jargon to interested white audiences.³¹ More importantly, when fur trade children got together in the latter part of the century, they delighted in speaking "the old language again."³²

Besides the variety of languages at Fort Vancouver, the children heard many other sounds like the "hammer clink of the anvil" and the "rumbling of cart wheels."³³ Such noises were to be expected at a fort which was, in the words of Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, "a large manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial depot."³⁴ On any given day, the children might hear the hum of up to twelve saws cutting thousands of feet of timber at the sawmill and the sounds of the various tradesmen plying their crafts. In 1838, the American visitor Thomas Farnham wrote that, on entering the fort:

The blacksmith is repairing ploughshares, harrow teeth, chains, and mill irons; the tinman is making cups for the Indians, and camp kettles; the wheelright [sic] is making wagons, and the wood

parts of ploughs and harrows; the cooper is making barrels for pickling salmon and packing furs; the clerks are posting books, and preparing the annual returns to the board in London; the salesmen are receiving beaver and dealing out goods.³⁵

While each worker made his own distinctive noises, the most familiar sound to the children's ears was the fort bell, which was used like a factory whistle to break the day into blocks of time for specific tasks. The bell acquainted the children with the routine and discipline of the fur trade. It shaped their mothers' domestic routines into a rigorous schedule like that of the men. It regulated the childrens' lives. When they were old enough, its ring summoned them to school.

The workday began at dawn when the old Scottish gardener, "Billy" Bruce, rang the bell. At its call, about fifteen clerks assembled at their desks and the servants began their daily labor assignments. At 8 o'clock, the bell signalled breakfast. Meals prepared by the fort cooks were delivered to each officer's apartment within the stockade. Later, the bell announced the two one-half hour breaks for smoking clay pipes, and a hour for mid-day dinner. On Saturday, the nine to eleven hour workday ended at 5 p.m. when the bell signalled the time for the men to receive their weekly rations.³⁶ On Sunday, some of the boys were among those who "jingled" the bell in a "most indecorous manner" to announce Sunday school and church services.³⁷ As the clerk John Tod remarked: "The life, indeed, was free from certain conventions, but not as free,

otherwise as a novice might have prefigured in his mind."³⁸

Outside the stockade, it was hard for the children to ignore the barnyard odors from the horses, cows, pigs, chickens and large English sheep.³⁹ Inside their homes, there was the aroma of such foodstuffs as dried salmon and ducks, which were prepared in sheds adjacent or attached to their homes. The children grew up with the sweet smell of baked camas root, the heavy scent of pancake size bread, fresh from the fort bakery, and the smoky aroma of bannock from the fireplace.⁴⁰ There were also the human odors associated with the many individuals who shared the thirty to sixty cramped log cabins in the fort's "village."⁴¹

Most of the houses, which lined the plain west and southwest of the fort stockade, were built of hewn logs in a "post-on-the-sill style" that the Americans called "the Canadian fashion".⁴² Some were built in "American cottage fashion" of framed timber and weatherboard, while others were "as various in form" as the architectural imagination of their inhabitants.⁴³ The houses decayed rapidly in the rainy Oregon climate and were continually being rebuilt by the fort's carpenters or the children's fathers in their spare time or on Sundays. While the Company appears to have paid part of the cost for most dwellings, native women and their fur trade youngsters who had been widowed or deserted had to erect their own homes "entirely at their own charge."⁴⁴

In the original plan for the village, which was laid out

in the late 1820s, there were separate streets for each of the four major ethnic groups in the fur trade work force -- French Canadians, Kanakas, Englishmen and Americans -- but, as time passed, the ethnic groups tended to "scatter around."⁴⁵ Some houses lined the roadways to the fort; others simply dotted the plain.

On first impression, some visitors thought the cabins formed a "neat and beautiful village" but, on closer inspection, the sanitary conditions made them less enthusiastic.⁴⁶ The typical house was one or one and a half stories high and had one to three rooms, with an adjoining sheds for preparing foodstuffs. Some of the houses were planked on the inside, others were papered, but most were plastered with clay.⁴⁷ The floors in many of the cabins were earthen and in the rainy season might revert to a quagmire of mud. In turn, the black mud about the door would become abundantly mixed with animal wastes from the shed.⁴⁸ Lice and other insects were always a problem.⁴⁹

Windows were made with thin panes of glass imported from England or dressed skins which let in some light, but generally the cabins were dark and gloomy, dimly lit by candles in the evenings.⁵⁰ A few houses had stoves, but most heating and cooking was done over an open fireplace called a "cat and clay," which was built of "sticks tied together with buckskin thongs and covered with a thick plaster made of clay and grass."⁵¹ Sometimes, servants' houses were "all taken to

pieces for the convenience of transporting, but [were] marked so as to be easily put together again" in a new location.⁵²

Furniture was sparse and afforded easy mobility when the family went on brigades.⁵³ The beds were home-made with straw or feather ticks, spread with blankets and furs.⁵⁴ It was said that some native mothers preferred to sit on the ground, rather than in chairs. Despite their material impoverishment, however, archeological excavations of the cabins reveal many dishes and utensils of commercial manufacture, including blue and white English Spode earthenware, Chinese pottery tea containers, iron pots and other household objects.⁵⁵

The children usually lived in houses which were shared with native servants and slaves, orphans, kin, single male employees and families other than their own.⁵⁶ In 1837, William Slacum, an American naval agent sent by the government of Andrew Jackson to spy on Hudson's Bay Company's operations in Oregon, reported that:

The laborers and mechanics live outside the fort, in good log cabins -- two or three families generally under one roof; and as nearly every man has a wife, or lives with an Indian or half-breed woman, and as each family has from two to five slaves, the whole number of persons about Vancouver may be estimated at 750 to 800 souls.⁵⁷

In the Willamette Valley, a few children of the retired fur traders grew up in households where their fathers kept more than one wife. John Ball, the first schoolteacher at Fort Vancouver, recalled:

I boarded the first three months at J.B. Desportes, a half-breed, whose family consisted of two wives,

besides one absent, by all seven children, four or five slaves and two or three hired Indians, besides cats and dogs without number. All inhabited one room in common.⁵⁸

During Fort Vancouver's years of operations from 1824-1849, the fur trade families were part of a mobile work force which moved in and out of houses and from fort to fort within Columbia district depending on the work assignment of the father. In the course of growing up, children might experience many different communal living arrangements with other families.⁵⁹ As a result, the children did not develop the same sense of personal privacy common to other American youngsters raised in single family dwellings. As adults, many fur trade youngsters, both those of the gentlemen and those of the servants, continued to live in extended family groups.⁶⁰

VI

Like most young people, fur trade children loved to explore the world around them. When they were old enough, they would venture the six miles up the Columbia to watch the operations of the gristmill where bushels of wheat and peas were ground or go to the sawmill, which employed a "score of workmen." They might canoe to Multnomah Island (Sauvies Island) at the junction of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers where they could observe the dairy workers making butter, or roam around the large stock of cattle and horses the company kept on the island.

The children might play among the dockyard's barges and

boats, the barns, the sheep folds, stables, granaries, threshing mill, or the dilapidated shed used as a hospital, situated on the banks of the Columbia. Undoubtedly, they explored the abundant kitchen gardens adjoining the fort, the orchards hanging with fruit and the farms beyond where some 1,200 acres were under annual cultivation.⁶¹ Andrew Pambrun recalled a "scrape" that he and David McLoughlin got into on one such adventure at Fort Vancouver:

David...and I went to a large milk yard, where several men were milking, and lassoed a wild calf, it bellowed of course, and in a few moments the whole yard was in an uproar, one of the men was so nearly gored that his shirt was torn off, and we two scapegraces were chased up a tree, where we spent the night supperless and the next morning without breakfast, for we had to stay there till the wild cattle were driven away with the milk cows. We had nothing to eat till dinner.⁶²

While there were many such escapades outside the fort, the interior compound, which contained around thirty-five wooden buildings, also had its fascinations. Inside the pine stockade was the schoolhouse, the church, the kitchen, the tradesmen's shops, storehouses for furs, warehouses for European goods, an apothecary shop, "trade-offices for buying, others for selling, others again for keeping accounts; shops for retail," the prison and the powder magazine, the only brick building in the enclosure. The only commodious dwelling, however, was the "Big House" where chief factor Dr. John McLoughlin and chief trader James Douglas and their families lived.⁶³

On special holidays, like Christmas and New Year's Day,

the children were dressed in their best clothes and went with their parents to the Big House where the McLoughlins hosted a dance. On these occasions, the house was decorated in the greenery of ivy, mistletoe and holly-leaved Oregon grape. Tables were laden with wonderful treats of cakes, coffee and English candies.⁶⁴ At one time or another, many of the youngsters sang in the "band of little boys & girls" at church services held each Sunday at the chapel or at the Big House.⁶⁵ Before and after school, the porch on the Big House became part of the play ground. The son of Susan Goodrich Pepin LaChance remembered:

My mother Susanne went to school there; she knew all the people there, and all the children played together. One day they were running and playing on the porch at McLocklin's [sic] house -- it was a big house with a high porch -- and somehow she got pushed off. It threw her hip out of joint, and the rest of her life she walked with a stick.⁶⁶

Like children everywhere, fur trade youngsters simulated the role of the adults, acquired the values and mores of their parents' world and developed a sense of community through playing with one another. The only toys found in the archeological investigation at Fort Vancouver were "Jews harps," which were used as much by adults as they were by children. Other records, however, indicate a wide range of toys of British and American manufacture including jumping jacks and squeaking cats and dogs, which were stocked as trade goods in the Company store.⁶⁷ There were also homemade toys of the children's or their parent's invention. The missionary

Narcissa Whitman noted of her little female wards: "They have a great disposition to take a piece of board or a stick and carry it around on their backs,...for a baby." Girls also had home-made rag dolls in miniature cradleboards that matched their own as infants.⁶⁸ Dogs and cats were the most common children's pets, but one family had a beaver and Andrew Pambrun, at one time, had a bear cub.⁶⁹

As they grew up, the children would have noticed that while some youngsters lived outside the fort wall in the village, other boys and girls, the sons and daughters of the officers, lived inside the fort in a dormitory comprised of seventeen hive-like cells. In "Bachelor's Range," as the barracks was inaccurately called, the furniture was crude, the beds tended to be infested with insects, and there were few of the comforts known to a gentleman in his homeland. As with the servants, officers' families were commonly lodged together because of the acute shortage of accommodation.⁷⁰ The first chaplain at the fort, Rev. Herbert Beaver, was shocked at the housing conditions for gentlemen, and wrote the Company in London:

Mr. Ross, one of your clerks, came in with the Express, bringing a woman and four children. She has since been confined with the fifth, and the whole family have, ever since their arrival, been dwelling with Mrs. McKenzie, the wife of another of your clerks ... and three children, making eleven persons in the same room, which is undivided and thirty feet by fifteen in size and in which ...they all eat, sleep, wash and dry their clothes.⁷¹

Despite the similar living conditions, the differences

between officers' and servants' children were readily apparent. The children inside the fort wore fine English clothing, had more toys of English and American import, read books, ate 'exotic' foods and, most of all, had certain privileges which were not extended to servants' children.⁷²

As the youngsters matured, they learned that their fathers' position in the hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay Company determined their own place in the scheme of things. They came to understand that there was an almost impassable gulf which separated the gentlemen from the rank-and-file servants and that while the former gave the orders, the latter were supposed to obey them. At an early age, servants' sons learned to bow and their daughters to curtsy in respect to chief factor McLoughlin.⁷³

When he visited Fort Vancouver in 1841, Lieut. George Emmons, a member of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, was impressed with "the strictest attention and obedience observed by the subordinates to the directions of their superior."⁷⁴ But, according to George Roberts, an apprentice seaman and later a teacher at the fort school, "there was no government from below." Orders came from above and were meant to be obeyed without question.⁷⁵ Like Roberts, clerk John Tod noted:

Discipline and supervision were enforced almost with military rigor, though with less formality in the social intercourse of the commissioned ranks than probably existed in the army. A man might be ordered to go elsewhere on duty at any time, the change perhaps involving 1,000 miles of travel, and he

might be sent suddenly from a comfortable to an inhospitable station.⁷⁶

Both chief factor Dr. John McLoughlin and his second in command, James Douglas, were regarded as harsh and unyielding by their employees. As Eloise McLoughlin, the factor's daughter, phrased it: "My father was a good man, but hasty in temper," however, "he was not so pompous as Sir James Douglas."⁷⁷ Despite their stern exteriors, both men were fond of children. On Sundays, McLoughlin could usually be seen walking to chapel surrounded by youngsters. When he made his inspection tours around the farms and mills, a favored child was often clinging to the back of his saddle.⁷⁸ Andrienne Lucier recalled that when she was a little girl of five or six, McLoughlin took her on one such tour and gave her a bag of apples with the admonishment that she "must be sure to save the seeds and plant them."⁷⁹ James Douglas was known to play games with the youngsters and every once in a while he would load several children into his gig and take them for an outing.⁸⁰

For all his kindness to servants' children, however, McLoughlin would not allow Eloise to play with any child who did not have one "fully white parent."⁸¹ Eloise wrote of her girlhood: "We lived separate and private entirely."⁸² Her statement was echoed by Andrew Pambrun, a chief trader's son, who began his autobiography: "I was reared in seclusion, not being permitted to mingle with the employers [sic] or their children. I am therefore naturally of a dull and phlegmatic

disposition."⁸³

The class of the fathers not only defined how children were born, but how they were raised and, in turn, how they would come to see themselves as people. While there is a consensus among historians that Metis culture grew from both native and Euro-American roots, the conceptualization of Metis people as "in-between" tends to ignore the reality that fur trade culture and later, Metis culture, was shaped in large measure by the capitalist institutions of the fur trade companies operating on the frontiers of North America.⁸⁴ As Eugene Duflot De Mofras, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1841 as a commercial agent of the French government, commented: "Fort Van Couver [sic], which on the exterior resembles a large farm, surrounded with building for agricultural purposes, is in reality, within but a shop and counting-house of the city of London."⁸⁵

VII

The Hudson's Bay Company was a large scale enterprise which attempted to maximize profits and re-invest its capital accumulation for further profits in similar fashion to other capitalist concerns in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ In England, Company shareholders were referred to as "the Capitalists."⁸⁷ At Fort Vancouver, the gentlemen were called "the Merchants."⁸⁸

Hudson's Bay Company officers in the Pacific Northwest saw themselves as agents of civilization shaping "the nucleus

of a future empire in the far west."⁸⁹ To the American military, they had "opened the country to safe and secure emigration."⁹⁰ Indeed, Peter Ogden and James Douglas, who prepared the claim for compensation for the Companys' holdings in the United States after the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846, argued:

that the mere money value of that property... must ill requite the Hudson's Bay Company for the immense outlay of means which the establishment of a business in the wilderness of Oregon, remote from every source of supply necessarily involves.⁹¹

Such ideas were passed on and accepted by the officers' Metis children. Jason Allard, the son of chief trader Ovid Allard and the daughter of a Cowichan headman, who was born at Fort Langley on September 8, 1848, explained: "My father was one of those mighty men of the Hudson's Bay Company, who pioneered the pathway through the forest and laid firmly the foundations of the future."⁹²

VIII

In the Hudson's Bay Company, like other burgeoning capitalist ventures of the early nineteenth century, the development of capitalism forged two distinct classes which roughly equate to Marx's concept of propertyless wage-earners, the proletariat and the capital-owning entrepreneurs, the bourgeoisie.⁹³ The English scientist John Henry LeFroy, who travelled in Hudson's Bay Territory in 1843-44, was quick to notice the difference in classes and thought it was "curious" that "the distinction between the Bourgeois and the voyageurs

and servants is properly maintained" in such an undeveloped landscape.⁹⁴ His observations were echoed by other visitors.⁹⁵

The word 'class' was in fairly general usage in England and the United States by the 1790s and implied that the character of social divisions in society was changing. Compared with older words used to describe the social structure, such as order, rank and estate, 'class' came to imply a society divided according to interests, rather than one united by bonds of deference running from the 'lower orders' up to those of better stations. "But," states historian Harold Perkin, "down to the end of the century and beyond the word was still used interchangeably with the traditional concepts, 'ranks,' 'degrees' and 'orders.'"⁹⁶

With the reorganization of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, a sharper division of classes than had formerly existed, came into being, cutting across the older, rank system and making it almost impossible for those in the servant class to move upward into the gentleman class. A liberal education became the measure for the selection of gentlemen, and the servants, who were largely illiterate, fell short of this criterion.⁹⁷

Although the notion of class suggests social mobility, what this meant in the fur trade and in the industrializing societies, was that upward mobility was generally confined to ranks within classes, rather than between them.⁹⁸ The company officers used the terms "class" and "rank" interchangeably,

but, as clerk John Tod noted, each man "well understood" the "valued gradation" of the Company's social structure and his particular place in it.⁹⁹ In the first half of the nineteenth century, differential status was still an unquestioned part of the given landscape in which men were born. In the fur trade as in the wider Euro-American society, class distinctions were proclaimed by such outward and visible signs as language, dress and behaviour.¹⁰⁰

The Hudson's Bay Company proletariat bore only partial resemblance to the new, emerging working class of the industrial factory system. The officers, by contrast, viewed themselves as 'exiles in the wilderness' and, like other Britishers in distant lands, strove to maintain their middle-class ties with Great Britain and Canada.¹⁰¹ The bourgeoisie, however, was not the 'ideal type' usually associated with the term. Although the officers managed the trade, they were employed for wages on yearly contracts and were, in fact, similar to 'white collar' workers. Sometimes they were classified as "servants" in Hudson's Bay Company documents, but, in fact, they bore little resemblance to the laboring servants who maintained themselves through physical work of various sorts.

While they did not own the means of production directly, that is, property rights in capital stock or equipment, the clerks, who were at the lowest echelon of the officer class, could aspire to a degree of ownership when they attained the

rank of 'chief trader' and received one share in the Company. If they attained the position of 'chief factor', they were entitled to two shares valued at approximately 400 pounds per share annually.¹⁰² Moreover, for those who reached these ranks, an agreement with the Company gave them job security, the right to be consulted on the management of the trade and a guaranteed minimum from their shares when profits were down.¹⁰³

In general, gentlemen fur traders in North America were members of the lower tier in the bourgeois hierarchy, owning 40 per cent of the Company's shares, while those closer to the top directed the Company's business from London and owned 60 per cent of the shares and the annual profit.¹⁰⁴ Although salaried, middle-class employees, the gentlemen's earnings along with the profits from their shares sometimes made them sufficiently wealthy to invest in other enterprises. As such, they might be better classified as a 'petit bourgeoisie,' or a 'intermediate class,' which belongs to the propertied class only as far as present conditions are concerned.¹⁰⁵ Whatever term is employed, however, the gentlemen's maintenance of social distance, the behavioral criterion of class division, distinguished them from the proletariat.¹⁰⁶

As far as the underlings were concerned, the Governor, who was chosen by the Honourable Committee in London for his executive and administrative ability rather than any detailed knowledge of the fur trade, ruled supreme. In the field,

however, it was the chief factors, in charge of large territories and the chief traders, who presided over individual forts, who directly influenced the lives of fur trade families. As a consequence, their social status in localized settings was much greater than their shares in the company would indicate and was maintained through prescribed privileges given them and their families.¹⁰⁷

As previously noted, the gentlemen in Oregon enforced social distance by segregating their children from servants' youngsters. In general, they acted like other middle class males of the times, imposing many of the norms of their home society on the fort setting. By and large, fathers directed their children's lives, rather than shared them. While they sometimes displayed outward affection towards their daughters and the servants' children, they were seldom emotional with their sons. They played with their children, taught them skills, and were even known to babysit them, but their aloof behaviour prohibited the close bonding relationships that the children commonly had with their mothers.¹⁰⁸ "My father," wrote David McLoughlin, "was always silent to me especially about his private affairs."¹⁰⁹ Ranald MacDonald recalled that Dr. McLoughlin and his father Archibald McDonald "were the only two persons that I was in any fear of...and why I should fear them was always a mystery to me."¹¹⁰

IX

As students of social structures frequently point out, 'real history exhibits important shading from theoretical models'.¹¹¹ The fur trade provides a good example of this. The Hudson's Bay Company was linked to early industrialization in England through its contracts with factories which manufactured the goods used to barter furs from Indians in America.¹¹² Between industrial capitalism on the one hand and the barter system on the other, stood the proletariat, an ethnic potpourri, known as servants or engages, who comprised a vast network of boatmen, tradesmen, mechanics, agriculturalists and laborers. Most were hired for wages on five to seven year contracts to perform certain services necessary in the fur trade. In this sense, the proletariat was a 'subsumed class,' that is, a class which provides services rather than extracts the resources themselves.¹¹³ There were, of course, exceptions especially on the brigades from Fort Vancouver where trapping as well as trading took place, but in the main, the servants stood midway between the gentlemen and the Indians.¹¹⁴

In the early years of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest, the male servants tended to be stratified in their occupations by age and ethnicity in a fashion similar to workers in Canada and the United States. Those from the British Isles made up the largest number of skilled tradesmen and mechanics, French Canadians and Metis served as boatmen,

trappers and farm workers. Hawaiians were the backbone of the lumbering crews at the sawmills. The Indians did much of the farm work.¹¹⁵

Fur trade youngsters also contributed to the profits of the Company. In pre-industrial society, the family was a work unit and each child was expected to contribute to the household economy. At Fort Vancouver, by contrast, the work traditionally assigned to children was often performed by Indian slaves or servants. According to David and Jennifer Chance, who conducted the archeological investigation of Fort Vancouver in 1974, fathers' wages were sufficient to cover family expenses. They write:

The average servant's wage at Vancouver was about eighteen pounds sterling per year, or about 550 American dollars, plus maintenance. Though low, this wage should have been adequate to cover the purchase of clothing, some luxuries, private tools and utensils. Purchases could also be made on credit.¹¹⁶

In reality, however, "almost all" the servants in Columbia were in debt to the Company through the purchase of goods on credit.¹¹⁷ Under these circumstances, the value of child labor may have been more important to the family economy than the Chances' thesis suggests. Contributing to the family's food supply by fishing, hunting and berry picking was part of the child's routine. Children also helped carry drinking water and firewood.¹¹⁸ But, as important as these chores may have been, the greatest contribution of children to the family economy involved working for the Company in much the same manner as their parents.

At Fort Vancouver, the half-grown children were assigned the weekly task of beating the dust out of the furs.¹¹⁹ At Fort Simpson, Donald Manson hired small boys to chase crows out of the garden and similar tasks were undoubtedly given to children at the other forts.¹²⁰ Seven-year-old Benjamin Franklin, an American immigrant child, recalled that Dr. McLoughlin put his hand on his head and said to him and his friends:

Don't you boys want to earn some candy? If you will go with Mr. Barlow and turn the grind stone while he sharpens the plane bit, I will give you each a handful of candy...That was the first store candy we had ever eaten, or for that matter had ever had in our hands.¹²¹

While some youngsters earned 'treats', others worked for wages. McLoughlin was in the habit of freeing Indian children who had been enslaved in the coastal native slave system. Many of these children were brought up at Fort Vancouver where they were given regular duties, such as hunting and fishing for the fort's food supply. They received wages like other employees. Each brigade that left Fort Vancouver included "lads" who appear to have been paid, but, as at Red River, where the Buffalo Wool Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company, employed boys and girls, they were probably paid at wage rates considerably lower than those earned by the men.¹²²

Most fur trade children were engaged in agricultural work without financial compensation. Instead, maintaining the fort's garden was part of the school curriculum. Student

labor defrayed educational expenses, as well as provided foodstuffs for the Company's trade.¹²³ In short, although children's tasks enriched the family's economy, their labor also contributed to Company profits.¹²⁴ For servants' boys and girls, the age of puberty marked their full initiation into the fur trade work force. Around the age of fourteen, sons took their place alongside their fathers as laborers and daughters assumed new responsibilities in fur trade domesticity as wives.¹²⁵

Like child workers, Indian workers were ranked near the bottom of the servant hierarchy. Native people were employed extensively after 1838 in the Company's agricultural pursuits. In addition, native women often worked as domestic servants at the forts, while native men were hired as river pilots and were among the Company's first coal miners on Vancouver Island. Some native people received cash wages, but, more commonly they exchanged their labor for goods from the trade shop. Eloise McLoughlin recalled: "They worked very well. I do not remember how much they were paid, but they were paid in goods. They were quite willing to work, children and all."¹²⁶

Native people often worked alongside the Kanakas, Owyhees, or Blue Men, all names for the Hawaiian Islanders, who were recruited as cheap labor and often replaced the more expensive French-Canadian employees when they retired or died. In Governor George Simpson's opinion, they were useful as

guards and for "common drudgery."¹²⁷ In actuality, however, their menial status only served to hide their exploitation as skilled workers in a diverse range of occupations.

Besides working as crew members aboard the Company's coastal and river vessels, the Kanakas were extensively employed in the Company's sawmills. They worked as cooks, gardeners, sheep and swine herders, road men, carpenters and in agricultural occupations along with Indian laborers. They were part of almost every hunting and trading expedition.¹²⁸ As one observer commented, they performed "many servile tasks distasteful to the white race" without receiving any of the same benefits.¹²⁹ Under their contracts with the Hudson's Bay Company, they received wages in accordance with their job classification, but their salaries were always below those of white and Metis servants, who successfully protested that the Kanakas were "by no means such serviceable people" as themselves and should not be entitled to the same wage for the same job.¹³⁰

The majority of servants, however, were Metis, North Americans and Europeans. Bernard Bailyn has hypothesized that the peopling of British North America was an expansion of European domestic mobility in search of employment which gradually extended outward to include North America.¹³¹ The Hudson's Bay Company contributed to this transatlantic flow of labor by drawing heavily on the dispossessed and impoverished sons of Scotland, Ireland and England and especially the

lads of the Orkney Islands who worked for low wages.¹³²

By the early nineteenth century, conditions similar to those of earlier periods in Europe existed in the oldest colonized regions of North America. The good farm land was either taken or exhausted and large family size made it increasingly difficult for second, third and fourth sons to own farms. A sizable number of men were forced to sell their labor for wages.¹³³ As with its workers from Great Britain, at least some of the French Canadians employed by the Company appear to have been part of the increasing wave of landless men. In Quebec, they were pushed from their parishes by rural economic crises and demographic pressures on the land to seek work in the fur trade.¹³⁴ The Hudson's Bay Company's constant search for cheap and docile labor led them to recruit in rural Quebec rather than urban areas. In the early 1840s, Company hiring agents were instructed to exclude "those who are brought up in the neighborhood of towns" since they were considered more troublesome and more expensive to hire.¹³⁵ At the same time an "increasing number of men of mixed blood in the Indian country," the sons of fur traders, were also hired.¹³⁶

The work force at Fort Vancouver was perhaps best described by John Minto, a coal miner from Newcastle on Tyne, England and later a British immigrant miner in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Minto came to Oregon in 1844 when "his brother miners" went on strike and he determined to break away from

the "clannishness of [his immigrant] class." He wrote of his arrival at the Fort and the workers he encountered:

We got there [Fort Vancouver] about 9 o'clock P.M. and had trouble to get entrance and an opportunity to speak with Mr. Douglas, Doctor McLoughlin being absent at Oregon City. Mr. Douglas, after learning our business and reasons for stopping at the fort, sent us outside the stockade to lodge, and a good supper after us. We learned next morning that we had lodged in a cot, or cabin, shared by a lowland Scotch blacksmith, who worked entirely on axes for the Indian trade, and an Orkney Islander, whose pay was 17 [pounds], or short \$85 a year. He was shepherd of the flocks kept to supply the Vancouver tables. The smith's wages were five shillings per diem. These both were contracted at common fare, which might be salt salmon and potatoes, to be cooked by the laborers. We learned also that the wages of Sandwich Islanders, of whom the Hudson's Bay Company had a considerable number, were \$5.00 per month, and salmon and potatoes furnished for food; that is, as closely as could be estimated, \$65 per annum for common laborers.¹³⁷

X

This mixture of many races and nationalities in the work force led to faulty perceptions about the ethnic composition in the Oregon fur trade. Most observers could not tell a 'half-breed' from a white man or a Company Indian since some Metis were indistinguishable from whites while others closely resembled native Indians. Contemporary commentators often made their judgments about the work force on the basis of culture - - the language the men spoke and the religion the practiced. For example, the French speaking and Catholic retired servants were generally designated as French, French Canadian, or Canadian, but, in terms of biology, the majority were Metis of French-Indian, Scots-Indian, Owyhee-Indian, French-Pwyhee,

and Iroquois-Western Indian ancestry.¹³⁸

At Fort Vancouver, it was estimated that there were some 361 white and half-breed males; 122 Kanaka males, 7 Iroquois males and 45 native male laborers between the years 1827 and 1860.¹³⁹ However, as genealogical studies and the Catholic Church Records reveal, many of those listed as white men, and others who were classified as Iroquois, were, in fact, of mixed native-white ancestry.¹⁴⁰ Intermarriage between groups was commonplace with the result that, by 1838, the population had become greatly mixed and was described by one careful observer as "a mongrel race."¹⁴¹ The Chances' archaeological investigation of the Fort Vancouver village site tends to confirm that mixture as much as ethnicity, existed at the fort.

We recovered not a single identifiable Hawaiian (Kanaka), French Canadian, Shetlander, Orkneyman, Norwegian, Iroquois or Cree artifact. If artifacts alone were used to judge the population, one would have to say that ...[the] Hudson's Bay Company occupation areas were inhabited by Englishmen and a sprinkling of Scots."¹⁴²

At the smaller forts in the district where only a few men were employed, ethnic divisions of labor could not be maintained. As the years passed, manpower shortages at Fort Vancouver eroded much of the ethnic segregation in the work force of the earlier period. As James Douglas noted in 1838, when there were only eighty-two workers available at Fort Vancouver and many jobs were yet to be completed: "Every person [has] been kept in constant activity... Nearly all our

disposable force is absent on various detached services."¹⁴³ Indeed, Fort Vancouver historian David Lavender suggests that the Company tended to encourage the mingling of the ethnic groups. He writes: "Many methods of securing obedience, some quite subtle, were employed. The mingling of races that helped keep peace during the travels of the fur brigades also helped prevent concerted resistance at the fort."¹⁴⁴

XI

In addition to the servants, there was another group of part-time wage laborers known as 'freemen,' who, in the Oregon context, were free to hire themselves out to the highest bidder. In Oregon, however, the only large employer of labor was the Hudson's Bay Company and the freemen, who were mostly retired Company servants, were usually hired by the Company on short term contracts for the season or for specific jobs. As the French-speaking Catholic settlements in the Willamette Valley grew throughout the 1830s and 40s, the freemen provided the Company with an experienced pool of part-time workers. In the early years, most of these men combined wage labor from the Company with a kind of self-sufficiency farming much like that described by Allan Greer in his study of retired fur traders in Sorel, Quebec. Greer classified the Quebecers as 'semi-proletarian' since their lives oscillated between capitalism and the older 'feudal' economy which was still operating in the colony in the 1840s.

Greer adopted the term 'feudal' from Marxist usage to

describe the 'feudal mode of production' in Quebec characterized by "a predominately agrarian economy with self-sufficient peasant households as the primary productive unit."¹⁴⁵ When combined with some wage labor and the sale of surplus crops, as in the case of the parish of Sorel, this description fits the 'semi-proletarian' lifestyle which evolved in the Willamette Valley among the retired servants. It also closely resembles the lifestyle of the Metis on the Canadian prairies, which Gerald Friesen has called "settler capitalism."¹⁴⁶ John Minto described the common lifestyle of many of the retired servants and their families when he wrote of his neighbor:

When his family was young, he would after harvest take his family and cross the Cascades by way of the Santiam Valley, making one night's camp in the mountains; would trap and hunt till the rainy season was near; turn his skins and peltries over to a Hudson's Bay Company trader to be taken to Vancouver via The Dalles, and recross the mountains home again, only camping one night, and wait two weeks before going to Vancouver for his pay.¹⁴⁷

The Willamette society, however, was a poor cousin to the 'feudal' Quebec model since other criteria which exemplify feudalism were largely absent. The community in the Willamette was too new to permit the same kind of ascendancy of lay and clerical aristocracy that predominated in Quebec. Nevertheless, John McLoughlin appears to have taken much of his growing up experience on his grandfather Malcolm Fraser's seigneurie at Malbaie, Quebec, and transported it to the new landscape. In the Willamette, McLoughlin acted as a

paternalistic and self-styled seigneur demanding loyalty and obedience from his former employees after the fashion of Quebec seigneurs.¹⁴⁸ The retired servants were apparently receptive to McLoughlin because he was a Canadian and a Catholic who spoke their provincial French. According to Eloise McLoughlin, her father was "fond of talking and visiting."¹⁴⁹ Periodically, he would tour the Willamette, going from house to house heartily shaking hands with the fathers and sons and affectionately kissing the cheeks of the mothers and daughters. On occasion, McLoughlin and his wife Margaret would lead the brigade heading for California out of the valley on their first day's journey south.¹⁵⁰

By contrast, the retired servants showed an open dislike for the Scottish Governor Sir George Simpson when De Mofras and Simpson toured the Willamette Valley together in 1841. De Mofras noted:

During our visit to the Willamette with Governor Simpson, we could not help noticing the painful impression the Canadians experienced in seeing themselves governed by a person of a race and religion different from their own, and who did not even speak the same language. Several farmers, indeed, when Sir George said to them in English, "How do you do" -- replied, "We do not speak English; we are all French here."¹⁵¹

In any case, in concert with McLoughlin's wishes and those of the retired servants, Catholic priests established the parish of St. Paul, Willamette in 1838, and assumed the role of moral guardians to the population of 600 or so retired servants and their families.¹⁵² The priests' directives came

directly from the Bishop of Quebec, Joseph Signay. He urged them to quickly marry, legitimize and baptise the people and restore to the Catholic faith "the wicked Christians who have adopted there the vices of the Indians, and live in licentiousness and the forgetfulness of their duties." The priests were also to establish French language schools and catechism classes. In essence, the Catholic mission was modeled after the parish church system of Quebec.¹⁵³

Whatever 'feudal' relationships lingered in the Hudson's Bay Company from earlier periods were blurred by the resurgence of paternalism in the first half of the nineteenth century, which gave fur trade society not only common characteristics with rural Quebec, but also with the so-called 'model factory communities' in the wider Euro-American society. As David Roberts has outlined in Paternalism in Early Victorian England and Bryan Palmer has described in the Upper Canadian setting, paternalism was a pervasive social attitude among the governing classes of the era, which brought together socialists, Tories, liberals, and millenarianists. In short, paternalism in the first half of the nineteenth century was a social theory of political force.

Although paternalism was almost always intermingled with other social outlooks, it essentially held that society should be authoritarian, hierarchic, organic and pluralistic. Paternalists like John McLoughlin and other members of the Company's bourgeoisie were convinced they knew what was best

for their subordinates. Moreover, they had the power to insist that their ideas be carried out. Bound up with their notion of duty was the belief that morality should govern all relations.

Unlike earlier forms of paternalism, nineteenth century paternalism arose from fears about unchecked capitalism. It was a backlash not so much against capitalism itself, but against what many perceived to be a new system of selfishness which had upset the natural balance and organic nature of society. The conscientious practice of paternalism, which intellectual historian R.S. Neale has likened to "Tory welfareism," was regarded as a social remedy for the new and threatening problems of industrialization and urbanization, and was closely connected with the increasing importance placed on family life.¹⁵⁴

Paternalism was a common bond which linked the socialist Robert Owen to the industrialist Francis Lowell and ultimately to a man like chief factor John McLoughlin, who, in addition to managing the fur trade and large scale farming operations, also oversaw his workers in the manufacture of barges, canoes, carts, furniture, window frames, agricultural tools, horseshoes, traps, harnesses, saddles, candles, wool and many other items produced at Fort Vancouver and the other forts in his district.¹⁵⁵ Like his fellow paternalists, McLoughlin believed his workers should be 'good men.' At Owen's New Lanark in Scotland, the best behaved laborers were

rewarded with the best houses. At Fort Vancouver, the good behaviour of servants earned them implements and livestock for their farms in the Willamette.¹⁵⁶

In Quebec, there was an overt political system of redistribution which forced peasant families to turn over some of their production to the aristocracy. In the Willamette, the freemen were compelled to sell their surplus crops, especially wheat, to the Company since there were no other markets available to them, but the ancient and ambiguous concept of land ownership that helped to legitimate the appropriations from peasants in Quebec was largely absent.¹⁵⁷ True to his paternalistic persuasions, however, McLoughlin let it be known that "only good, honest men with families" could apply for farms. Moreover, he stipulated that each applicant have 50 pounds to defray the cost of purchasing farm equipment from the Company. In all of this, McLoughlin took the stance that "he that begins business on credit is seldom so careful and industrious as he who does business on his own means."¹⁵⁸ When McLoughlin's requirements were met, and only when they were met, retired servants and their families were allowed to choose prime farmland on the Willamette Prairie with a good section of white oak and timber from the nearby forest to supply raw materials for farm buildings and fuel.¹⁵⁹

The success of the Hudson's Bay Company depended on establishing a system which would ensure the survival of its workers in the remote areas of North America. To this end,

it assumed functions beyond the normal mandate of capitalist enterprises. Not only was it necessary to provide food, shelter and clothing for its employees, but the Company took on the mantle of a paternalistic social welfare agency providing care from the 'cradle to the grave.' The Company not only dictated the daily work routine, but determined correct behaviour for its employees, interfering in many aspects of their personal lives including marriage, family life and childrearing.¹⁶⁰

In both Euro-American and fur trade society, the death of a parent was a common occurrence. The fur trade family, like the Euro-American family, was maintained through remarriage and many children grew up among step-parents, step-brothers and step-sisters.¹⁶¹ The death rate among servants due to accidents was high and many mothers died before they were forty.¹⁶² In 1830, for example, twenty-six men lost their lives in the Columbia District, leaving eighteen father-less children.¹⁶³ When possible, orphans were raised by their next of kin, but relatives often lived at great distances. In these instances, the task of taking care of the youngsters fell to the Company.¹⁶⁴

In order to deal with the problem, McLoughlin established an 'orphans' fund' for the maintenance and care of deserted, motherless, and orphaned children, including native slave children, who had been abandoned or ransomed by the traders.¹⁶⁵ The McLoughlins cared for as many as eighteen of these

children at one time. The Douglas and Ogden families each had one ward. The Birnies had two of these youngsters, while chief physician Barclay's house was reported to have been "always filled with orphans".¹⁶⁶ In 1892, David McLoughlin still remembered the many orphans brought up in his father's household who, as he stated, "are scattered throughout the countries to this day."¹⁶⁷ In addition, McLoughlin also arranged homes for some of the children among the Methodist missionaries and, after 1844, among the Catholic Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the Willamette Valley.¹⁶⁸

XII

Some American settlers to Oregon regarded the Company as a medieval institution. Such a view was largely mistaken, at least, in terms of the prevalent economic system they encountered.¹⁶⁹ What the Americans despised was the fact that the Company was English and interfered with what they regarded as the 'rightful' manifest destiny of the United States. What they abhorred was the Company's monopoly, which contravened their view that government, in this case, the British government's 'informal empire' vis-a-vis the Hudson's Bay Company, should not interfere with the economic activities of citizens.¹⁷⁰ What they disliked was the Company's authoritarian opposition to liberalism and the 'laissez faire' doctrine.

Whatever else the immigrants felt about fur trade society, they were quick to see the Company's settlements as

the most westerly extension of the American frontier. The Willamette land was rich, "well watered, generally clear of timber, and covered with a fine luxuriant grass." The river was "navigable to a considerable distance for large boats."¹⁷¹ Here were villages, with log cabins, barns, churches, schools and grist mills for the crops of red, white and spring wheat - things that were familiar to the Americans and reminded them of home.¹⁷² In short, despite their criticisms of the Hudson's Bay Company, they found a society that was much closer in kind to the American one they had left behind than the native cultures they had encountered on their westward migration.

"Between 1815 and 1843," writes Herbert Gutman, "the United States remained a predominately preindustrial society and most workers drawn to its few factories were the products of rural and village preindustrial culture."¹⁷³ Some seventy-eight percent of the Americans who came to Oregon were drawn from such rural places in the 'old' frontier states of Missouri, Iowa, Illinois and Indiana.¹⁷⁴ They recognized the retired servants' communities as pioneer ones where where the first few years were devoted to clearing land, building the farm and making the family self-sufficient.

When it was possible to grow cash crops, however, the immigrants joined with the Willamette freemen, moving from self-sufficiency farming to a kind of agrarian capitalism. Wheat was not only the money crop, it was the legal tender, exchanged at a fixed rate for commodities at the Hudson's Bay

Company store.¹⁷⁵ As Lieutenant Peel of the Royal Navy noted: "There is no currency in the country, but trade is carried on the faith of promissory notes, which, though drawn in dollars, are paid in wheat, the staple product."¹⁷⁶

The Company set the example of agrarian capitalism for its workers through its subsidiary organization, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, which had been established to sell wheat, beef and butter to Russian America. In addition to growing crops for export, the Company also conducted research into animal husbandry and agriculture. Adjoining Fort Vancouver, for example, there was a small wheat field that Dr. McLoughlin sowed for experimental crops. By 1841, it contained "88 distinct shoots or spears of wheat springing from one seed and each kernel averaged about 60 making a total of 5279 kernels."¹⁷⁷ The retired servants generally profited from the Company's experiments in agricultural and some were noted as skilled farmers.¹⁷⁸

The Willamette farms were large (640 acres), and the retired servants, who were no longer young, needed farm help. Although part-time laborers for the Company themselves, the freemen were also employers of labor in their own right using native people by purchasing them as slaves or hiring them at the cheap cost of "a salmon-skin a day."¹⁷⁹ Despite the attempts of the Hudson's Bay Company to eradicate slavery, the difficulties of emancipation were insurmountable since most of the slaves were the property of the wives who had brought

them from their respective tribes as part of their wedding dowry. Although the Company exerted some moral pressure on the servants and freemen to free their slaves, slavery was not eradicated during the fur trade era. In William Slacum's report on Oregon to the United States Congress in 1838, he charged that the Company was perpetuating slavery as a matter of fur trade economy:

The slaves are generally employed to cut wood, hunt, and fish for the families of the men employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and are ready for any extra work. Each man of the trapping parties has from two to three slaves, who assist to hunt and take care of the horses and camp; and thereby save the company the expense of employing at least double the number of men that would otherwise be required on these excursions.

The Company responded that such charges were baseless, but Reverend Herbert Beaver, the chaplain at Fort Vancouver from 1836-38, made similar accusations in his report to Hudson's Bay Company officials in London.¹⁸⁰ More telling is the internal correspondence between officers within the Columbia district. On August 6, 1838, for example, James Douglas at Fort Vancouver wrote to James Birnie at Fort George (Astoria):

I am informed that Kenneth McKay has been guilty of a gross violation of law by transferring, the person of a Native Boy, who has been long a resident in his family as a slave, to a Chinook Indian, and receiving in exchange a native female.

Douglas instructed Birnie to restore "the female Indian and the several articles of property" which McKay had received in the exchange and to liberate "the boy in question."¹⁸¹

As for the labor problems of the Willamette farmers, Eva Dye, who based her historic novels on her correspondence with the fur traders and their children, wrote:

Indian slavery was no exotic in Oregon; it had grown into Champoege [the main settlement of the retired servant-Metis population in the Willamette] with its Indian wives and aboriginal traditions. Back of every manse their cabins straggled like quarters of the blacks in Georgia. Every autumn still the Klamaths came over the Calapooias, bringing their captives to trade for ponies and three-point blankets. Five blankets would purchase a boy, fifteen a girl.¹⁸²

The need for workers continually increased. By 1845, the main occupation of the retired servants had largely shifted from part-time Company work and trapping to agriculture. As one observer commented, they "furnish, annually, several thousand bushels of wheat, to supply the Russian contract."¹⁸³

David and Jennifer Chance's archaeological excavation of the Fort Vancouver site concluded that the Hudson's Bay Company servants were consumers who behaved much as their wage laborer counterparts in nineteenth century Europe and America.

To generalize, then, we see wage-laborers in a remote corner of the 19th century world behaving much as their counterparts in industrial Europe and America. The cultural effects of industrial power could be felt almost immediately in even remote parts of the world. We have found no temporal transition from a self-reliant population to a dependent one...There would have been no pressing necessity to substitute home-made articles of everyday use for store-bought items.¹⁸⁴

The results of this archaeological investigations are revealing, but can be misleading if close attention is not

paid to both historical records and the perishable nature of wood and fibre artifacts. Harriet Duncan Munnick's lifelong research on the retired servants' settlements indicates that, although many of their tools and other implements were purchased, much of their settlement was 'homemade' and reflected ancient origins in France.¹⁸⁵

Like the old French architectural styles found in their settlements, the means of production in the fur trade remained largely unaltered by the technological changes which were being incorporated in the lives of workers elsewhere. In 1836, the steamship Beaver brought about changes in the coastal trade, but the gathering of pelts inland continued to depend on animal and water power in the form of the horse and canoe.¹⁸⁶ Above all else, it depended heavily on manpower and the concentrated efforts of whole families to conduct commerce with the Indians scattered over thousands of miles. As a result, the legacy of more than two hundred years with the same modes of production was ingrained in the lives of the servants.

Like laborers in the Canadas in the period from the 1820s to the 1850s, few individuals in the Hudson's Bay Company workforce in Oregon were schooled in the sophisticated and literate ideas of the middle class. Bryan Palmer notes that in the Canadas during this period, society of all sectors still attended executions, convicted prostitutes were still paraded in the streets, journeymen sometimes reacted to cut

wages by 'daubing' their employer's houses with excrement and officials had little success in banning the "barbarism" of charivari, which was especially popular in Quebec.

French Canadian and Metis fur trade workers, who were regarded as 'extremely superstitious', do not appear to have been much different than their urban counterparts.¹⁸⁷ Like them, their beliefs had little basis in nineteenth century science and were still allied to a earlier time when the universe was ordered by the supernatural forces of nature. Although Christians, their's was a world in which demons, spirits and witches really existed. As previously mentioned, it became the first task of the clergy to eradicate the pagan aspects of the servants' Catholicism.¹⁸⁸

The children acquired some of their parent's world view as part of their growing up experience in a oral culture. Story telling was both an art and the way in which history was transmitted. From early childhood, fur trade youngsters heard Metis tales of adventures and Indian legends.¹⁸⁹ At various times during the year, they sang and danced to the tune of the fiddle and listened to Scotch melodies mingled with Canadian and Kanaka songs. They were the audience at pantomimes and plays performed at the fort and, by watching, listening and emulating their elders, they learned many of the skills and social values which were necessary in their lives.¹⁹⁰ In varying degrees, gentlemen's children in Oregon were also indoctrinated in the oral traditions of the fur trade, but

they were raised in literate households, where their fathers' often taught them to read and write at an early age and stressed Christian values and teachings.

XII

While childrearing practices based on the Company's class divisions are readily identifiable, it is easier to assess the ethnic identity of workers than it is to ascertain the extent of class consciousness among them. Ethnicity and class consciousness, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts. In the fur trade, the two concepts may well have overlapped. Some historians hold that class consciousness can be defined by examining collective social actions and the behaviour of men. Others look to the distribution of power to determine class identity. While such theses are useful, class consciousness remains largely a matter of mind -- the perceptions people have of themselves in relation to society. Such an inquiry focuses on the essence of social class, the way a man is treated by his fellows and, reciprocally, the way he treats them.¹⁹¹ Unfortunately, the working class of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon left few written records; their oral tales and stories, which might have been a revealing source of information about their self-identities, have been lost, and with them, the opportunity for exploring class consciousness in a meaningful way. It is possible, however, to examine the worker's grievances which sometimes gave them common cause.

E.P. Thompson argues that class struggles preceded the concept of class consciousness and that workers made 'class claims' without being aware of what they were doing and without the class terminology that would have helped them clarify their collective consciousness.¹⁹² The behaviour of fur trade servants in the Pacific Northwest reveals similarities to Thompson's contention about English workers. Their class perceptions may well have fallen well short of what Marx meant by the term, but whatever they felt, they all shared unfavorable working conditions at one time or another, which, in turn, fostered group solidarity.

Early each morning the servants would line up at the main gate at Fort Vancouver to receive their day's assignment. For their labor, they would receive a bare living wage.¹⁹³ Roderick Finlayson, who was a chief factor in British Columbia, wrote: "Labor was cheap in those days, hence the facility with which these (HBCO) operations were carried on."¹⁹⁴ While officers were charged 33 1/3 percent more than invoice costs in London for foodstuffs and other merchandise at the Company store, the workers had to pay a 50 percent advance.¹⁹⁵

There were probably Company rules about debt limits at Fort Vancouver, but no record of them has been found. As already noted, servants were supposed to have 50 pounds on the Company books before they could acquire land in the Willamette, but there may have been ways of acquiring their

land on credit. Skilled tradesmen, whose wages were the highest, were the most likely to acquire savings, but regardless of their individual financial situation, as in the larger North American community, wages and wage related issues, such as rations, were the most common sources of workers' grievances and a unifying force in their development of a collective identity.

In Oregon, the servants' meager weekly rations were a constant source of "great complaints."¹⁹⁶ As previously mentioned, the workers diets were vastly superior to English working class diets, but much of the variety in the workers' foodstuffs came from sources other than the rations they received as part of their contracts with the Company. Even if they had only consumed the Company rations of salmon, potatoes, peas, sugar and flour, their diets would still have been better than the ordinary laboring population in Britain who lived mainly on cereals.¹⁹⁷ The men's complaints, however, were seldom about poor diet, rather they were mainly concerned with the quantity of rations they received from the Company. McLoughlin instructed his officers to give any man who was a "great eater" more food, but this apparently did not solve the problem.¹⁹⁸ This grievance seems to have had much to do with the fact the servants in Oregon were surrounded by an abundance of livestock and farm produce which they had to buy at the store, rather than receive as part of their wage rations. Andrew Pambrun recalled:

By the thousand cattle, sheep and swine were raised [at Fort Vancouver]. Yet I never saw a pound of meat issued to the men for rations, even hog feet were too good for them. Salmon was all that I ever saw issued, fresh in summer and salt in winter, with Wapato, a root which grew in bogs and was dug up by the squaws in large quantities. Saturdays however Black Molasses and other little extras were issued.¹⁹⁹

Secondly, the workers had no choice in the kinds of foodstuffs they received as rations, yet, as in the case of female native workers, the cost of the rations (given as "3/2" in 1838), were deducted from their wages. James Douglas, who was in charge of Fort Vancouver during 1838 while McLoughlin was abroad, wrote the Governor and Committee that "every woman receiving rations is bound when required to work for the Company. Their labor ... may be established at 3/ weekly, so that the amount of actual gratuity is 6/6 weekly or 16.18 [pounds] in the course of one year."²⁰⁰

XIV

If servants were disobedient, they might be fined, kicked, beaten, flogged, put in irons, or in solitary confinement. Crimes which involved a sentence of life imprisonment or capital punishment, along with civil cases exceeding 200 pounds, were to be handled in the higher courts of Canada or the prisoner's homeland.²⁰¹ Such cases were rare. "The long rope of the Dr.'s" was well known, even East of the Rocky Mountains and attested to McLoughlin's reputation for using irons and the whip.²⁰² Eloise McLoughlin recalled that two servants who had 'jokingly' threatened to kill McLoughlin

were "so frightened that they commenced to cry" when they were brought before her father.²⁰³ Paul Kane, who witnessed the punishment of two Kanaka deserters while in Columbia, noted:

Very little time was wasted in either finding a verdict or carrying it out. The punishment consisted in simply knocking the men down, kicking them until they got up, and knocking them down again until they could not get up any more, when they finished them off with a few more kicks.²⁰⁴

The punishment of fathers was reflected in the way they punished their children. The Euro-American belief in 'spare the rod and spoil the child' was followed by many parents in the fur trade. Discipline for children, however, also included shaming and fitting the punishment to the crime. For example, one young boy was hung to the hog staff at Fort Langley for an indeterminate period of time because he had opened the fort gate during the night and risked the safety of those inside.²⁰⁵

The most common form of child punishment, however, was neglect. Officers like Governor George Simpson and Francis Ermatinger, who appear to have been ashamed of their Metis offspring, placed their sons in the distant Fort Vancouver school and completely ignored them.²⁰⁶ Other children were simply deserted by their fathers. Less frequent were cases of physical abuse, like that of Metis clerk William McGillivray, Jr. who almost murdered one of his sons by putting him "on a hot stove" and burning him because he "was crying and disturbed his sleep." The boy later drowned in the Fraser River.²⁰⁷ At the Fort Vancouver school, one teacher was found guilty of sexually molesting his Metis students.²⁰⁸ As the

fur trade declined, the Company's control over liquor waned and family violence increased.²⁰⁹

In all of this, children's punishments appears to have reflected the class structure -- officers' children seem to have received less physical punishment and were allowed liberties forbidden to the servants' children. For the crime of letting a wild calf loose, which in turn caused serious injury to one of the workers (a story that has already been told in this chapter), David McLoughlin and Andrew Pambrun received scant punishment. In Pambrun's words: "When we reached the dining room, we found a table set for two in a corner to which we were directed. We did not like the treatment but had to take it."²¹⁰ Another example is drawn from the recollections of Edgar Fawcett, who was twelve years old in 1859 when he attended the Colonial School in Victoria with James Douglas's son, James. Fawcett recalls:

One day he [James] got up suddenly in his seat and said: "Mr. Burr, I am going home and I want Fawcett to go with me; that will be all right, won't it?" "Now, Master James," said Mr. Burr, "I cannot allow this; I must protest against this going away during school hours. If his Excellency [Governor James Douglas] only knew, what would he say?"

"Oh, that will be all right, Mr. Burr."

"No, no, James, it is not all right, and as for Fawcett going with you I cannot allow it, Master James; heed me or I must have a word with Sir James about your."

All this time James was standing up at his desk with his riding-whip in his hand, and making signs for me to follow, which I proceeded to do, the master protesting all the time. I got my reward next day, but not as bad as I would have got had not good Mrs. Burr come to my rescue. We drove to Upland Farm ... at Cadboro Bay. ... By some understanding between Sir James and Mr. Burr we continued these afternoon

drives, and it may be imagined how we boys enjoyed them.²¹¹

Thus, it would appear that in punishment, as in other aspects of life, the childrens' perceptions of themselves were tied to their fathers' class and identity.

XV

While it is difficult to ascertain class consciousness among the servants, it seems clear that the Metis struggle against the Hudson's Bay Company, whether at Red River or in Oregon, was based on the idea that the laborer had a certain right to the product of his labor. Paul Kane, the artist, noted: "the half-breeds are much inclined to grumbling" and "ask almost for impossibilities" from the Company.²¹² In both the prairie and Pacific settings, the freemen resisted authority and thwarted the Company's monopoly by trying to obtain higher prices for their furs. In Oregon, the freemen, who were described as "a motley congregation...quite impossible to keep under any controul [sic] or restraint," had to buy their guns, traps, clothing and horses from the Company on credit at high markup and then try to meet their debts by selling their furs which were purchased at the lowest possible prices by the Company. Under these circumstances, the freemen were constantly in debt and frequently deserted the brigades to take their chances with the American fur traders rather than tolerate pitiably low wages and scant supplies from the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson noted that the Oregon freemen were "the most unruly and troublesome gang to deal with"

because they were conscious of "their own independence" and "therefore require[d] very superior management."²¹³

Ultimately, McLoughlin was forced to yield to the freemen's demands by lowering the cost of their supplies and raising the price paid for their pelts in order to halt the large number of desertions which took place during the 1820s.²¹⁴ He justified his unauthorized action to Simpson by stating: "It secures their fidelity, equips them more completely and stimulates them to exert themselves."²¹⁵ Despite some improvements in their working conditions, Michael La Framboise, a freeman, who led many Hudson's Bay Company trapping expeditions to California, told Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition that "he was no better off" in the early 1840s than he had been twenty years before. As he phrased it: "He was still Michael LaFramboise, only older."²¹⁶

When news of the California goldrush reached Fort Vancouver in 1848, 150 men deserted their posts for the goldfields and the Company was once again forced to meet the demands of its workers. At Fort Victoria, Indians replaced sailors who deserted, and the servants who remained at their jobs were able to bring about a "considerable increase" in their wages.²¹⁷

Another yardstick for measuring class consciousness is an analysis of political activity.²¹⁸ The influx of American settlers into the Willamette Valley in the 1840s forced the

retired servants to take unified political action to protect their farms. Twenty years before the Metis at Red River rebelled in order to retain their land and culture in the face of Canadian encroachment, the Willamette Metis narrowly averted armed conflict in the early 1840s by joining with the American settlers to form a provisional government. The path was not a smooth one, but, in the end, many of these British subjects, who already had a "dislike of Jonathan", became United States citizens in order to protect their rights and property.²¹⁹

XVI

In the final analysis, the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest was a capitalist enterprise making profitable use of labor from a pre-industrial social formation where vestiges of the older feudal model survived alongside the newer concepts of class, capitalism and paternalism. The introduction of classes in the fur trade did not eradicate the older rank system based on difference, obligations and duties and these were reinforced by newer paternalistic concepts of employer-employee labor relations. In the fur trade of the Pacific Northwest, as in England, Canada and the United States, old modes of behaviour and means of production existed side by side with newer ones.²²⁰

Research on class consciousness in England reveals that class perceptions were "frequently backward-looking and romantic and, more often than not, conservative and

deferential."²²¹ Although they were distant from capital formation, Hudson's Bay Company servants on the frontier of Oregon acted much like their urban counterparts in Britain, the United States and the Canadas in the first wave of industrialization during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Working conditions in Hudson's Bay Company drew men of various ethnic backgrounds to take collective action in opposition to the Company and later united them in political expression against the American threat. Alongside the growth of a fur trade (Metis) identity, or as part of it, there was something akin to the "conservative and deferential" working class consciousness which was emerging in the industrial countries. In short, as R.S. Neale has noted of English society in the first half of the nineteenth century, the fur trade in Oregon "was neither pre-industrial nor industrial, neither feudal nor industrial-capitalist, neither class-less nor multi-class, neither order based nor class based, neither one thing nor the other although dialectically it was both."²²²

The lives of Metis children born into this world would be very different from those of their mothers or fathers. While their parents were largely illiterate, each decade witnessed an increasing number of fur trade youngsters who could read and write. In 1832, McLoughlin established the first school at Fort Vancouver, which acted in concert with the Company to impress the children's minds with the concepts of obedience and the time-thrift habits of industry. James

Douglas was not mistaken when, as early as 1838, he told the Governor and London Committee that:

The interest of the Colony, and Fur Trade will never harmonize, the former can flourish, only through the protection of equal laws, the influence of free trade, the accession of respectable inhabitants; in short by establishing a new order of things, while the fur Trade, must suffer by each innovation.²²³

As white settlers arrived and the 'wilderness' diminished, there was indeed a "new order of things", but the changes were not as radical as one might expect. With the Hudson's Bay Company as their mentor, fur trade children had been groomed on the concepts of class and capitalism and the lessons they had learned eased their transition into the new American culture which unfolded in the Pacific Northwest.

Notes

1. This statement was made James Douglas and Peter Ogden in 1847 in reference to the Hudson's Bay Company claims in Oregon. See: Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," p. 29.
2. Zitkala-Sa, "Why I Am A Pagan," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XC, December 1902, p. 803.
3. S.A. Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. I, Portland, J.K. Gill Company, 1905, pp. 182-185, 205. Also see: Rev. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Minneapolis, Ross and Haines, 1967, p. 310. (Fort Vancouver was moved because there was no water at the original site.)
4. Robert E. Ritzenthaler, Indian Cradles, Milwaukee Public Museum Publication, 1967, pp. 1-5; Helen Meilleur, A Pour of Rain: Stories from a West Coast Fort, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1980, p.198. Some Metis infants may have been swaddled like native children. See: George F.G. Stanley, John Henry LeFroy: In Search of the Magnetic North, Toronto, MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1955, p. 76. Also see: Narcissa Whitman, "Journal," TOPA, 1873-1883, p. 63; Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, p. 201.
5. Ranald MacDonald to E.E. Dye, Oct. 31, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.
6. Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies, Vol. I, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, p. 107.
7. Clarke, p. 189.
8. F. Trotter, F. Loutzenhiser, J. Loutzenhiser, eds. Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. I, W.P.A. Sponsored Federal Project No 5841, 1936-38, pp. 144-145; Ranald MacDonald to E.E. Dye, Oct. 31, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland.
9. John Work, John Work Journal, Friday, Aug. 27, 1824, (AB 40, W89.1A), Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.
10. Christina Williams to E.E. Dye, Feb. 10, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (MS 1089), OHS, Portland.
11. Servants' rations usually consisted of various quantities of salmon, potatoes, peas, sugar and flour. Families could also purchase the garden crops and dairy products at Fort

Vancouver. Cow's milk was in good supply, but native intolerance to lactose may have resulted in allergies to cow's milk for some mixed blood children. See: E.E. Rich, ed., Simpson's Journey to Columbia, London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1947, pp. 228-231; 194A-195A; Neil Howison, "Report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison on Oregon, 1846," OHO, Vol. 14, 1913, p. 13; Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia: Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, pp. 66-67, 94; Rev. C.G. Nicolay, The Oregon Territory, London, Charles Knight and Company, 1846, pp. 187-189; W.F. Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader, Vancouver, Mitchell Press Ltd., 1963, p. 341; Juliet Pollard, Interview with David Hansen, Curator Fort Vancouver Historic Site, March 27, 1982.

12. Cole and Postgate present a useful study of the English worker diet and their food budget in the late eighteenth century. This diet does not appear to have changed much in the first half of the nineteenth century. See: G.D.H. Cole, Raymond Postgate, The Common People: 1746-1946, London, Methuen, 1964, pp. 78-85. On the nineteenth century English diet, see: Charles Francatelli, A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Class, London, Scolar Press, 1977, (copyright 1852); Ivy Pinchbeck, Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society, Vol. II, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973, pp. 407, 420, 428; E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, New York, Penguin Books, pp. 220, 316, 319-20.

13. John A. Hussey, Champoeg: Place of Transition, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1967, pp. 54, 89.

14. Drury, First White Women Over the Rockies, pp. 126-127.

15. Clarke, p. 189.

16. Eva Emery Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon: A Chronicle, Chicago, A.C. McClure and Company, 1900, pp. 37; Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia, p. 67.

17. Trotter, Loutzenhiser, Told By the Pioneers, pp. 145.

18. Clifford M. Drury, "The Columbia Maternal Association," OHO, Vol. 39, 1938, pp. 99-122; David J. Pivar, Purity Crusade Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900, Lestport, Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973, p. 41.

19. J. S. Helmcken to J. D. Manson, July 22, 1860, James Murray Yale Papers, PABC, Victoria.

20. On infant and child mortality in the United States and Europe, see: United States, The Seventh Census, Washington, D.C., Robert Armstrong Printer, 1853, pp. 138-139; Wilson G.

Smillie, Public Health: Its Promise for the Future, New York, Macmillan Company, 1955, pp. 117-119, 201-207; James Walvin, A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914, New York, Penguin Books, 1984, pp. 23, 29-45; Michael Mitterauer, Reinhard Sieder, The European Family, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983, pp. 34-35, 60-61, 146; Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1977, pp. 26, 199-204.

21. Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Portland, Binford and Mort Publishers, 1979, pp. A-97-A-98.

22. R.E. Gosnell, Secretary, Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria, British Columbia, to E.E. Dye, November 12, 1901, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089) OHS.

23. Edmond S. Meany, ed., "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," WHQ, Vol. 16, 1925, p. 217; Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, Vol. IV, Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard Publishers, 1845, p. 326.

24. Eugene Duflot De Mofras, "Extract From Exploration of the Oregon Territory," OHQ, Vol. 26, 1925, p. 154. The number of men employed by the Hudson's Bay Company for Columbia Department in 1841-42, for example, was 616, with the greatest number being stationed at Fort Vancouver. The total labour force at Fort Vancouver from 1827 to 1860 was 1,090, including an estimated 254 women and 301 children. See: James R. Gibson, Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country 1786-1846, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1985, p. 20; David H. Chance, Jennifer V. Chance, Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks, Seattle, Reports in Highway Archaeology No. 3, University of Washington, 1976, p. 2. Also see: Hudson's Bay Company: Establishment of Servants Columbia District Out 1839, (AB20 V), PABC, Victoria.

25. Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1968, p. 117.

26. John A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver Historic Structure Report: Vol. II, Denver Service Centre, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, April 1976, p. 291; Susan Kardas, "The People Brought This and Clatsop became Rich: A View of Nineteenth Century Relations on the Lower Columbia Between Chinookian Speakers, White and Kanakas," Ph.D. Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1971, pp. 208-210.

27. Harriet Duncan Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's in Oregon, 1830-1840," Marion County History, Vol. 5, 1959, p. 54; Carl Landerholm, ed., Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec

Mission to the Pacific Northwest, Portland, Champoege Press, 1956, pp. 12-14, 18-21, 80, 87, 90, 150, 169; William J. Samarian, "Work and Women in the Emergence of Chinook Jargon," Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, Montreal, May 29-June 2, 1985.

28. On the controversy surrounding the origins of Chinook Jargon, see: F.W. Howay, "The Origin of the Chinook Jargon," BCHQ, Vol. 1 VI, No. 4, 1942, pp. 225-250.

29. Myron Eells, "The Chinook Jargon," American Anthropologist, Vol. VII, July 1894, pp. 300-311. Also see: Samuel Hancock, "Thirteen Years Residence on the Northwest Coast," Whidbey Island, Washington Territory, (P-B29), February 17, 1860, pp. 359-360.

30. Meany, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," p. 220.

31. W.C. McKay, M.D., Umatilla Agency, Aug. 10, 1891 to Mrs. E.E. Dye, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland.

32. Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams, "A Daughter of Angus MacDonald," WHQ, Vol. 13, 1922, p. 116.

33. Meany, p. 221.

34. Wilkes also noted that "there are few if any idlers, Everybody seems to be in a hurry." See: Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV, p. 329.

35. Thomas Farnham, Travels in the Great Western Prairies and in Oregon Territory, New York, Greeley & McElrath, 1843, (copyright 1977), p. 98. Also see: Wilkes, Narrative, pp. 335-336; Meany, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," pp. 218-219; George Thornton Emmons, "Extracts from the Emmons Journals," OHQ, Vol. 26, 1925, p. 268; John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure, Portland, Washington State Historical Society, 1957, pp. 199-200, 221.

36. Mrs. Daniel Harvey, [nee Eloise McLoughlin], Life of John McLoughlin, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's [sic] Possessions on the Pacific Slopes at Fort Vancouver, Harvey House, Portland Oregon, June 20, 1878, (MS. P-3, 12), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, pp. 6, 10; De Mofras, "Extract From Exploration of the Oregon Territory." p. 155; Meany, pp. 220-222; Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV, pp. 329, 331; Fogdall, pp. 31, 67.

37. Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, p. 55.

38. Madge Wolfenden, ed. "John Tod: 'Career of a Scotch Boy'," BCHQ, Vol. 18, Nos. 3-4, 1954, p. 146.
39. Emmons, "Extracts from the Emmons Journals," p. 271.
40. Powell, "Hall Jackson Kelley-Prophet of Oregon," OHQ, Vol. 18, 1917, pp. 126-127; Archie Satterfield, "A Monument to Determination," Fort Vancouver, Washington, D.C., National Park Service, 1981, p. 21.
41. Meany, p. 217; Farnham, Travels in the Great Western Prairies, p. 98.
42. Emmons, p. 266; Wilkes, Narrative, p. 326.
43. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, p. 218.
44. Fort Vancouver Correspondence Book 1838-39, (B 223b), HBCA, p. 6.
45. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 217-218; John Ball, "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago," OHQ, Vol. 3, 1902, p. 98; David Lavender, "Fort Vancouver and the Pacific Northwest," Fort Vancouver, Washington D.C., National Park Service, 1981, p. 97. Also see: "Fort Langley Correspondence," BCHQ, Vol. I, No. 3, July 1937, p. 190;
46. John Townsend, Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, Philadelphia, Henry Perkins, 1839, p. 299; Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, p. 217.
47. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 218-219.
48. Lavender, "Fort Vancouver and the Pacific Northwest," p. 97; Powell, "Hall Jackson Kelley -Prophet of Oregon," pp. 126-127.
49. Lavender, p. 97.
50. Louis R. Caywood, "The Archeological Excavation of Fort Vancouver," OHQ, Vol. 49, 1948, p. 113; Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's in Oregon," p. 52.
51. Lavender, p. 79; Harriet Duncan Munnick, "The Transitional Decade on French Prairie - 1830-1850," Marion County History, Vol. 4, 1958, p. 11.
52. John McLoughlin to A.C. Anderson, April 23, 1841, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, (AB20 V2M), PABC, Victoria.
53. Drury, First White Women Over the Rockies, p. 85.

54. Trotter, Loutzenhiser, Told By the Pioneers, p. 144.
55. Caywood, "The Archeological Excavation of Fort Vancouver," pp. 109, 113, 115.
56. Fogdall, pp. 66, 75.
57. William A. Slacum, Memorial of William Slacum Praying Compensation for his Services in Obtaining Information in Relation to the Settlements on the Oregon River, December 18, 1837, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1972, p. 6.
58. Ball, "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago," p. 103.
59. Caywood, p. 113.
60. For example, the McKinley-Ogden children settled at Lac la Hache, British Columbia; Ranald McDonald, his cousin Christina and her family lived at old Fort Colville, in Washington State and Andrew Pambrun lived with his children and grandchildren and their families on various homesteads in Montana. Juliet Pollard, Genealogical Files, 1980-89.
61. John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 196-213. De Mofras, pp. 153-155; Lavender, p. 87; Emmons, p. 266; Leslie M. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46," OHQ, Vol. 29, 1928, p. 61. The fort garden harvested melons, strawberries, potatoes, beans, peas, cucumbers and other vegetables. The orchard contained apple, cherry, pear, peach, plum and nectarine trees, as well as bushes of gooseberries and currants.
62. Andrew Dominique Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier in the Pacific Northwest, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, p. 37.
63. Wilkes, Narrative, p.328. For other statements on the structures at Fort Vancouver, see: De Mofras, pp. 153-155; T.C. Elliott, ed., "British Values in Oregon, 1847," OHQ, Vol. 32, 1931, pp. 34-35; Emmons, pp. 264-265; Satterfield, "A Monument to Determination," pp. 8-12. Lavender, p. 77; Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 143-85.
64. Parker, Journal, p. 179; Trotter, Loutzenhister, pp. 144-145; Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon, p. 122, 128; Lavender, p. 96.
65. Emmons, pp. 270-271.
66. Harriet Duncan Munnick, "Grandma was an Indian," Marion County Historical Society, Vol. 7, 1961, p. 8.

67. Chance, Kanaka Village/ Vancouver Barracks, p. 264; Clarke, p. 199. John Tod's note that he had supplied a child "with a bag of toys" from the store at Fort Kamloops, suggests that toys were common items in the fur trade. See: Wolfenden, "John Tod," p. 216.

68. Narcissa made the girls dolls to replace the sticks they carried as dolls. She rolled up cloth and marked eyes, noses and mouths on the roll with a pen. See: Drury, First White Women, pp. 150, 153.

69. Wolfenden, p. 148; Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier, p. 37.

70. For example, McLoughlin informed the Committee in London that he could not comply with the Company's wishes to build a house for the new superintendent of the farm and his family since it was "impossible to build a house for them now without neglecting other important work." See: E.E. Rich, ed. The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver, First Series, London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941, p. 160.

71. Jessett, Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, pp. 53, 81.

72. De Mofras, p. 154; Lavender, pp. 57, 78, 103-104. On the clothing worn by officers and servants, see: Wolfenden, p. 141; Fogdall, p. 97.

73. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon, p. 116.

74. Emmons, pp. 266-267.

75. Lavender, p. 91.

76. Wolfenden, p. 146.

77. Harvey, Life of John McLoughlin, pp. 34-35.

78. Robert C. Johnson, John McLoughlin: Father of Oregon, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1958, p. 116.

79. Hussey, Champoeg, p. 52.

80. Lavender, p. 96.

81. See: Matilda Delaney, A Survivor's Recollections of the Whitman Massacre, Spokane, 1920, p. 27; Fogdall, Royal Family, p. 192.

82. Harvey, p. 12.

83. Pambrun, p. 15.

84. For example, the term "in-between" is used in the title of Jacqueline Peterson's thesis, "The People In Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Metis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1860," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981.

85. De Mofras, p. 155.

86. On defining 'capitalist enterprise', see: G.A. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 79-82. In 1930, Harold Innis noted the change in the Hudson's Bay Company after 1821 to "control exercised by capital interests with headquarters in London." See: Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973, p. 280.

87. For example, see: Paul Knaplund, "Letters from James Edward Fitzgerald to W.E. Gladstone concerning Vancouver Island and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1848-1850," BCHQ, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1949, p. 7.

88. De Mofras, p. 158.

89. De Mofras, p. 165.

90. Meany, p. 299.

91. Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," p. 29.

92. B.A. McKelvie, "Jason Allard: Fur-Trader, Prince, and Gentleman," BCHQ, Vol. IX, No. 4, October 1945, p. 252; Jason Ovid Allard, Reminiscences, undated, (EC AL5), PABC. This view was also common among nineteenth century writers. For example, see: Rev. George Forneret, "The Half-Breeds of the North-West," The Canadian Church Magazine, Vol. 2, 1888, p. 103.

93. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History, Introduction; Stanislaw Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, pp. 11, 59-60, 71-74, 132-144; George Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics, London, Merlin Press, pp. 55-62.

94. Stanley, "John Henry LeFroy," p. 76.

95. Emmons, p. 267.

96. Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, pp. 24-27. For a study on the way the term 'class' was used before 1790,

see: Dallas L. Cloutre, "The Concept of Class in French Culture Prior to the Revolution," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XLV, No. 2, 1984, pp. 219-244. Also see: J.D.Y. Peel, ed., Herbert Spencer on Social Evolution, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1972, pp. xvii-xviii; Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, pp. 132-145. On one American's view of class in 1840, see: Orestes Brownson, "The Laboring Classes," Boston Quarterly Review, Vol. III, July 1840, reprinted in The Meaning of Jacksonian Democracy, edited by Edwin C. Rozwenc, Lexington, D.C. Heath and Company, 1963, pp. 25-31.

97. A brief description of the new social structure of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 is given in: G.P.V. Akrigg, Helen B. Akrigg, British Columbia Chronicle 1778-1846, Vancouver, Discovery Press, 1975, pp. 180-185. Also see: Burt Brown Baker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1948, p. 348. On ethnicity and hiring practices from 1821 to 1870, see: Carol M. Judd, "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations': 1821-70," Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North America Fur Trade Conference, edited by Carol M. Judd, and Arthur J. Ray, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980, pp. 127-144; Philip Goldring, "Labour Records of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1870," Archivaria, No. 11, Winter 1980-81, pp. 53-59. On illiteracy among the servants, see: United States, 1850 Federal Census Oregon Territory, Marion County, Table IX; Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xvii; Munnick, "The Transition Decade on French Prairie, 1830-1850," Marion County History, Vol. 4, 1958, p. 42; Harriet D. Munnick, "Dupatti": Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay," Marion County History, Vol. 6, 1960, p. 28; Joseph William McKay, "Recollections of a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Simpson, 1878," (P-C 24), Bancroft Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

98. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, p. 24; Ossowski, p. 133.

99. Wolfenden, pp. 130, 138-141, 153, 167. On references to the term class in the fur trade, see: E.E. Rich, ed. The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver, First Series, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, p. 239; Meany, p. 220; Howison, "Report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison," pp. 2, 7, 55; Farnham, p. 96.

100. Perkin, pp. 24-25. Also see: Brownson, "The Laboring Classes," pp. 25-31.

101. Judd, "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations'," p. 127.

102. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 280-286; E.E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870, Vol. II, 1763-1870, London, Hudson's Bay Company Record Society, 1959, pp. 397-399, 407.

103. Goldring, "Labour Records of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1870," p. 55; Innis, pp. 280-286; Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, pp. 397-399; Robert E. Pinkerton, The Gentlemen Adventurers, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1931, pp. 288-290; Farnham, p. 96.

104. Goldring, p. 55.

105. Ossowski, p. 136; Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness, p. 51.

106. Social distance was maintained in many ways including company rules and regulations. For example, rule 16, (1843) forbade guides and interpreters from "mess with Commissioned Gentlemen or clerks." See: Hudson's Bay Company Standing Rules and Regulations, (Mss. Add 220), PABC, Victoria, p. 11.

107. Akrigg, British Columbia Chronicle, p. 181; Lavender, p. 38; Ossowski, pp. 76-78.

108. For example, see: Drury, "The Columbia Maternal Association," p. 104; Jean Murray Cole, Exile in the Wilderness: The Biography of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald 1790-1853, Don Mills, Burns & MacEachern Limited, 1979, p. 191; George Roberts, "Reminiscences," TOPA, 1881, p. 71; John Work Journal, Friday, August 27, 1824, (AB40, W89.1A), PABC, Victoria, B.C.

109. David McLoughlin, Kootenai, July 12, 1893, to Mrs. C. H. Dye, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland.

110. Ranald MacDonald, Old Fort Colville, July 24, 1892, to Mrs. E.E. Dye, Oregon City, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1098), OHS, Portland.

111. Cohen, pp. 68, 78.

112. On English manufactured goods used in the Columbia fur trade, see: Chance, Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks 1974, pp. 263-268; Thomas R. Garth, "Archeological Excavations at Fort Walla Walla," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 43, 1952, pp. 47-48. In addition to goods of English manufacture, the Hudson's Bay Company also contracted for goods from Montreal and manufactured a considerable number of products at Fort Vancouver and the other forts in the district. See: Caywood, "The Archeological Excavation of Fort Vancouver," pp. 109-116; Lester A. Ross, "Early Nineteenth Century Euroamerican

Technology within the Columbia River Drainage System," PABC, Victoria, B.C., p. 39. On the earlier, barter-fur trade economic system, see: Arthur J. Ray, "The Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade in the Eighteenth Century: A Comparative Economic Study," European Settlement and Development in North America," edited by James R. Gibson, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978, pp. 116-135.

113. On the 'subsumed class' see: Rona S. Weiss, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1850: A Comment," Journal of Economic History, Vol. XLIII, No. 2, June 1983, p. 476.

114. To protect Oregon Territory from American fur trade penetration, the Hudson's Bay Company conducted extensive brigades and employed servants to "trap the frontier dry" on the periphery of the trading area. The hiring of servants to do this work was something of a departure from the Company's usual method of barter-buying of furs from Indian trappers and practicing animal conservation. See: Barry M. Gough, "The Hudson's Bay Company and the Imperialism of Monopoly," B.C. Studies, No. 18, summer 1973, p. 74.

115. Lavender, pp. 97, 100.

116. Chance, p. 267. Also see: Burt Brown Barker, ed., Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin Written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832, Portland, Binfords and Mort, 1948, pp.347-348.

117. Meany, p. 223.

118. Lavender, p. 72.

119. Fogdall, p. 67.

120. Meilleur, A Pour of Rain, pp. 71-72.

121. Lockley, "Recollections of Benjamin Franklin Bonney," OHQ, Vol. 24, 1923, p. 53.

122. The mention of "lads" is common in the expedition journals. For example, see: Glyndwr Williams, ed., Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-28 and 1828-29, London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971, p.xiv. On the wages paid to child workers in the Buffalo Wool Company, see: Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1972, p. 71.

123. On student labour at Fort Vancouver, see: Jessett, Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, pp. 123-124.

124. Clarke, pp. 184, 198.

125. Pambrun, p. 31; Mary Clanfield, "Hudson's Bay Company on the Lower Cowlitz," Cowlitz Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Spring 1979, p. 36.

126. Harvey, p. 7. Also see: Lavender, pp. 55, 79, 87, 100; McKelvie, "Jason Allard," pp. 247-249.

127. Frederick Merk, ed, Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 91. When the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company merged in 1821, the HBCo. acquired the services of 35 Kanakas employed by the Northwest Company. George Simpson recommended 15 more Kanakas be recruited when he reorganize the trade west of the Rockies and their numbers increased over the years. Also see: Janice K. Duncan, Minority without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1972, p. 9-10; Robert Carlton Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," OHQ, Vol. 35, 1934, p.28.

128. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," pp. 29-31; Duncan, "Minority with a Champion," pp. 3-19. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, p. 199; Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 298. Roderick Finlayson was in charge of the sawmill which employed Kanaka labour extensively. See: Roderick Finlayson, "An Autobiography of Roderick Finlayson: A Retired Officer of the Hudson Bay Company," The Washington Historian, October 1900, p.30.

129. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," p. 31.

130. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," pp. 28-29. Also see: Merk, p. 91.

131. Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1986, pp. 20-26. Also see: David W. Galenson, "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis," The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 44, No. 1, March 1984, pp. 1-26.

132. John Nicks, "Orkneymen in the Hudson's Bay Company 1780-1821," Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North America Fur Trade Conference, pp. 102-126; Judd, pp. 127-145; Goldring, "Labour Records of the Hudson's Bay Company," p. 56.

133. For examples, see: Peter Russell, "Wage Labour Rates in Upper Canada, 1818-1840," Histoire Social-Social History, Vol. XVI, No. 31, May 1983, p. 79; Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Labouring Philadelphians, 1750-1800," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, April 1981, p. 165.

134. On the economic situation in Quebec, see: Fernand Ouellet, Lower Canada 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1980, pp. 117-158.

135. Judd, pp. 142, 145.

136. Wolfenden, p. 191.

137. John Minto, "Reminiscences of Experiences on the Oregon Trail in 1844," OHQ, Vol. II, No. 3, 1901, p. 234. Also see: John Minto, "From Youth to Age As An American," OHQ, Vol. 9, 1908, pp. 73-74.

138. Harriet D. Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, St. Paul, French Prairie Press, 1980, Introduction.

139. Chance, p.2. Also see: Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, p. 218.

140. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul; Catholic Church Records: Vancouver; John Jackson, The Metis in the Fur Trade of the Pacific Northwest, unpublished manuscript, 1988.

141. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, Introduction; Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, p. 218.

142. Chance, p. 267.

143. E.E. Rich, ed. The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, Appendix A, p. 260.

144. Lavender, p. 103.

145. Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985, pp. x-xiv, 177-193.

146. Gerald Friesen, "The Metis of the Canadian Prairies 1840-1890: Domestic Economies and Settler Capitalism," Unpublished Paper, December 1988, p. 7. Also see: W.L. Morton, "The Canadian Metis," The Beaver, September 1950, p. 6; Rev. George Forneret, "The Half-Breeds of the North-West," The Canadian Church Magazine, 1888, pp. 76-77, 102.

147. John Minto, "Reminiscences of Experiences on the Oregon Trail," p. 234. Also see: Munnick, "The Transition Decade," p. 42; Munnick, "Dupatti," p. 30.

148. Fodgall, pp. 19-20, 100; Johnson, John McLoughlin: Father of Oregon, pp. 71-74, 116, 120-121; H.S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of F.X. Mattieu," OHQ, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 85.
149. Harvey, p. 35.
150. Dye, McLoughlin, pp. 115-118; Clarke, p. 201; Fogdall, p. 100; John McLoughlin to A.C. Anderson, April 23, 1841, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, (AB20 V2M), PABC.
151. De Mofras, pp. 156, 169.
152. Leslie M. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46," OHQ, Vol. 29, 1928, p. 61.
153. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xviii; Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, Introduction. Although most of the French Canadians and Metis retired servants were nominally Catholic, in the absence of priests, they welcomed the Methodists who established a mission in the Willamette in 1835 and performed baptisms, marriages and burials among them. See: Munnick, "Dupatti: Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay," p. 31.
154. R. S. Neale, Class in English History 1608-1850, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Publishers, 1981, pp.187, 191. David Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1979, pp. 4-7, 98; Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980, Toronto, Butterworth and Company, 1983, pp. 12-20. On paternalism in the United States, see: Edwin C. Rozwenc, ed., Ideology and Power in the Age of Jackson, New York, Doubleday and Company, 1964, pp. 47-54.
155. Ross, "Early Nineteenth Century Euroamerican Technology within the Columbia River Drainage System," p. 39; Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, p. 177.
156. Roberts, pp. 173, 177, 273, 203; John McLoughlin, "Copy of a Document Found Among the Private Papers of the Late Dr. John McLoughlin," TOPA, 1880, pp. 48-51; Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, pp. 172-174; Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, Part II, 1842-43, (AB 20 V2M), PABC, Victoria.
157. Gibson, Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of the Oregon Country 1786-1846, pp. 93-94; De Mofras, p. 169.
158. John McLoughlin to William Tolmie, February 10, 1844, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, Part III, 1844-45, (AB 20 V2M), PABC, Victoria; Hussey, Champoeg, pp. 51-52.

159. Munnick, "The Transition Decade," p. 36; For a description of the topography of the Willamette in 1834-5, see: Jason Lee, "Missionary Intelligence: Flat Head Indians," Christian Advocate and Journal for the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. x, No. 10, New York, Friday, Oct. 30, 1835.

160. For examples, see: Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, 1830-1849, (AB20 V2D; AB20 V2MA; AB20 V2M), PABC, Victoria; Establishment of Servants Columbia District Out 1839, (B 223b), Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg; Standing Rules and Regulations: Hudson's Bay Company, (Add. Mss 220), PABC.

161. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver; Catholic Church Records: St. Paul; John S. Galbraith, The Little Emperor: Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, Toronto, MacMillan of Canada, 1976, pp. 108-109.

162. The Catholic Church Records provide a vivid picture of parent mortality and re-marriage. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver.

163. Thomas Roulstone speculates that the eighteen orphans in the Fort Vancouver school in 1836, were the children of the men who had been killed in 1830. See: Thomas Roulstone, "A Social History of Fort Vancouver: 1829-1849," MA Thesis, Utah State University, 1975, p.113.

164. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, pp. A-6, A-62; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, pp. A-12, A-44, A-79, A-85.

165. Jessett, p. 84; Parker, p. 160.

166. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, pp. A-5, A-88.

167. David McLoughlin, March 20, 1892, to Mrs. C.H. Dye, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland.

168. Charles Henry Carey, ed., "The Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station," OHQ, Vol. 23, 1922, p. 235; Sister Mary Dominica, Willamette Interlude, Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1959, p. 202; Edwin V. O'Hara, "DeSmet in the Oregon Country," OHQ, Vol. 10, 1909, pp. 253-254.

169. On the medieval image of the Hudson's Bay Company in early historical works, see: Fred Lockley, ed., "Reminiscences of Captain William P. Gray," OHQ, Vol. 14, 1913, pp. 321-322; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. I, San

Francisco, The History Company, 1888, pp. 45-46. The feudal image still persists even in works that recognize the officers as "gentlemen capitalists." For example, see: Arthur L. Throckmorton, Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1961, p. 81.

170. Barry Gough, "The Hudson's Bay Company and the Imperialism of Monopoly: A Review Article," B.C. Studies, No. 18, Summer 1973, pp. 70-72.

171. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel," p. 63.

172. Munnick, "The Transition Decade," pp. 35-42; Henry Zorn, "Champoeg Flour Mill," Marion County History, Vol. 7, 1961, p. 3.

173. Herbert C. Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, New York, Vintage Books, 1977, p. 33.

174. Donald S. Enderton, Early American Settlement of Northern Oregon, B.A. Thesis, Reed College, Portland, 1963, p. 7. Also see: Samuel N. Dicken, Emily F. Dicken, The Making of Oregon: A Study in Historical Geography, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1979, p. 70; Norman A. Graebner, Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion, New York, Ronald Press Company, 1955, p. 34; Scott, p. 62.

175. In 1844, the provisional legislature of Oregon Territory made wheat the legal tender at market prices. See: Munnick, "The Transition Decade," p. 35; Zorn, "Champoeg Flour Mill," p. 3; Sidon V. Johnson, A Short History of Oregon, Chicago, A.C. McClurg and Company, 1904, p. 244.

176. Scott, p. 63.

177. Emmons, p. 271; John McLoughlin to William Tolmie, Dec. 25, 1843, Fort Vancouver: Correspondence Outward, Part II, 1842-43, (AB20 V2M), PABC, Victoria; Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, pp. 144-143; Lavender, p. 79; Gibson, p. 105.

178. The first Willamette farms of the retired servants were of interest to Rev. Jason Lee, a former farmer from Upper Canada, who wrote: "The land here produces good wheat, peas, barley, oats, beans, and potatoes, but Indian corn does not flourish well... The oldest settler has been here but three years, yet he raised 500 bushels of wheat the past season. See: Jason Lee, "Missionary Intelligence: Flat Head Indians,"

Christian Advocate and Journal For the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. X, No. 10, New York, Friday, Oct. 30, 1835.

179. Munnick, "The Transition Decade," p. 36; Munnick, "Dupatti," p. 29.

180. Frederick Merk, Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal 1824-25, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968, pp. 352-356.

181. James Douglas, Fort Vancouver to James Birnie, Fort George, Aug. 6, 1838, Letter Book Columbia District Outfit 1838, (B 223b), HBCA.

182. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon, p. 117.

183. Overton Johnson, W. Winter, "Route Across the Rocky Mountains With a Description of Oregon, 1843," OHQ, Vol. 7, 1906, p. 174; De Mofras, p. 169.

184. Chance, pp. 266-268. For tables on the manufactured goods produced at the forts in Oregon, see: Ross, "Early Nineteenth Century Euroamerican Technology with the Columbia River Drainage System," pp. 39-42.

185. For example, there was the one and a half or two story, tall, thin, white-washed, log houses; the barns, made by setting up a framework of squared timbers in which tenon grooves were run by auger and chisel and split fir plants were set into the posts to form the walls - building styles which dated from medieval architecture originating in Normandy and Breton, which crossed the Atlantic to New France and spread to French-Metis communities throughout North America. Variations in construction were determined by the materials in each geographical location. In the Willamette, for example, clay from the river was mixed with sand to form a sturdy base for housing foundations and rather than conifer, the usual type of wood used for construction, the retired servants built from deciduous trees which grew along the riverbank. There were also the two-wheeled Red River carts pulled by oxen and used for hauling farm goods, and the "barouches," the buggies used by native and metis wives, much to the envy of white women settlers. In short, although only a few settlers in the Willamette were from Quebec or Red River, the Canadian influence was strong. See: Munnick, "The Transition Decade," pp. 35-42; Juliet Pollard, Interview with Harriet Duncan Munnick, 420 South Wilda Road, West Linn, Oregon, February 16, 1984; John H. Atherton, "Archaeological Investigations at Champoege, Oregon, 1973," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1975, p.110; Jean Palardy, "Architecture in Early Canada," Canadian Antique Collector,

January-February 1974, p. 31; Helene Bernard, "Quebec's Traditional House," Canadian Antique Collector, May-June 1974, p. 51; Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel," pp. 63-66; Verne Dusenberry, "Waiting for a Day that Never Comes," Montana: The Magazine of Western History, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1958, p. 28.

186. For changes in the trade brought about by the Beaver, see: Dereck Pethick, S.S. Beaver: The Ship That Saved The West, Vancouver, 1970, p. 13; W.K. Lamb, "The Advent of the 'Beaver'," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2, 1938; Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, pp. 150-151; John Dunn, History of the Oregon Territory and British North America Fur Trade, Philadelphia, G.B. Zieber and Company, 1845, pp. 271-272.

187. Wolfenden, "John Tod," p. 143.

188. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xviii; Catholic Church Records: Vancouver, Introduction. In both France and Quebec, pagan-Catholicism, that is, paganism overlaid with Catholicism, existed in rural areas in pre-industrial times. There are many reasons for this, but one was the shortage of clergy in rural areas. On pagan-Catholicism see: James M. Hayden, "Religion and Social History, and the Christianization of Europe," unpublished paper, University of Lethbridge, Alberta, March 1986. On the shortage of clergy in Quebec, and consequently, Red River and Oregon, see: Serge Gagnon, Quebec and Its Historians 1840-1920, Montreal, Harvest House, 1982, pp. 2-8, 65-66.

189. For example, see: McKelvie, "Jason Allard: Fur-trader, Prince, and Gentleman," p. 245.

190. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," p. 30; De Mofras, p. 155.

191. Neale, Class in English History: 1680-1850, pp. 8, 107, 133, 152, 156-157.

192. E.P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle Without Class," Social History, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1978, pp. 147-151; Neale, pp. 96-98.

193. Lavender, pp. 101-103.

194. Finlayson, "An Autobiography," p. 71.

195. Lavender, p. 101.

196. Meany, pp. 222-223.

197. See: notes 11 and 12.

198. John McLoughlin to Angus McDonald, Cowlitz, April 29, 1842, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Outward, Part II, (AB20 V2M), PABC, Victoria.
199. Pambrun, p. 28.
200. James Douglas Letter on the Beaver Affair, Oct. 5, 1838, Fort Vancouver Correspondence Book 1838-39, (B 223b), Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba, p. 6.
201. 201. Lavender, pp. 103-104. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, pp. 401-404; J. Neilson Barry, "Primary Sources to Early Government," OHQ, Vol. 35, 1934, p. 140.
202. Glyndwr Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973, p. xxv. On crime and punishment in the Hudson's Bay Company and at Fort Vancouver, see: James Douglas to George Simpson, March 12, 1849, Correspondence Relating to Fort Langley 1830-1859," PABC, Victoria; Duncan, Minority Without a Champion, p. 10-11. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, p. 191. According to Eloise McLoughlin, her father handled all criminal cases himself. In his absence, however, James Douglas sent one man for punishment to England. See: Harvey, p. 10.
203. Harvey, p. 10.
204. Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, p. 181.
205. Fort Langley Journal: 1827-1830, PABC, Victoria.
206. Juliet Pollard, The Best Education for Metis Children: Manual Vs. Monitor Schooling -- John McLoughlin and Herbert Beaver, unpublished paper, 1986, pp. 13-15; Lois Halliday McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980, pp. 223-232, 261.
207. Pambrun, p. 31; McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, p. 159.
208. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, p. 216.
209. At Fort Simpson, Tailor "gave his wife such a severe beating that all inside the fort cried shame." Turcot, another servant there, beat his wife so unmercifully that his Indian father-in-law intervened and took his daughter away. Other native wives deserted on account of the "drubbings" husbands gave them. Conversely, there were native wives who beat their husbands. ie: "Underwood's wife got drunk and thrashed her husband and broke eleven panes of glass in their home." See: Meilleur, pp. 204-205.

210. Pambrun, p. 37.
211. Edgar Fawcett, Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria, Toronto, William Briggs Company, 1912, p. 32.
212. Kane, p. 65.
213. Merk, pp. 45, 56.
214. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, pp. xxi, xxvii-xxviii, lx-lxix, 8-11; 168-171. Also see: Glyndwr Williams, ed., Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971, pp. xxv, xxvii, xli.
215. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, p. lxv.
216. Wilkes, Narrative, p. 349.
217. Finlayson, p. 72.
218. Neale, p.45.
219. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, p. 240. Also see: Chapter Ten, "Too Much Indian In Me:" The Legacy of Racism -- Land, Legislation and War.
220. Perkin, pp. 17-56; Palmer, Working-Class Experience, pp. 7-55; Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant, pp. 194-231; Gutman, Work, Culture and Society, pp. 1-79.
221. Neale, p. 189.
222. Neale, p. 96.
223. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, p. 242.

Chapter Five

The Education of a "Neglected Race":

Gentlemen's Sons and Daughters¹

No educational theorists or philosophers ever pondered the 'proper' education for Metis children. As far as can be determined, few schools in North America were established exclusively for Metis children, and no curriculum reflected that they might have special needs which could be met in the classroom. In similar fashion to Canadian and American governmental policies towards 'half-breeds,' the education of Metis youngsters reflected their ambivalent political status. They were educated as whites or as Indians, but never as Metis.² As late as the 1930s in Saskatchewan, some received no education at all and their parents rightly complained that "Indian children receive better treatment than the half-breeds".³

The nearest Metis children came to an 'all' Metis education, at least in the sense that the majority of the pupils were Metis, was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when Hudson's Bay Company fort schools were established. Prior to this development, the situation at most forts was like that at York Factory described by the Rev. John West, who initiated the Anglican schools at Red River later in the 1820s:

Observing a number of half-breed children running about, growing up in ignorance and idleness; and

being informed that they were a numerous offspring of Europeans by Indian women, and found at all the Company's posts; I drew up a plan, which I submitted to the Governor, for collecting a certain number of them, to be maintained, clothed, and educated upon a regular organized system.⁴

The organization of fort schools was an outgrowth of educational reform movements at the time which propagated the idea that all children, regardless of class, should receive some education. Increasingly, schooling came to be regarded as the central element in the alleviation of many social evils. Within schools themselves, moral improvement was linked to the pursuit of knowledge in an attempt to ensure social stability and control. Youngsters who were not in school came to be regarded as a national evil requiring a national remedy.⁵

No brief description can adequately explain the varieties of schools that existed in North America during the early nineteenth century, but, whatever differences existed or whatever pedagogical rhetoric was employed, the ultimate goal of each institution was the assimilation of children into the dominant culture. Like the child of the newcomer, the American-born, or the Indian, Metis education was inspired by assimilationist thought.⁶

This chapter considers the education of fur trade youngsters. Specifically, it focuses on the schooling of gentlemen's sons and daughters. It will be argued that, in common with the larger nineteenth century Euro-American community, the fur trade bourgeois regarded social classes as

essential, necessary and desirable divisions for a stable society. Although the officers were aware that education offered the individual opportunities for social advancement, they nevertheless, believed in a school system which reinforced the class structure. As a result, this chapter will show there was a general tendency for the mixed-blood youngsters of Hudson's Bay Company officers to be schooled as the children of white gentlemen, while the education of servants' offspring (discussed in Chapter Six), borrowed heavily from methods designed to instruct working class, poor and Indian youngsters. In short, what is suggested here is that the education of servants' children was designed to make them good Christians and useful laborers, whereas the education of gentlemen's children was to reproduce another generation of gentlemen and gentlewomen.

II

The history of education in the Pacific Northwest roughly follows the pattern of schooling found elsewhere on the frontiers of North America during the first half of the nineteenth century. Those individuals with the most interest in literacy, usually the middle-class and religious leaders, were responsible for the establishment of schools. In the coastal environment, the school-aged population was often small and scattered, and a single elementary school had to serve the needs of all children regardless of sex, religion or class background. As the community expanded, however, a

wide variety of schools developed which reflected the growing stratification in the society and the pioneers' impulse to re-create in the new landscape the types of schools that were familiar in their homelands.

In the first thrust of Euro-American penetration in Columbia, it was the chief factor and, later, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company who established the schools. With the exception of the Fort Vancouver School, most of these were makeshift efforts, but served an important function in lieu of other educational opportunities. The schools were a compromise born of the 'wilderness'. They fell short of the educational aspirations the gentlemen had for their youngsters', but they did provide an elementary education sufficient to start their sons and sometimes their daughters, on route to higher education elsewhere. As new schools were created in Oregon by the incoming American clergy and settlers (from the late 1830s onward), the gentlemen abandoned the fort schools in favour of the new institutions. Ultimately, they were able to create academies which promised to give their children a 'proper' English education in the select company of other middle class children.

III

From birth, gentlemen's children in the Pacific Northwest were members of the elite in fur trade society and their values were shaped more by Euro-American concepts than native Indian ones. In the main, their fathers held the view espoused

in prescriptive tracts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that it was their duty to train their children in Christian virtues and provide for their educational needs.⁷ Moreover, Hudson's Bay Company policy reflected this societal norm when it stated that officers were "to instruct their children in A B C" and could be fined for non-compliance.⁸

In 1822, the new Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company George Simpson, described educated "half-breeds" as "blackguards of the very worst description." In his words, "they not only pick up the vices of the Whites upon which they improve but retain those of the Indian in their utmost extent." His views, however, were clearly out of step with public opinion, which increasingly favored the education of all children. Not only did his remark fail to find favour with the Company in London, but it was not shared by the gentlemen in Oregon.⁹ Rather, teaching youngsters was a task officers took seriously for they believed education was the key to grooming their part-Indian offspring for acceptance in white society.

Records of gentlemen's children "at their Books" occur as early as 1798 at Moose Factory.¹⁰ In the Pacific Northwest, the first mention occurs in 1810, when Daniel Harmon, a clerk at Fort Stuart, spent "a short time every day, very pleasantly, in teaching [his] little daughter Polly to read and spell words in the English language."¹¹ By 1830, family lessons in officers' households in Oregon were

commonplace. For example, Ranald MacDonald, the son of chief trader Archibald McDonald, noted that he had learned to copy and "read his New Testament" before he attended school.¹² James Birnie, whose father was in charge of Fort George recalled that "The most of my education was taught by my father to read and write."¹³

Thus, when chief factor Dr. John McLoughlin asked John Ball, a New Hampshire teacher who arrived unexpectedly at Fort Vancouver, to take charge as a "pedagogue" of his own and a few other gentlemen's sons for the winter, he was expanding upon the familiar pattern of household studies.¹⁴ As far as can be determined, the Hudson's Bay Company had no plans for a school at Fort Vancouver. Once Ball's class got underway, however, McLoughlin soon expanded it beyond the mere tutoring of officers' sons to encompass all the children at the fort.¹⁵ The origins of the school, nevertheless, reflected that the first concern of the officers was with the education of their own children, not those of the servants.¹⁶ In fact, George Gibbs, the ethnologist, who knew many of the officers, claimed McLoughlin "was the only one ever really interested in general education" for all children.¹⁷

IV

The Fort Vancouver School, the first school in the Pacific Northwest, began in November of 1832 when four gentlemen's sons, David McLoughlin, William McKay, Ranald MacDonald and Andrew Pambrun, were gathered together in a

cramped room for their first taste of formal education. The boys were soon joined by Louis Labonte, a servant's son, and Benjamin Harrison, a Chinook orphan who had been adopted by McLoughlin when he was found to be the only survivor of malaria among his people on Wapato Island at the mouth of the Willamette River.¹⁸ In due course, other pupils were added to the class. John Ball, the teacher, recalled:

All were half-breeds, as there was not a white woman in Oregon. I found the boys docile and attentive, and they made good progress. The doctor often came into the school, and was well satisfied and pleased. One day he said: "Ball, anyway you will have the reputation of teaching the first school in Oregon." So I passed the winter of 1832 and 1833.¹⁹

When Ball returned to the United States, the well-educated Solomon Smith, who had come with Ball as a member of Nathaniel Wyeth's ill-fated expedition to Oregon, replaced him as schoolmaster at \$80.00 a term.²⁰ When Smith moved to the Willamette Valley, Cyrus Shepard, a teacher and lay member of Jason Lee's 1834 Methodist Episcopal Mission to Oregon, remained at the fort as schoolmaster.²¹ In 1835, the school was official recognized by the Hudson's Bay Company in London and the first of the British schoolmasters assumed control of the classroom. In brief, from 1832 until the demise of the fort in 1848-49, the Fort Vancouver School educated the Metis youngsters of the fur trade.

V

Prompted by McLoughlin's lead, the gentlemen in charge of other forts in the district soon began employing

schoolmasters for their own and other gentlemen's children. Ultimately, a number of small, often short-lived fort schools developed throughout Columbia as itinerate teachers became available. At Fort George, for example, James Birnie engaged Mrs. Frost, a Methodist missionary, to teach his children.²² Later, he started the first common school in Catlamet in his home.²³ At Fort Simpson, Edward Alin kept the first known school in British Columbia established for gentlemen's youngsters as well as "other children within the fort and anyone else who chose to be" educated.²⁴ At Fort Walla Walla, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun persuaded the missionary Narcissa Whitman to teach his children to read and, in 1839, attempted to hire an American immigrant as a full time schoolmaster. Archeological excavation at Fort Walla Walla found children's school slates dating from the early 1840s, which suggest that Pambrun was eventually successful in securing a teacher.²⁵ In 1848, at Fort Colville, Angus McDonald began a small school when Fredric Lewis, the tutor he hired for his children, agreed to give lessons to other Hudson's Bay Company youngsters as well.²⁶

VI

As for gentlemen's sons, it was usually hoped that, once they had acquired elementary learning, they would continue on to some form of higher education. Around the age of twelve, the boys were abruptly separated from their families and sent with the east bound Company express to schools in Canada, the

United States and Europe. Of the four gentlemen's sons in the first class, David McLoughlin left the Fort Vancouver School in 1834 for his uncle's home in Paris, where he studied law. Four years later, in 1838, Billy McKay was sent to Fairfield Medical School in New York. Young Andrew Pambrun and Ranald MacDonald crossed the Rockies within a year of each other to attend the Anglican Academy at Red River. Despite the growth of educational institutions in the Pacific Northwest, sending fur trade sons east for higher education continued long after mid-century.²⁷

Although the boys were usually entrusted to the care of some distant relative or friend of their fathers, these white people were strangers with foreign ways who did not always take kindly to part-Indian boys from the Pacific Northwest. For their part, some of the boys resented their fathers for sending them away. David McLoughlin recalled:

Letters from my Father by the score while at school...the tenure [sic] was advice not to be idle - to study - to keep away from bad company and never any news or stories.²⁸

When Ranald MacDonald finished his education at the Church of England boarding school at Red River, his father secured a position for him with the Bank of Elgin in Upper Canada. Neither his schooling nor his brief banking career were to his liking. He eventually displeased his father by taking control of his own life. He stated:

I was put, by way of trial, to a Bank stool ... I made no resistance...But Banking; or dealing with money in any way, was not to my taste: I hated the

- to me - 'dirty thing'! ... I resolved to follow my own bent.²⁹

VII

The gentlemen attempted to combat the expense and the prejudice their mixed-blood children might experience when they sent them away to school by establishing their own academy within the territory. Led by James Douglas, the officers supported the idea of raising funds for the payment of a "competent master and governess" who would conduct a "respectable English school at this place, for the education of children of officers in the Company's service." In 1841, they laid the matter before Governor Simpson during his visit to Oregon and he promised to act on their behalf.³⁰

An elite school for gentlemen's children, however, was not immediately forthcoming. In 1844, two large new school houses were built at Fort Vancouver and, in 1846, Richard and Anne Covington arrived from England under Company contract as teachers. The Spectator, the first newspaper in Oregon, credited "the rapid progress" of the scholars to "Mr. and Mrs. C.", but also noted that the pupils included all the children at the fort, servants, as well as officers.³¹

The Oregon boundary Treaty of 1846 ultimately sealed the fate of Fort Vancouver and with it the fate of the school. In 1848-49, the fort became the headquarters for the U.S. Army. In the wake of this transfer, the Covingtons moved to Fourth Plain about seven miles north of the fort where they opened the first "select school" for children of Company officers.

At Covington House, the Birnie, McIntosh, Grant and Ogden youngsters received a thorough English education.³²

One year later, on the other side of the border at Fort Victoria, officers' children from the far corners of New Caledonia, or British Columbia, as it was later called, were engaged in similar educational pursuits under the Rev. Robert John Staines and his wife, Emma Frances Tahourdin Staines. The Staines, who had initially been sent from England to superintend the Fort Vancouver school, were transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company's new headquarters at Fort Victoria when it became apparent that Fort Vancouver was lost to the Company. Here, separated from their sisters, who were educated by Mrs. Staines, and from servants' children, who received no schooling at all within the fort, the gentlemen's sons were given an education befitting their class.³³

VIII

The education of gentlemen's daughters was not as easily accomplished as that of their sons. A few officers placed them in schools when they were transferred to Columbia, another few sent those born in the Pacific Northwest to schools in the east, but most gentlemen educated their daughters at home. Limited family resources and the problems of placing girls may have led to the selection of sons for higher education rather than daughters, but there is no evidence of this in the writings. What can be said with certainty is that all decisions were problematic. Leaving daughters behind meant

that parents, especially mothers, might never see them again.³⁴ Sending girls to school with the men of the brigades, an acceptable practice for gentlemen's sons, was considered improper for gentlemen's daughters. The cross country ordeals were lengthy and dangerous. By the time American settlers had created well-rutted overland wagon roads to the Pacific, girls' academies had been established in the region.³⁵

A home education did not reflect an aversion to schooling for girls, rather it was bound up with the common notion that women were mentally inferior to men and that the proper education for gentlewomen must be linked to their futures as wives and mothers. The officers wanted their daughters to marry well and strove to provide instruction in domestic management and other areas that would make them suitable wives for other gentlemen. As John McLoughlin phrased it, "... my object is not to give [my daughter] a splendid Education but a good one -- at least a good Education for a Girl."³⁶

Besides religious studies, moral training, reading, writing and domestic skills the personal tastes of fathers created variety in the girls' education, which sometimes defied traditional gender distinctions and included survival skills necessary for the frontier. Angus McDonald, for example, instructed his daughters, Christina and Maggie, in domesticity. He steeped them in the music and dances of

Scotland and taught each girl to be a superb horsewoman. He also educated his daughters enough about business to allow them to compete in the world of commerce with men. In addition to being an independent fur trader, Christina was an interpreter for the United States Army. Her sister Maggie, who owned and managed a sizable stock raising operation, became known as the "Cattle Queen of Montana".

In 1875, however, when Maggie was still learning about fur trading from her father, McDonald expressed his liberal views on female education. He wrote Christine, who was then competing for furs with the Hudson's Bay Company in Kamloops, British Columbia:

Maggie is my only trader now...she is just beginning to trade a few skins. I suppose you are making quite a trade. Think of your God and your children and keep on trading until you are independent of work...You see now the value of education and money, the ignorant is always kept down.³⁷

If the education of Angus McDonald's daughters was unusual, the schooling of James Murray Yale's girls was more conventional, but not without its own unique characteristics. Yale, who had been deserted by two Indian women he had taken as wives, played the double role of mother and father to his daughters and guided every aspect of their lives. Many mornings, he could be found supervising the busy operations at Fort Langley with Aurelia, his youngest, who "went everywhere with her father" at his side. He instructed Eliza, his eldest daughter, each evening and she, in turn, looked after her two younger sisters until they were old enough to

join in the lessons. He taught the girls the fine points of etiquette and took Aurelia by the hand to the Fort Victoria school when it opened. Yale ordered his daughters' dresses from London and made extensive arrangements for each of their weddings. Long after they were married and had children of their own, he locked them in their rooms at night when they came to visit just as he had done when they were little girls.³⁸

John Work was no less diligent than McDonald or Yale in the tutoring of his daughters. He taught them how to garden, canoe, fish and skate, but would not allow them to dance. Like other officers' daughters, their training did not include cooking, which was done by the male staffs at the various forts. Letitia, one of Work's eight daughters, recalled their education at Fort Simpson:

The Work girls had lessons every day except Sunday & Saturday with their father -- on those days they sewed & repaired their clothing -- each of the older girls had charge of the clothes of one of the younger children. Sunday morning after the house was put in order Mr. Work would gather his family to read the church services & a sermon, he also taught them the catechism -- in the afternoon if it was fine he would take them for long walks outside the fort -- In the evening they would again have prayers & not infrequently Margaret & Mary who were small would fall asleep in a devotional attitude with their faces buried in the sofa cushions. Mr. Work would shake his head & say: Tut, Tut! my daughters...those were the only words of reproof he ever uttered in his family.³⁹

In most cases, officers' daughters also learned many things from their mothers, but the problem was that the traders wanted their daughters to be white gentlewomen and

their native and Metis wives were regarded as unequal to the task of rearing them appropriately. Clerk Frank Ermatinger, who was unhappily married to Mrs. McLoughlin's niece Catherine Sinclair, a girl some twenty years his junior, wrote: "Our little daughter is growing a lively child...and the education of the child costs me much serious thought...I want a good moral education and the mothers of this country have not themselves been well enough brought up to attend to it."⁴⁰

Consequently, the officers were delighted with the arrival of white women missionaries from the United States whom they regarded as suitable role models for their daughters. The gentlemen implored the missionaries to take their daughters into their households so the girls might learn the ways of Christian white women.⁴¹ Dr. William Tolmie, for example, urged the Methodist missionaries Rev. Leslie Frost and his wife to accept his betrothed, Jane Work, and one of her sisters into their home. Although the Work girls had been raised carefully by their father, Tolmie wrote of Jane: "I feel confident that she would derive lasting benefit from a residence in your amiable family where she would see the worship of God performed in spirit and in truth and be taught both by precept and example."⁴²

Unfortunately, the promise of transforming Metis daughters into 'white' ladies was seldom fulfilled in missionary families. In general, the missionaries had an aversion to Indians and treated their 'half breed' wards more

like servants than young ladies.⁴³ Another obstacle was that many of the women were not very well educated themselves and those who were seldom had the time or resources to teach the girls the fine points of being a lady.⁴⁴ Their journals reveal that they were frequently pregnant, depressed, or ill. Their lives were restricted by the weight of their evangelical religious doctrines and their self-imposed mandate to reproduce replicas of their former American homes in the new environment. Under these circumstances, willing hands were welcome, but an extra child who needed training was more often a burden than a blessing.⁴⁵ In short, the women cared for gentlemen's daughters out of a sense of duty and indebtedness to the officers of the Company whose charity maintained their existence in the early years of their missions.⁴⁶

Of all the missionary households, only Waiilupu, the Whitman Mission, located some distance from Fort Walla Walla, developed a formal boarding school, distinct from their Indian mission, which educated a few officers' sons and daughters along with the children of American mountain men and their native wives.⁴⁷

Marcus and Narcissa Whitman maintained authoritarian child rearing practices in their mission family. The evangelical household was strictly regulated to train the children "up for God and eternity" by instilling in them both a fear and a love of God and parents. When 'cheerful' obedience to authority was not forthcoming, Narcissa used the

rod to break the will of the girls, or as she put it "a stubborn disposition...which required subduing".⁴⁸ The use of physical punishment in the household was carried over to the classroom where Alanson Hinman, who proved to be an incompetent schoolmaster, was characterized by a female student as: "One of those small souled tyrants that could take delight in torturing helpless children and who, under a cloak of religion, hid a black licentious heart."⁴⁹

Besides an elementary curriculum, the children were subjected to intense religious training as part of their daily discipline. There were morning and evening prayers. Verses of scripture were memorized and repeated at family recitations on Sundays; Bible classes were held every Saturday night. There was no work on Sunday, but, after church the children were expected to read quietly and those who had yet to master reading were given pictures to look at.⁵⁰

In 1846, one year before the Cayuse Indians massacred the Whitmans and others at the mission established for them, Dr. Whitman had "ceased to teach Indians because they would not listen to him."⁵¹ While Marcus occupied himself in such questionable tasks as putting arsenic poisoning in his melon patch to make the Indian poachers "a little sick," Narcissa's days were fully occupied training the white and mixed blood girls under her care.⁵² She wrote home:

I have six girls sewing around me, or rather five -
- for one is reading, at the same time my baby is
asking me to go and bathe -- she is two years the
last of May ...Now comes another with her work for

me to fix. So it is from morning to evening ... I could get along easier if I could bring my mind to have them spend their time in play, but this I cannot.⁵³

IX

Magnifying the concerns surrounding the education of gentlemen's daughters was the fact that all available elementary schooling during the 1830s was mixed. Increasingly, the need for a separate education for girls became a topic of conversation. This was especially so after Anglican Rev. Herbert Beaver arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1836 as the Company chaplain and superintendent of the fort school. By this time, the school was indiscriminately educating all social classes and boys and girls together.

Beaver was adamant that some of the students were "too old to be with propriety intermixed". There was always the fear, he pointed out, that the older boys would "corrupt the little ones and the Girls." He wrote Company officials in London:

It is preposterous to see some of the elder ones, who are verging on womanhood, executing needle-work, however coarse, under the inspection of a master who cannot be supposed to be competent to give proper instruction in such matters, and who is moreover an unmarried man.⁵⁴

Beaver's conviction reflected the fact that education was designed by men and their attitudes towards sexuality, particularly their preoccupation with virginity, influenced school curricula. Coming out of this fixation was the notion that each sex had to be educated separately to insure the

continuation of appropriate gender relations in society.⁵⁵ It was a view shared by the officers. "The schools got up here are such a mixt nature," wrote Francis Ermatinger from Willamette Falls in 1845, "and the mere teaching a child to read and write I look upon as nothing."⁵⁶

Beaver, however, went beyond the societal mandate for separate schools when he reinforced the popular belief that the education of Metis daughters had to be more carefully conducted than that of white girls. "Without proper restraint", he stated, "example and instruction, especially female, the rising generation will be little removed from the barbarism ...of their maternal ancestors."⁵⁷

As previously mentioned, the gentlemen were pleased when American missionaries women arrived. The first of these women, Presbyterians Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, as well as Beaver's wife, Jane, instructed officers' wives and daughters during their stay at the fort and were soon followed by other female missionaries who took up the task.⁵⁸ Such forays into education for would-be gentlewomen took place at various forts, but were sporadic and lasted only as long as it took the ladies' husbands to establish mission stations elsewhere.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, for the first generation of Metis girls born on the coast, these rudimentary classes provided their earliest communication with white women and experience with formal education. One example is Amelia Douglas, later Lady Douglas of British Columbia, whose only formal schooling

was from Mrs. Whitman and Spalding who "kept a little school [at Fort Vancouver] and gave her lessons." Similarly, Sarah Ogden, who became Mrs. McKinlay at fourteen, recalled:

I was never at school except two month [sic] at Vancouver after I was married. Mrs. Griffith kept a school for a while for the children of the Fort, and my husband was away up the Country at the time. Before then my father used to give lessons every night.⁶⁰

Besides these brief encounters with missionary women, the education of mixed-blood gentlewomen might have been improved if chaplain Beaver and chief factor McLoughlin had not fought over control of the school.⁶¹ The Presbyterian missionary women stayed only a month, but their right to instruct was severely criticised by Beaver who told them to "refrain from teaching".⁶² McLoughlin reprimanded Beaver with the result that Jane Beaver's time suddenly became so occupied with domesticity that she had "little to spare upon the education of any of the girls".⁶³ As John Work wrote to retired officer, Edward Ermatinger, "there are ample means of getting my girls educated pretty well here were it not for the damned bickering."⁶⁴

While Beaver was raising concerns about female education at the fort, the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley were also expressing fears for the "safety and chastity" of the girls under their care.⁶⁵ Such anxieties were not unreasonable. One year after Beaver left Fort Vancouver, a scandal involving the sexual abuse of students occurred. In 1838, John Fisher Robinson, a Company seamen and

the fort teacher, who appears to have been an alcoholic, was caught sexually molesting some of his young female wards.⁶⁶

Francis Ermatinger commented:

The school master, it would appear, has been in the habit of taking advantage of the female part of his pupils and our friend Work's daughter has had her share of the odium, altho' a mere child yet.⁶⁷

After a trial, where the girls involved were brought from various forts to give testimony, Robinson was found guilty. He was tied to one of the guns in front of the McLoughlin-Douglas house and flogged "in the most public manner twice." Tempers flared. Ermatinger felt that Robinson's punishment was "not half severe enough for the villain" and that "he ought to have been shot."⁶⁸

This scandal put an end to mixed classes and placed new emphasis on morality. When he visited the fort in 1841, U.S. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes observed, "the officers of the Company ...exerting themselves to check vice, and encourage morality and religion, in a very marked manner." At the newly erected schoolhouse, he found twenty-three boys under the supervision of a male teacher and fifteen girls instructed by "a female, with whom they live and work."⁶⁹

In large measure, separate schooling for girls at Fort Vancouver and Fort Victoria, plus the opening of private female academies during the 1840s, put an end to the gentlemen's dilemma over obtaining an education for their daughters. In these schools, fathers' attempts to mold their girls were enhanced by female teachers equal to the task of

converting fur trade daughters into Victorian ladies. McLoughlin took advantage of the Sisters of Notre Dame Girls Academy in Oregon City for his granddaughters, as did other Catholic gentlemen of the Company, but most of the gentlemen were Protestants and did not relish the possibility of their daughters being converted to Catholicism in the Catholic school.⁷⁰

James Douglas' solution was to send his eldest daughters to Mrs. J. Quinn Thornton's school for females which opened in February 1847 in her home in Oregon City. Mrs. Thornton promised that the girls would receive "a through English Education ... together with Plain and Fancy Needle Work, Drawing, and Painting in mezzotino and water colors," as well as strict attention to their "Morals and Manners."⁷¹ In 1872, when his youngest daughter Martha was ready for higher education, Douglas, who was by then Sir James Douglas, sent her to England. He wrote to Martha that it was necessary "to get rid of the cobwebs of colonial training, and give you a proper finish."⁷²

X

The educational aspirations of the officers for their youngsters were largely realized. Not every gentlemen's daughter became a Victorian lady, but almost without exception their schooling allowed them to marry men of equal status, many of whom were white, and thus fulfill the ambitions of their fathers. Through carefully arranged marriages, often

with the young gentlemen recruits to the fur trade, the daughters of John McLoughlin, James Douglas, Peter Ogden, John Work, Angus McDonald and James Murray Yale assured the continuation and consolidation of fur trade wealth and power within class and kinship lines. A favorably arranged match called for much celebration among the officers. As Governor George Simpson wrote James Yale on one such occasion: "I am glad to find you had secured so respectable a husband...for your daughter."⁷³ Such contrived weddings, however, were not always to the girls' tastes. Like their counterparts in Europe and America, where arranged marriages were still commonplace among the middle class, fur trade daughters had little opportunity for resistance against the combined pressure and persuasion of suitors and fathers.⁷⁴

Unlike their sisters, few officers' sons were able to fulfill their father's ambitions for them. Although most became gentlemen, their circumstances were such that they were sometimes 'marginal men' for part of their lives. In an attempt to educate their children according to their own class and ethnocentric values, the officers created a legacy of bitterness between themselves and their sons. In the 1890s Andrew Pambrun, whose relationship with his father was better than most, commented bitterly about the officers' sons at Red River: "To this day they bear heavily the stigma and curse of their birth, for surely they are visited for the sins of their fathers being despised and even hated by their begetters."⁷⁵

The education of the first class of officers' sons at Fort Vancouver was impressive. David McLoughlin became a lawyer.⁷⁶ William McKay was a medical doctor.⁷⁷ Andrew Pambrun came into his own as a schoolmaster at Red River and was later a Hudson's Bay Company clerk and government official in Washington Territory.⁷⁸ Ranald MacDonald, the most celebrated member of the class, was a world traveller and a businessman who achieved recognition for teaching English in Japan and assisting in the opening of that country to American and British trade and diplomacy.⁷⁹

While they were growing up, the boys' fathers had isolated them from Indians and taught them that they were superior to both native people and the servants' children. In the process, they placed their sons in the untenable position of being raised as white boys in a society that often refused to accept them as such because they were 'half-breeds'.⁸⁰ Despite the boys considerable educational accomplishments, what was taught in the schools could not help but create grave doubts in their minds about who they were and how they would fit into the larger society.

Although there is no way of ascertaining how much the boys read in the classroom, many textbooks used in the Fort Vancouver and other schools had been written during the enlightenment by authors who espoused environmental views on race and culture. As a consequence, the texts were largely free of scientific racism, but were no less smug in

attributing an innate sense of cultural superiority to Anglo-Saxons. These books described Newton, Linnaeus and Buffon as the "Fathers of Science." While these theorists denied the inherent inferiority of any race, they nevertheless subscribed to pre-Darwinian concepts of evolution which regarded each race as having a place on a gradient scale from "barbarism to civilization."⁸¹

In William Mavor's Youth's Miscellany (1789), the boys were told that "savages," a term which included North American Indians, suffered "the want of genuine maternal affection" because they were unacquainted with Christianity and "religious duty." In another text by Mavor, used in the Fort Vancouver School, the students learned that native peoples were "diminutive and ill shaped, their aspects as forbidding as their manners are barbarous."⁸² Consequently, even if the officers' sons were considered bright and made good progress in school, it was commonly believed that their achievements were temporary and that they would fail as adults. As their American teacher, John Ball, noted: "They are generally better boys than men."⁸³

Instead of instilling loyalty to the Company's monopoly and the British Empire, as their fathers would have liked, the Fort Vancouver school and other American educational facilities promoted the ideas of free trade and American nationalism. The first teachers at Fort Vancouver demonstrated a conspicuous feature of Metis education in Oregon, namely,

that Hudson's Bay Company children, who were British subjects, were largely taught by American teachers. This curious legacy, brought about by joint British - American territorial jurisdiction, did not change even after British schoolmasters assumed control of the fort school. Fort Vancouver frequently sheltered American missionaries who exchanged teaching duties for free room and board. Thus, the American influence remained strong.⁸⁴ These teachers firmly believed that the Pacific Northwest rightfully belonged to the United States, and promoted the cause of manifest destiny whenever they could. The schools provided them with a fertile field for implanting in the minds of Metis scholars the superiority of the United States over Great Britain.

Although born the sons of Scotchmen, Englishmen and Canadians, virtually all the gentlemen's sons in the first class at Fort Vancouver, along with most other fur trade children born in the territory, became American citizens. As adults, some carried their patriotism to extremes. Billy McKay, for example, insisted his family "stand at attention" each morning and evening while he raised and lowered the American flag in his yard so that "it would impress loyalty" to the United States upon his children's hearts.⁸⁵ David McLoughlin, the chief factor's son, who lived in British Columbia, declared emphatically, "I am an American."⁸⁶ His sentiments were echoed by Ranald MacDonald who stated, "No, British flag Francois I am."⁸⁷ Andrew Pambrun called himself

a man "of simple American democratic proclivities."⁸⁸

In youth, the boys in the first class spent much of their lives oscillating between the white and Indian-Metis communities. By the time they reached middle and old age, all four of the officers' sons had rejected living in white urban settings in favour of remote frontier locations among a mixture of Metis, Indian and white people. In these locales, gentlemen's sons used their middle class education and Euro-American values to assume leadership roles which were not unlike those of their fathers during the fur trade era at the forts. In short, their schooling prepared them to live in the dominant society only as long as they were willing to hide their Indian heritage from public scrutiny. This was something none of the boys in the first class were prepared to do. In the end, their schooling took on a meaning their fathers had not envisioned, for it permitted them to function in both Euro-American and Indian communities. Although they did not share in youth the same schooling as servants' children, in old age their 'half-breed' (Metis) consciousness - a sense of self that was neither white nor Indian - was a powerful force which sometimes transcended their class upbringing.

Notes

1. The Rev. John West used the phrase "this neglected race" to describe the uneducated Metis children around York Factory in 1820. See: John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, Toronto, S.R. Publishers Limited, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966, pp. 12-13.

2. Recent writing on Indian education often still fails to distinguish between mixed-blood and Indian pupils. As a consequence, assessments of pupil achievement are faulty, because the best students often turn out to be the sons and daughters of white men who are already familiar with American culture from home. For example, see: Michael C. Coleman, "The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis through Missionary Sources," History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 4, Winter 1987, pp. 473-497. This faulty analysis exists in other contexts as well. For example, Metis pupils who attended the Fort Vancouver school, some of whom were well-educated gentlemen's sons (including Dr. William McKay) are described by Dunlay as "these Indians". See: Thomas W. Dunlay, Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1982, p. 45.

3. "Report on School Situation in Certain Northern Settlements," Regina, October 4, 1939, pp. 2-23. This report documents the number of Metis children going without schooling in Northern Saskatchewan during the 1930s. Similar situations occurred in the United States. See: Albert Ernest Jenks, "Indian-White Amalgamation: An Anthropometric Study", University of Minnesota Studies in Social Science No. 5, Minneapolis, 1916, pp. 2-23.

4. West, Journal, pp. 12-13.

5. Education and reform movements reflected the tremendous growth in the child population, burgeoning nationalism and the explosion of knowledge which characterized the nineteenth century. See: James Walvin, A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914, New York, Penguin Books, 1948, pp. 113-121; A. B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979, p. 7; L. W. Cowie, Bell and Lancaster, Toronto, Methuen Education Ltd., 1973, p. 19.

6. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence, pp. 6-21.

7. Warnock, Utilitarianism, pp. 238-239. "Let none of your children ...be from school," was typical of advice to parents in the 1830s. See: Robert H. Bremner, ed. Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, Vol. I, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970-71, p. 561.

8. H.A. Innis, ed., "Notes and Documents: Rupert's Land in 1825", CHR, No. 4, 1926, p. 320.

9. Shortly after making this statement, Simpson reversed his opinions and began encouraging missionaries to educate Indian and Metis youngsters. See: Frederick Merk, ed. Fur Trade and Empire, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 181-182, appendix A, p. 205.

10. Jennifer Brown, "'A Colony of Very Useful Hands'," The Beaver, Vol. 39, Spring 1977, p. 39.

11. Daniel Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travel in the Interior of North America, Toronto, George N. Morang and Company Ltd., 1904, pp. 218-219.

12. Marie Leona Nicholas, Ranald MacDonald Adventurer, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1940, p. 47.

13. Robert Birnie, Life and Adventures of Robert Birnie Born at Astoria, Oregon, February 7, 1824, San Francisco, 1872, (Ms. CE65-33), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, pp. 1-2.

14. John Ball was a member of the Boston merchant Nathaniel Wyeth's ill fated expedition to the Pacific to start a salmon fishery. For John Ball's experiences in Oregon, see: John Ball, Autobiography of John Ball, Grand Rapids, Dean-Hicks Company, 1925; John Ball, "John Ball Letter," Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, 1867, pp. 111-112; Kate Powers, ed., "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago," OHQ, Vol. 3, 1903, pp. 82-98; A.B. Hulbert, The Call of the Columbia: Iron Men and Saints Take the Oregon Trail, Denver, Colorado College, 1934, pp. 161-183; Philip Henry Overmeyer, "Members of the First Wyeth Expedition," OHQ, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 98-99. For information on the Wyeth expedition, see: John B. Wyeth, Oregon: A Short History of a Long Journey from the Atlantic Ocean to the Region of the Pacific by Land, Cambridge, John B. Wyeth, 1833; Frederick G. Young, ed., The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, New York, Arnos Press, 1973.

15. The Fort Vancouver school appears to have been one of the best kept secrets in the Hudson's Bay Company. No doubt, McLoughlin was loathe to advertise its presence while it was taught by Americans. At least, there is no mention of a school

in his letters and reports to the Governor and Committee during the years 1832 to 1835. In all likelihood, they learned about the school from Governor George Simpson, who was in London during 1835, and later sent his sons to the school in order to remove them from the presence of his new white wife at Red River. Once informed, however, the Company began looking for an Anglican chaplain and teachers for the school. See: E. E. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: First Series, 1825-38, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, pp.100-142; John A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver Historic Structure Report: Volume II, Denver, Denver Service Centre, National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, April 1976, p. 294.

16. By the end of 1833, the school had 25 pupils. See: Henry L. Bates, "Pacific University," OHQ, Vol. 21, 1920, p.2.

17. Hussey, Fort Vancouver, p. 303.

18. Debbie Bond, "How Public School Started," Clark County History, 1975, p. 56. Benjamin Harrison was named for a member of the London Board. See: Eva Emery Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon: A Chronicle, Chicago, A.C. McClurg and Company, 1900, pp. 92-93. Also see: Thomas E. Jessett, ed. Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, pp. 22, 85.

19. Powers, "Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago," pp. 100, 103; Ball, Autobiography, p. 93.

20. Solomon Smith had attended medical school, but preferred teaching and business enterprises to medicine. He married Celiast, a Clatsop Indian woman and former wife of the Fort Vancouver baker and thus cemented his ties with the Company. Later, Smith was a member of the State Senate. See: Silas B. Smith to E.E. Dye, 1891-1901, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; S.A. Clark to E. E. Dye, (no date), E.E. Dye Papers; "Letters to Mrs. F.F. Victor, 1878-83," OHQ, Vol. 63, 1962, pp. 198-199; "Solomon Howard Smith," TOPA, Vol. 15, 1887, pp. 81-89; E.S. Meany, "Last Survivor of the Oregon Mission of 1840," WHQ, Vol. 2, 1907-08, pp. 12, 18; Oswald West, "Oregon's First White Settlers on French Prairie," OHQ, Vol. 43, 1942, pp. 201-202; John A. Hussey, Champoege: Place of Transition, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1967, pp. 67-68; Jason Lee, "Diary of Reverend Jason Lee," OHQ, Vol. 17, 1916, p. 264; S.A. Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History: Vol. II, J. K. Gill Company, 1905, p. 418; D. Lee, J. H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, New York, Collord Printer, 1844, p. 132.

21. On Shepard in Oregon, see: Jason Lee, "Missionary Intelligence: Flat Head Indians," Christian Advocate and Journal, New York, Vol. 10, No. 10, Friday, Oct. 30, 1835; Lee, "Diary," p. 262; Lee, Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, pp. 126, 173; W. D. Fenton, "Jason Lee Memorial Address," OHQ, Vol. 7, 1906, p. 234; Rev. Gustavus Hines, Oregon: Its History, Condition and Prospects, Buffalo, G. H. Derby and Co., 1851, pp. 10, 13-14, 26, 35.

22. Lee, Frost, p. 269.

23. James Birnie's sister who had come from England and a Mr. Powell conducted the school. Charles F. Ernst, ed., Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. I, 1937, pp. 113, 118.

24. Dr. Helmcken, who was at Fort Simpson in 1842 when the school was operating, concluded that Allan [Alin] rather than Rev. Staines at Fort Victoria in 1849, was "the first professional teacher on the coast." The school apparently ran from 1840 to 1843 in a little used fort building. Alin, who is listed only as a laborer in Company records, apparently kept the school during the week, did light jobs about the fort on Saturdays and read the Bible and prayers to the men, in French, on Sundays. See: Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed. The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1975, p. 305. Helen Meilleur, A Pour of Rain: Stories from a West Coast Fort, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1980, p. 209; Huggins to E. E. Dye, February 18, 1904, E. E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

25. Andrew Dominique Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier in the Pacific Northwest, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, pp. 146-147; "Archeology Fort Walla Walla", p.49. By 1850, a private school existed at Walla Walla. See: Raymer, "Educational Development in Washington," p. 164.

26. Hiram Knowles, Missoula, Montana, to E.E. Dye, Nov. 22, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; Partoll, "Angus McDonald, Frontier Fur Trader", pp. 141, 146; Ruth McKee, Mary Richards Walker: Her Book, Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1945, p. 298. The school at Fort Colville continued throughout the 1850s under a man known as 'Doc' Perkins. See: Ernst, Told By the Pioneers, p. 87.

27. David McLoughlin, Kootenai, to E. E. Dye, June 26, 1892, July 20, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; William McKay, "Additional Light on the Whitman Matter," TOPA, 1887, pp. 91-92; Pambrun, pp. 9-11; Lewis, Murakami, Ranald McDonald, pp. 113-119; F.W. Howay, William S. Lewis, Jacob A. Meyers, eds., "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," WHQ, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1917, p. 223; James Murray Yale Papers, (Add

Mss. 182, file 27), PABC, p. 132. Among those sons sent abroad after the demise of the fur trade was James William Douglas, son of Sir James Douglas, who studied for the bar in England. Donald Manson, William Tolmie, John Work and Frank Peers all sent their sons to be educated in Great Britain. The wealthier American settlers in the Pacific Northwest also sent their sons to school in the East. See: Lee Nash, "Harvey Scott's 'Cure for Drones': An Oregon Alternative to Public Higher Schools," PNWQ, April 1973, p. 73.

28. David McLoughlin, Kootenai, to Mrs. E.E. Dye, June 26, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

29. Lewis, Murakami, Ranald MacDonald, pp. 118-119.

30. G. Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward From Sir George Simpson 1841-42, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973, p. 84; Extract of Sir George Simpson's Letter; James Douglas, Fort Vancouver, November 4, 1844, to James M. Yale, Fort Langley, James Douglas Correspondence, (AB 20, V2, DA), PABC; Hussey, Fort Vancouver, p. 301.

31. Hussey, Fort Vancouver. pp. 301, 303. Carl Landerholm, "The Covingtons and Covington House," Clark County History, Vol. 1, 1960, p. 5; Ruth F. Erickson, "Old Slocum House -- 1966," Clark County History, Vol. 7, 1966, p. 142; Robert Hirtzel, "The Covington Piano," Clark County History, Vol. 8, 1967, p. 204.

32. Hussey, Fort Vancouver, pp. 301-303. With the departure of the Covingtons in 1848, the Company advertised for a married couple to take charge of the Fort Vancouver school at an annual salary of \$1500.00. See: Landerholm, "The Covingtons", pp. 5-6.

33. As late as 1848, the Company wrote the Board of Management of the Western Department that it had "been a subject of regret to us that circumstances should have prevented the permanent residence of a Clergyman at the Company's principal establishment, West of the Rocky Mountains." Shortly thereafter, Rev. Staines was sent to take up this post. For information on the Company's role and the establishment of the Fort Victoria School, see: G. Hollis Slater, "Rev. Robert Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue, and Political Agitator," BCHQ, Vol. 14, 1950, pp. 187-240; Hussey, Fort Vancouver, p. 301.

34. For example, Mrs. McLoughlin's three daughters by her former marriage and Eliza, her eldest daughter with John McLoughlin, were left in school in Canada when they came to Fort Vancouver in 1824. Eliza, was placed in the Ursuline Convent in Montreal with her aunt, Marie-Louise McLoughlin,

known as Sister St. Henry, who was later the Mother Superior of the institution. As far as can be determined none of the girls saw their mother again. See: Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia: Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1878, pp. 31, 58, 185-188.

35. Even in 1846, when well used routes existed, Capt. Richard Grant had difficulty in finding a suitable party to bring his 15 year old daughter from school in Lower Canada to Fort Hall where he was stationed. See: Jessie Applegate to L. Applegate, Fort Hall, Snake River, August 9th 1846, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

36. Fogdall, Royal Family, pp. 186, 189.

37. Angus McDonald, Old H.B. House, Montana, to Christine, Dec. 10, 1875; Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams to E. E. Dye, March 28, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; Howay, Lewis, Meyers, "Angus McDonald," pp. 193, 206.

38. James Yale married two Indian women according to the 'customs of the country.' The first bore Eliza in 1832, but later deserted him and the baby. The second wife (taken in 1836), repeated the pattern of the first leaving him with two daughters, Belle and Aurelia. See: J.A. Grant Manuscript, in James Murray Yale Papers, (Add. Mss. 182, file 125), PABC, pp. 53, 63-64, 72, 103, 127-128.

39. Anne Huggins to Mrs. Dye, Fort Nisqually, Tacoma, May 9, 1904, February 3, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. Also see: Letter, Dec. 25, 1843, John Work Correspondence, (E/D/B93), PABC, Victoria. On the Work family, see: Henry Drummond Dee, "An Irishman in the Fur Trade," BCHQ, October 1943, pp. 265-266. (As Narcissa Whitman noted of the forts: "The cooking and house work is done by men chiefly." See: C.M. Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Vol. I, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, pp. 95, 110.)

40. Lois Halliday McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980, p. 268. Also see: Fogdall, p. 91.

41. For examples, see: C.M. Drury, ed., First White Women Over the Rockies: Vol. II, Mrs. Elkanah Walker and Mrs. Cushing Eells, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, p. 238; Henry Bridgman Brewer, "Log of the Lausanne -V," OHQ, Vol. 30, 1929, p. 112-113.

42. William Fraser Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader, Vancouver, Mitchell Press Ltd., 1963, p. 332.

43. Few half breed girls received praise. Margaret McKay was an exception. Narcissa Whitman regarded her as "a very good girl" because she performed many domestic duties. See: Drury, First White Women Over the Rockies, Vol. I, p. 144. (Narcissa Whitman "could not bear to have the filthy Indians around...The Indians said she would say "Ugh" when they came around." See: William Strong, "Knickerbocker Views of the Oregon Country: Judge William Strong's Narrative," OHQ, Vol. 62, 1961, p. 77. The racist sentiments of missionary women intensified in each decade until 1870 when they began using Social Darwinism as a justification for ending their missions among the Indians of North America. See: Richard N. Ellis, ed., The Western American Indian: Case Studies in Tribal History, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1972, pp. 51-52. Also see: Frederick A. Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians: Methodist Involvement in the Indian Troubles in Oregon and Washington," Church History, Vol. 49, 1980, pp. 180-184.

44. For example, see: Edmond S. Meany, ed., "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest", WHQ, Vol. 16, 1925, p. 213.

45. For a more detailed examination of the missionary women's lives, see: Juliet Pollard, Aversion to Indians: Another Look at the White Women of the Oregon Mission, Paper, American Society for Ethnohistory, Chicago, Il., November 1985.

46. Although some missionaries came to resent the Company, others praised its generosity. For example, Methodists Lee and Frost wrote: "To the gentlemen of the company [we] will ever feel under great obligations for their many kind attentions". See: Lee and Frost, p. 188. Also see: Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV, Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard, 1845, p. 344.

47. As white immigration penetrated Oregon, Waiilatpu became a way-station for children who had been orphaned along the Oregon Trail and the student population changed from being predominately Metis to being predominately white. Gentlemen's children known to have attended the Whitman School included, Margaret McKay, (William McKay's step-sister and Mrs. McLoughlin's granddaughter), Maria and Mary Spense, one of Peter Odgen's daughters and Stephen and John Manson. See: Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, p. 144; Brewer, "Log of Lausanna-V," p. 112-113, 118; Mrs. Nancy Atkinson, Biography of Rev. G. H. Atkinson, Portland, F.W. Baltes and Company Printers, 1893, p. 110.

48. Erwin N. Thompson, Shallow Graves at Waiilatpu: The Sagers' West, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1973, p. 70; Matilda J. Delaney, A Survivor's Recollections of the Whitman Massacre, Spokane, 1920, pp. 8-9. The Whitman's views

on childrearing can be traced back to the seventeenth century. For example, see: Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament, New York, New American Library, 1977, p. 21.

49. Thompson, Shallow Graves, p. 62.

50. Delaney, A Survivor's Recollections of the Whitman Massacre, pp. 9-13.

51. According to Thomas McKay and John Baptist Gervais, by 1846 neither Whitman, nor Spalding were teaching Indians at their missions. See: Rev. J. B. Brouillet, Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and other Missionaries, by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847, Portland, S. J. McCormick Publisher, 1869, pp.28-29. Rev. Myron Eells, Marcus Whitman: Pathfinder and Patriot, Seattle, Alice Harriman Company, 1909, p. 138.

52. The testimony about poisoning the melons was given by John Young, an American immigrant who worked for Whitman, and was certified by another American immigrant, Augustine Raymond. Joe Lewis, a Metis, who was regarded as an instigator of the Whitman massacre, stated he had overheard a conversation where Whitman acknowledged he was poisoning the Indians with the intent of killing them off slowly. The complaints of the Cayuse that they were being poisoned appears to have substance. See: Brouillet, Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman, pp. 30-31, 35.

53. Narcissa Whitman, "Narcissa Whitman Letter, July 17, 1846," TOPA, 1893, p. 197.

54. Jessett Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, pp. 83, 122. Beaver's views on female education mirrored those of the Anglican Church in England and the Episcopal Church in America. For example, see: Charles E. Lewis, "The History of Educational Activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Oregon," OHQ, Vol. 25, 1924, p.102.

55. On the education of women during this time period, see: Joan N. Burstyn, "Women's Education in England during the Nineteenth Century: A Review of the Literature, 1970-1976," History of Education, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1977, p. 16. The idea that daughters' bodies must be guarded and thus their schooling must be separated from boys had its origins much earlier than the Victoria era. For example, see: Rosemary Barton Tobin, "Vincent of Beauvais' Double Standard in the Education of Girls", History of Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1978, pp. 1-5.

56. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, p. 268.

57. Jessett, p. 83. Also see: R.C. Clark, ed., "Reverend Herbert Beaver," OHO, Vol. 39, 1938, p. 30. Beaver's words echoed the American missionary, Rev. Samuel Parker, who two years earlier had called for "Christian white women" to come to Oregon to "exert their influence" over Metis and Indian women in order that "the female character" be elevated. See: Rev. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Minneapolis, Ross & Haines, 1967, p. 165.

58. Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding were experienced teachers. Little is known about Jane Beaver's teaching experience. See: Drury, First White Women: Vol. I, pp. 102, 105, 111, 174-177; Clark, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver," OHO, Vol. 39, 1938, p. 25; Jessett, p. 3; Meany, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," p. 219.

59. For example, after their stay at Fort Vancouver, Mrs. Whitman lived at Fort Walla Walla while Dr. Whitman built their mission. During this time, she gave the Pambrun children reading lessons. See: Pambrun, p. 146. By the 1840s, there were as many as 24 American missionaries, mostly married couples, staying at Fort Vancouver at one time. Some of these women assisted in teaching gentlemens' daughters. See: Wilkes, Narrative, p. 331; Meany, p. 219.

60. Amelia Douglas was educated by her father and husband. See: Sarah McKinlay to E. E. Dye, Jan. 23, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. Rev. Griffith, Rev. Harvey Clarke and Mr. A.T. Smith and wives arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1840 as independent Congregational missionaries. McLoughlin employed Griffith as Protestant chaplain and schoolmaster until he established his own church one year later across the river from the fort. Mrs. Griffith taught the gentlemen's daughters. See: Milton Bona, "Richard Ough's Princess," Clark County History, 1977, p. 54. Wilkes describes Griffith as "moneyless" and "houseless", "ill adapted for anything" ...stupid man & bad preacher." William McKay described him as a "hater of the Hudson's Bay Company." By the late 1840s Griffith was known for his many "fanatical tendencies" which included openly accusing the Methodist Church of favoring adultery. See: Meany, pp. 219-220, 291; William McKay to E.E. Dye, August 14, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; Robert Moulton Gatke, ed., "Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts: Third Superintendent of the Oregon Mission: Third Installment," OHO, Vol. 23, 1922, pp. 177-178; Edwin Eells, "Heroes and Heroines of Long Ago," WHO, Vol. 2, 1907-08, p. 134. "Mr. Griffin [sic] like to give advice to the young" who did not like to be "preached at", but he and his wife did shelter one of the homeless girls from the Whitman Massacre. See: Delaney, p. 31.

61. For more information on the McLoughlin - Beaver dispute over the school, see: Juliet Pollard, The Best Education For Metis Children: Manual Versus Monitor Schooling -- John McLoughlin and Herbert Beaver, unpublished paper, Jan. 1988.
62. Jessett, p. 11.
63. Jessett, p. 80.
64. Hussey, Fort Vancouver, p. 295.
65. R. J. Loewenberg, "Elijah White vs. Jason Lee: A Tale of Hard Times," Journal of the West, Vol. 11, 1972, p. 645; In the early 1840s, there were more rumours of a teacher's sexual misconduct with a student. See: Charles Henry Carey, ed. "Diary of Reverend George Gary," OHQ, Vol. 24, 1923, pp. 85, 87-88, 91.
66. Although Beaver's high regard for Robinson who dampened by his "repeated acts of drunkenness" in front of the students, he continued to think he "had done great things for the children" and recommended to officials in London that Robinson be promoted to second officer on one of the Company ships. Robinson was one of the few members of the fort population who supported Beaver in his disputes with McLoughlin. See: Jessett, pp. 83, 122-123.
67. McDonald, Letters of Francis Ermatinger, p. 216. Also see: Anne Huggins to Mrs. Dye, Fort Nisqually, February 3, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.
68. McDonald, p. 216; Dr. W.C. McKay to Col. Thomas M. Anderson, July 17, 1891, (Ms. 495), Oregon Historical Society; Hussey, p. 296; Jessett, p. 122.
69. Meany, pp. 291, 299. Wilkes, pp. 332; Hussey, pp. 299-300. (The cramped quarters in the old schoolhouse were a source of Beaver's complaints. See: Jessett, pp. 5, 10, 56, 82-83, 86, 125.)
70. Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, Willamette Interlude, Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1959, pp. 209-212, 289, fn. 2. James Murray Yale considered boarding his daughters at the Sisters of Notre Dame school, but sent them to the Fort Victoria school instead. See: John Nobile, S.J., Colville to James Yale, May 24, 1849, James Murray Yale Papers, no. 34, (Add. Mss. 537), PABC.
71. The Douglas girls were at the Thornton school during 1847-48. See: Maria M. Lacey to E.E. Dye, March 28, 1910, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. The school eventually became Clackamas County Female Seminary. On the school, see: J. Dunn

Thornton, 'Oregon History', Salem, Sat. June 15, 1878, (Ms. P-A 70), Bancroft Library, Berkeley, p. 17; Edith Dobie, "Looking at Oregon Territory Through Advertising," WHO, Vol. 18, No. 2, April 1927, p. 108; Erwin F. Lange, "Oregon City Private Schools, 1843-59," OHQ, Vol. 37, 1936, pp. 310-313; Fred Lockley, Conversations with Pioneer Women, Eugene, Rainy Day Press, 1981, pp. 91-93.

72. W. Kaye Lamb, "Letters to Martha," BCHQ, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1937, p. 35.

73. George Simpson to James Murray Yale, June 18, 1850, (Letter 36), James Murray Yale Papers, Vol. II, (Add. Mss. 537), PABC, Victoria.

74. On Euro-American arranged marriages, see: Janet Dunbar, The Early Victorian Woman: Some Aspects of Her Life, Westpoint, Hyperion Press, 1979, p. 18. On fur trade daughters' feelings about such marriages, see: Theresa Truchot (nee Pambrun), The Black Wind, Published by the author, 1974, pp. 4-5; "Reminiscences of Mary Perras," Told By The Pioneers, p. 190.

75. Pambrun, p. 61.

76. William R. Sampson, ed., John McLoughlin's Business Correspondence, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1973, pp. 139-142; H. K. Smith, John McLoughlin and His Family, Lake Oswego, Smith, Smith and Smith Publishing Co., 1976, pp. 8-9.

77. William Cameron McKay, "Additional Light on the Whitman Matter," TOPA, 1887, pp. 91-93; Dr. William McKay Papers, (Ms. 413), OHS.

78. Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier, pp. 46.

79. Ranald MacDonald to E.E. Dye, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; Lewis, Murakami, Ranald MacDonald, pp. 152-233; Nichols, Ranald MacDonald, Adventurer, pp. 100-139.

80. For example, see: Pambrun, p. 15; Mrs. Daniel Harvey (nee Eloise McLoughlin), Life of John McLoughlin, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company Possessions on the Pacific Slope at Fort Vancouver, Portland, Oregon, June 20, 1878, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, p. 13.

81. For textbooks used in the Fort Vancouver School which contained these ideas, see: Isaac Watts, The Improvement of the Mind, London, J. Abraham, 1801, p. XVIII; William Mavor, Youth's Miscellany: Or, A Father's Gift to his Children, London, E. Newbery, 1789, pp. 105, 150. Also see: Reginald

Horseman, Race and Manifest Destiny, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1981, p. 47.

82. William Mavor, The Elements of Natural History, Chiefly Intended for the Use of Schools and Young Persons, London, Richard Phillips, 1808, p. 13; Mavor, Youth's Miscellany, pp. 63-64.

83. Ball, Autobiography of John Ball, p. 93.

84. Wilkes, p. 331; Meany, p. 219.

85. Fred Lockley, ed., "The McKay Family," Visionaries, Mountain Men & Empire Builders, Eugene, Rainy Day Press, 1982, p. 68. Also see: Dr. William McKay Papers, (Ms. 413), OHS.

86. David McLoughlin, Kootenai, July 20, 1892, to E.E. Dye, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

87. Ranald MacDonald, Old Fort Colville, to E.E. Dye, August 22, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

88. Pambrun, p. 72.

Chapter Six

"Small Manual Labour" Schools:

The Education of Servants' Children¹

The vast majority of Hudson's Bay Company servants were illiterate and left few written records for historians to interpret. There is evidence, however, that the servants admired those who could read and write and were favorably disposed to their children receiving an elementary education.² This chapter argues that the class divisions in the Hudson's Bay Company largely determined that the children's formal schooling would be mainly designed to reproduce another generation of workers. While the various Oregon schools had different curricula, all were designed to 'Christianize and Civilize' the children and acquaint them with the time-thrift habits of industry which were emerging in the first half of the nineteenth century in England, Canada and the United States. In short, despite regional differences and conflicts between Catholic and Protestant educators, the formal education of servants' youngsters in Oregon differed little from the schooling of working class and North American Indians children in other settings. What is suggested here is that fur trade culture in the Pacific Northwest failed to develop any formal educational pedagogy of its own and was dependent in large measure upon such outsiders, as the missionaries to train its youngsters. Within this framework, however, it will be seen, there was great variation in the individual child's

schooling experience.

II

Servants' aspirations for their childrens' education appear to have followed the example set by the gentlemen. The first school in the Willamette Valley, operated by the second Fort Vancouver schoolmaster Solomon Smith, was patterned after the schools the officers established in their households. It began in 1834 when Joseph Gervais, Smith's brother-in-law and a retired Company brigade leader, insisted that Smith teach the four Gervais children as well as another eight or so youngsters living in the neighborhood in the Gervais home.³

Moreover, many of the retired servants wanted their children to be raised as Catholics. Each year from 1834 to 1836, they petitioned the Bishop of Montreal for a priest. "Our children," they wrote in the 1836 petition "are learning very fast which makes us very eager for your assistance."⁴ In the absence of priests, however, the retired traders pursued other avenues in order to have their children educated. For example, they approached the Anglican Rev. Herbert Beaver at Fort Vancouver to see if he would establish a school for their youngsters. Beaver, who was getting ready to return to England at the time, was flattered by their proposal, but was compelled to rejected it in order to complete his travel plans.⁵

Two priests, Father Francis Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers, finally arrived from Red River in the fall of

1838. A delegation of retired servants escorted them to their farming settlements on French Prairie in the Willamette Valley. Here they found:

The poor Canadians, in their wish to have their wives and children taught and not allow them to miss a single lesson want them to move from their houses and live in tents or lodges near the chapel during the whole of the mission. The lodges were particularly for the women, girls, and children; the men would go to their homes from time to time to prevent the waste of grain by their hired hands or by their native slaves.⁶

By this time, nearly all the servants' children at Fort Vancouver and many of those in the Willamette Valley were already attending schools. The largest of these institutions was the Fort Vancouver school, which by 1836 enrolled "about sixty [students], one third being girls, of various ages from five to fourteen years."⁷ Despite being "in a miserable state of dilapidation," the 20 foot square schoolhouse, which was divided into classes based on the educational progress of the students, taught all the children in the vicinity of the fort, as well as a dozen or so boarding pupils recruited by chief factor Dr. John McLoughlin from the outlying district.⁸ According to the Rev. Henry Spalding, a member of the Whitman missionary party, McLoughlin busied himself "collecting Indian & half breed children into a school, feeds & clothes them from his own stores, & with two or three other gentlemen defrays the expense of their schooling."⁹

By 1835, the school was a hive of activity. Methodist missionary Cyrus Shepard, the third schoolmaster, described

the curriculum and his duties in a letter published in the Zion Herald of Boston:

I have been engaged in a school, here, ever since our arrival...it is composed, principally of half-breed children, collected about the fort, who, but for the advantage of instruction derived from their connection with the school, would be in little, if any, better situation than the natives themselves. Some of them have made very laudable improvement in reading, spelling, writing, English grammar; and a few of the most advanced are now studying, in addition to these, geography and mathematics. In addition to the day school, I have one in the evening, composed of ten of my scholars and two young men, one of whom has just commenced learning and is making good progress.¹⁰

Despite the apparent success of the day and evening classes, sometime during the early months of 1835, McLoughlin converted the school into a manual labor institution similar to those used to educate Indians in the Methodist missions throughout North America.¹¹ Seemingly, McLoughlin was influenced in his decision by Rev. Jason Lee and the other Methodist missionaries who stayed at Fort Vancouver in 1834-35 and who had experience with such schools in Upper Canada. Samuel Parker, a Presbyterian minister who took up residence for the winter of 1835 at the fort, noted: "The exercises of the school are closed with singing a hymn; after which, they [the pupils] are taken by their teacher to a garden assigned them, in which they labor."¹²

Although this curriculum departed from the one used at Red River, where only Indian pupils received manual training, it was influenced by contemporary ideas about educating the poor and working classes.¹³ It was a strange juxtaposition

that equated the poor city child with the frontier Metis or Indian child, but it was derived from the strong Christian conviction that education meant "nothing less than the civilization and conversion" of whole segments of the population deemed to be living in sin and without God.¹⁴

Like the working class, both Indian and Metis children were believed to be "wild" and prone to a variety of moral weaknesses. As a consequence, they were considered appropriate candidates for utilitarian and other types of vocational schooling which placed heavy emphasis on correct moral behaviour. Christian values were stressed along with the new doctrines emerging from industrialism -- discipline, hierarchy, uniformity and routine.¹⁵ Underlining the belief in manual schooling was the persistent notion that hard work for youngsters of the 'lower orders' was a positive social discipline, a method of reforming their bad habits, and a way of maintaining the status quo. Indeed, the rhetoric used to advocate education for Indians was identical to that used for the "inferior class", who were sometimes referred to as "Indians."¹⁶ What was unusual about the Fort Vancouver School was that the manual labour plan was adopted for all pupils regardless of whether they were Indian or Metis, gentlemen or laborers' children.

By 1841, the curriculum was the most preeminent feature of the Fort Vancouver school. Lieut. Charles Wilkes of the United States exploring expedition, who visited that year,

described it as "a small manual labour school ...for the education of the orphans & 1/2 breeds of the Company's servants." He credited McLoughlin for "snatching as it were these castaway boys from the vices & idleness of the savage life," but found it necessary to make allowances for the pupils who "did not prove very expert at their exercises in reading & writing" because "they had been for some weeks constantly employed in the field under their teacher." McLoughlin, for his part, proudly pointed out that the labor of four boys was equal to one man and told Wilkes that student labor fully paid educational expenses.¹⁷

For McLoughlin, who regarded himself as the champion of the "down trodden", the school was his personal project for the betterment of servants' children and he jealously guarded it from would-be intruders like Rev. Beaver who arrived under Company contract in 1836 to superintend the facility. Indeed, the two men not only fought over control of the school, but disagreed about the type of education mixed-blood children should receive.¹⁸

Beaver wanted to educate Metis youngsters like white children in England, while McLoughlin, as previously mentioned, favored methods used to train Indian children in mission schools. The reverend fought to introduce the Anglican National School System used to educate thousands of poor and working class youngsters in England at the fort.

The National schools employed a monitorial method of

teaching which had been designed by Rev. Andrew Bell, curiously enough, for another group of mixed-blood pupils in another part of the Empire; the orphaned Anglo-Indian children of the British military who had been left in India when their fathers departed. Bell solved the problem of the shortages of books and paper in the Military Male Orphan Asylum School in Madras, which he superintended, by writing with his finger in wet sand and then having the boys copy his letters in the sand. In the English and American setting, the sand used in Bell's school was replaced with slates, which, like sand, could be used over and over again.

At the same time, to overcome the problem of incompetent teachers who refused to be 'reformed', Bell appointed some of the older, intelligent pupils as monitors to teach the youngest boys to write in the sand. Each monitor was both a pupil and a teacher, who learned his own lessons with the help of Bell and then helped the other students with theirs. As Bell's monitorial system developed, he also devised methods to improve behaviour and new forms of discipline to insure that behaviour modification took place.

In 1796, Bell returned to England and wrote An Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum of Madras, (1797) which outlined his system of education. In due course, Bell's monitorial system was adopted by the Anglican (National) schools in England and found favour in the British colonies as well as the United States. As Bell saw it, the system

depended upon the close co-operation of teachers, monitors and pupils and, if properly employed, established "habits of industry, morality and religion, tending to form good scholars, good men and good Christians."¹⁹

As an Anglican clergyman and schoolmaster, Rev. Beaver was familiar with Bell's monitorial system. As he saw it, the system had two very attractive features which would be advantageous to the Fort Vancouver classroom -- it was inexpensive and overcame teacher shortages since older students, designated as monitors, taught the younger pupils.

By the time Beaver arrived at Fort Vancouver, certain aspects of monitorial teaching had already been introduced into the school by the American teachers. For example, the monitorial system stressed 'shaming' rather than physical penalties for disobedient students and proposed a series of punishments, including the dunce cap, instead of the strap or rod, that teachers might employ with unruly pupils.²⁰ Such methods were used by the first two teachers at the fort who made students wear a leather "medal [of disgrace]...over their necks if caught speaking French or Chinook" and gave them detentions, another castigation arising out of monitorial methods of discipline, for misbehaviour.²¹ As far as can be determined, however, the main feature of monitorial schooling, the monitors themselves, were not used in the fort classroom.

Beaver argued that Bell's monitorial system was "the best adapted to the wants and state of society" at Fort

Vancouver and that an Indian school might be started by "using one of our half breed Boys, of whom there are several, who might ere be qualified for the task." McLoughlin, on the other hand, insisted on maintaining a manual school where the three R's were combined with vocational and agricultural training.²² Secure in the knowledge that most gentlemen's children would continue on to higher education, McLoughlin saw no harm in a practical and mixed elementary schooling for boys and girls with only cursory notice paid to class, race or religious differences. By contrast, Beaver believed pupils should be segregated by sex and social class and taught Anglican doctrines to the exclusion of all others. In England, the Anglicans insisted upon church control of education and Beaver wanted no less for the Fort Vancouver school.²³

Beaver, who was influenced by the current middle-class mania for phrenology, shared the phrenologists' interests in child development. He was particularly appalled by "little children, of eight and ten years of age and officers' children, who will not have to earn their subsistence by manual labour" losing up to five months of studies a year doing physical work. Beaver informed Company officials in London:

To put a child to work like a man, while he is only old enough to play as a Boy, produces in after life a sort of mixture of idleness with labour, which is never to be overcome...Not that work should be banished from the school, but it should not interfere with its paramount duties."²⁴

When Beaver left Fort Vancouver in 1838, none of his

recommendations for improving the school had been carried out. His influence, however, remained long after he departed and was noticeable in a growing concern for the morality and welfare of the student population. Beaver's constant assertions that the fort population was "entirely sunk in ignorance and barbarism" led the officers to "exert ... themselves to check vice, and encourage morality and religion, in a very marked manner" after Beaver's departure, according to observers like Charles Wilkes.²⁵ Indeed, it was largely through Beaver's highly critical comments about the inadequacies of the school that gentlemen who had once strongly supported the institution became convinced that their children were being subjected to negative influences when mixed with Indian and servants' youngsters. They came to regard the school as a vile place where the morals of the children were "not too good nor their habits of cleanliness charming." As Dr. Tolmie expressed it, the children were being "bred in the vitiated moral atmosphere of Vancouver."²⁶

What sort of atmosphere really existed in the school is difficult to assess. While Beaver's reports and letters to the Hudson's Bay Company in London gave the impression that the school was akin to a sweat shop, James Douglas attempted to assure the Governor and Committee that the only work the students had been asked to do was "weeding the garden, planting potatoes after the plough, pulling the potatoe flowers, and gathering pease [sic] in harvest."²⁷ Moreover,

the recollections of servants' youngsters indicate that rather than being exploited for their labor, they had spent a good deal of time running about and playing.²⁸

Partly as a result of the notoriety Rev. Beaver brought to the school, the Company's directors attempted to reduce the school's enrollment to 20 boys between the ages 8 and 12, who would be trained for "naval service," but this plan was never carried out.²⁹ In the end, the disputes between Beaver and McLoughlin made little difference in the students' lives because their objectives, like those of every other school promoter involved in the education of Metis children, were the same -- to Christianize and civilize their pupils.

In Euro-American society it was accepted that youngsters entering school had been raised as Christians, but in the fur trade, where pagan Indian mothers were the primary caretakers during infancy and early childhood, no such assumption could be made. Types of schools might vary, but all curricula were heavily laced with lessons in Christian virtue and morality. This was an era when the definition of the word "education" embraced the concept of religious instruction, and the idea of a 'Godless' curriculum was unthinkable. Even in the non-denominational classrooms at Fort Vancouver, the scholars were "instructed in the common branches of the English language ... and together with these, in religion and morality."³⁰

Before Christian knowledge could be transferred to the students, they had to learn English. Language instruction

became the first task of every schoolmaster, who had to cope with a profusion of native languages, as well as French and Chinook jargon, which were used in the pupils' households.³¹ Solomon Smith recalled his initial shock when he first encountered the languages of the classroom in his capacity as fort teacher in 1833:

When I engaged in the school I supposed we had a school, but upon entering it I was sadly disappointed, it was more like a bedlam. The scholars came in talking in their respective languages Cree, Nes Perces [sic], Chinook, etc. etc. I could not understand them, and when I called them to order they could not understand me.³²

Moreover, the difficulties of trying to learn English were compounded for servants' children, who came from homes without books. Teaching was by rote and what English the pupils learned was gained by memorizing from a few copies of Murray's Grammar, which some students learned to repeat verbatim.³³ A second method of instruction, begun while Shepard was teacher and strongly supported by McLoughlin, was to have daily singing in English.³⁴ Nearly all the missionaries who stayed at the fort were encouraged by McLoughlin to teach music to the children. In particular, Narcissa Whitman, who had a fine voice, held singing classes for the students every evening. She wrote home to the United States:

My school of singers are assembling, & invite my attendance. They have improved much in their singing & learned very many tunes for the short time I have been here. Doct. [McLoughlin] thinks it a great assistance to them in learning to speak the English language.³⁵

- To the visitor such musical abilities were unexpected and seldom went unnoticed. One individual commented: "The voices of those children from the school house!" Another recalled that "the orphans and 1/2 breed boys [and girls] who attended the school...chanted & sang" and had "excellent voices."³⁶

In spite of various obstacles, some servants' children became so fluent in English that one of the first tasks of the newly arrived Catholic clergy was to instruct their pupils in French.³⁷ The children learned to speak English, but their pronunciation was far from perfect, and, as a consequence, their last names were given a variety of English spellings in official records.³⁸ Nevertheless, growing up in the rich linguistic environment of the fur trade gave the children a facility for languages, which was furthered by learning English in school. Louis Labonte, the first servant's son to attend the Fort Vancouver school, was typical of many fur trade children. He had a basic knowledge of several native languages, including Clatsop, Tillamook, Tualatin, Cotapooya and Spokane and was fluent in Chinook jargon, French and English.³⁹

III

With school underway at Fort Vancouver, the opening of the Methodist mission in 1838 provided elementary education for retired servants' children living in the upper Willamette on a scale that went beyond the earlier efforts of individual

teachers in the valley. A Hudson's Bay Company naval apprentice, George Roberts, replaced Cyrus Shepard as schoolmaster at the fort, leaving Shepard free to begin two schools at the mission -- a Sunday School with "eleven half-breeds and three Indian pupils" and a day school with around thirty Metis students. Philip L. Edwards, another member of the Methodist mission, opened a second day school on October 26, 1835 with eleven "half casts" and two Indians, some 12 miles to the north of Shepard's school at Campement Du Sable or Champoege, a major settlement on French Prairie of retired Company servants and their families.⁴⁰

Instead of the thousands of Indians the Methodists had come to convert, only four or five hundred "Chinooks, Kalapooyus, Falatees, Clacksmays, and Umbuyus" remained in the valley after successive waves of malaria ravaged their population. According to one missionary, these Indians were "fast sinking into the grave."⁴¹ Consequently, rather than Indian pupils from tribal life, there was a continuation of the educational liaison between the American missionaries and the British employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mission scholars were overwhelmingly the mixed-blood sons and daughters of retired servants farming in the valley.⁴² Although attendance was irregular, especially during the rainy season when deep mud and swollen streams made travel difficult, parents nevertheless made an effort to join their children in learning the alphabet and came frequently to hear

them "read, spell and sing hymns" in English.⁴³

In 1836, McLoughlin took up a subscription among the officers for the benefit of the mission. Through an arrangement between himself and Methodist Superintendent Rev. Jason Lee, some orphaned Indian and Metis children of Company servants were to be sheltered at the mission. In due course, these youngsters, several of whom were of Iroquois and Kanaka parentage, arrived with their Indian slaves, who were promptly freed by the missionaries and allowed to join the mission family along with their former owners.⁴⁴

The curriculum at the mission school was similar to that of the fort school and, in both cases, student labor served the extracurricular function of defraying costs. Shepard wrote: "Our object in farming so extensively has been to procure the means of supporting a school; and in this way alone we can hope to benefit the natives in the vicinity." Jason Lee added: "Ours is indeed a manual labor school, for we cannot devote the whole day to teaching; we therefore have the pupils labor and study alternately."⁴⁵

Despite the exertion of many little hands, funding the school remained problematic. In 1839, Lee attempted to secure a subsidy from the U.S. government, but his call for "the establishment of extensive manual-labour schools for Indian children and youth" failed to win the approval of the House of Representatives.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, by the early 1840s, some eight to ten thousand dollars had been raised to build an

impressive three story, seventy-five by forty-eight foot "Indian Manual Labor School", which opened at Salem, some 10 miles below the first mission site.⁴⁷ Two reinforcement parties of Methodists, numbering sixty-one adults and nineteen children, arrived from the United States to provide the work force for the new venture.⁴⁸

There was a school superintendent, male and female teachers, and a manager. The Indian school boasted a grist mill, a saw mill, sixteen sections of cleared land, livestock and farms. In total, there was an impressive display of missionary efforts for the short time they had been in Oregon. But the situation at the school which confronted the new Mission Superintendent, Rev. George Gary, when he arrived in 1844 as Lee's successor, was scarcely problem free. After consultation with mission members, Gary wrote:

All agreed the Indian community had not been benefitted by any one who had left the school...Some of them have run away and many have died. Runaways have been punished as criminals. The most of them have taken their stolen budget and when found have been brought back, put in chains, severely whipped, etc. etc., guarded and kept within a high enclosure, like prisoners... In some instances the consent of the parents of these children has been bought that their children may attend school.⁴⁹

There were 23 students in the school and most had been absent from the classroom more times in a sixty day period than they had been present. Of the 44 native children who came under Methodist care between 1834 and 1838 in the first Methodist school, eight had died of such diseases as pulmonary consumption, scrofula and venereal infections. Others ran

away, were asked to leave, or were taken out of the school by their parents. In the second school, sixteen more children died in the first two years.⁵⁰ It was rumoured that the school superintendent had been sexually involved with female students.⁵¹ Rev. Nicolay, an English traveller, was told that the students were "not in a condition to be visited or inspected," and was shocked when he saw pupils who were "nearly grown up, ragged, and half clothed, and lounging about under the trees."⁵²

In the first Methodist school, at least five members of the mission family were designated as "half-breed" children of Hudson Bay Company servants.⁵³ In addition, several gentlemen, including John Work and Donald Manson, had placed their children under the tutelage of the Methodist missionaries.⁵⁴ By contrast, in the new school, Rev. Gustavus Hines, the superintendent, continually referred to the fur trade children as "Indians" or "half-breed Indians."⁵⁵ All the students were treated like 'uncivilized Indians,' even though some pupils were motherless Metis and Indian fur trade children accustomed to Euro-American influences.⁵⁶ The school cost \$6334.00 a year to operate, more than all other missionary enterprises in the territory combined, yet it had the worst record for education of any institution in Oregon.⁵⁷ As McLoughlin summarized it, the missionaries had "expected the Indians would work to support them in return for their teaching," but their plan had failed.⁵⁸

Reverend Gary promptly sold the school and it was re-opened as the Oregon Institute.⁵⁹ The Indian and Metis pupils posed no problem. The missionaries firmly believed they were doomed to extinction. In the meanwhile, they were given some clothing and placed with families.⁶⁰ Officially, the Indian school was closed because of its 'secular nature', which, according to Gary, elicited suspicions among the newly arrived immigrants and created a loss of confidence in the purity of Methodist motives, but the new Oregon Institute remained under Methodist control, eventually becoming Willamette University.⁶¹ Rather than an end to secularization, the sale reflected the decline of the missionaries interest in Indians and a movement towards serving white immigrant children.

The Constitution of the Oregon Institute, however, was so worded that the retired servants' youngsters, who made up a considerable proportion of the child population, could attend if they had the right qualifications. It read: "The primary object of the Institution shall be to educate the children of white men."⁶² In reality, this meant that fur trade children were to be schooled separately from their white counterparts. The third superintendent of the Oregon Mission, Rev. William M. Roberts, believed that fur trade children should be educated as Indians. As he stated it: "halfbreeds are Indians in Law".⁶³

The Oregon Institute was just one of several Protestant institutions of learning to be founded during the 1840s.⁶⁴

Another, Tabitha Brown and Rev. Harvey Clark's school at Forest Grove, North Tualatin Plain, which admitted all races of children on equal footing, later became Pacific University.⁶⁵ Like the Oregon Institute, these Protestant schools sought "to promote science, morality and piety" and hoped to become the nucleus of higher learning in Oregon. They were also founded as a bulwark against the recently opened Catholic academies. "The Oregon Institute will redeem Oregon," Rev. Gary wrote, "from the remains of Paganism and the gloom of Papal darkness with which she is enshrouded."⁶⁶

IV

The Catholic mission had the same goals as its Protestant counterparts, to Christianize and civilize the native and Metis population, but thereafter any common interests ended. From the outset, the Catholic mission was perceived as a threat by the evangelical Protestants who attempted to arrest the spread of "Romanism" in Oregon. The priests, for their part, were no less zealous in their bid to gain a strong foothold in the territory.⁶⁷ While the education of Metis children was heavily influenced by American teachers in the other schools, the Catholic clergy were bent on thwarting 'Americanization' among the sixty or so retired servants' families on French Prairie by furthering a French-Canadian identity in their classrooms. As Father Bolduc, who arrived in 1843, expressed it: "A mixture of Americans with the Canadian is harmful for good order."⁶⁸

The priests quickly assessed the lifestyle of the retired servant population in the Valley and found it in a state of "frenziered debauchery" where "many Canadian children are still infidels and do not want to leave disorder to prepare for baptism." Consequently, their first task was to achieve order and control among the "wicked Christians who have adopted ... the vices of the Indians and live in licentiousness and the forgetfulness of their duties." This meant conversion, baptism, "holy marriage" or remarriage for those blessed by the Methodists. It meant teaching the Metis population, who the priests considered "dissolute" to speak French. It meant encouraging the women and children to travel daily from their farms for instruction at the newly erected chapel at St. Paul on the prairie.⁶⁹

The priest regarded the Indian and Metis wives and their daughters inferior to white Canadian women, because they had "no proper knowledge of how to keep a household in order." They assumed that the wives were the source of their husbands' debts. "Only farmers married to skillful Canadian wives could make a fortune here," wrote Father Bolduc, seemingly oblivious to the thousands of debt-ridden farmers with "thrifty wives" in Quebec at the time.⁷⁰ As a consequence, they paid special attention to the education of the retired servants' wives and daughters, who were encouraged, among other things, to dress in French Canadian fashion and be submissive to their husbands and fathers. Marriage vows were strictly enforced. Wives were

publicly reprimanded if they left their husbands.⁷¹

The zealous efforts of the priests were supported by Governor George Simpson who toured the Valley in 1841 and concluded that the Americans who lived there were "worthless and lawless characters of every description" and subversive to Company interests. Believing the priests could keep the Canadians loyal to the Hudson's Bay Company and British interests in the region, Simpson requested two more Canadian priests as well as "two women capable of teaching the young natives needle-work, the manner of making cloth and other fabrics."⁷² In return, the priests assured him "on pain of removal" that their congregation would pray for "beloved Queen Victoria".⁷³

Teaching needlework and cloth making to the girls had to wait, however, until 1844 when the Sisters of Notre Dame du Namur from Belgium arrived and established St. Marie de Wallamette Academy. The sisters hoped to attract thirty Metis girls, but only eleven boarders and few day pupils arrived for the first class. Their fees were adjusted to the economic scheme of things in the Willamette, where wheat was used as currency. The quarterly tuition for each girl who boarded was set at: "100 pounds of flour; 4 pounds of grease; 3 bags of peas; 1 bag of salt; 3 dozen eggs; 25 pounds of lard (or 36 pounds of beef); 4 pounds of candles; 1 bag of potatoes; 1 pound of tea; and 4 pounds of rice."⁷⁴

In addition to their regular pupils, the sisters hoped

to support the destitute and orphaned children in the valley. Like their Protestant counterparts, they thought that such youngsters could become self-supporting if they were taught to "cultivate the land, to care for the house, to work in the dairy" and "to clear the acres of brushwood." At the outset, however, it was their paying students who were taught to "cook, wash, sweep, milk the cows and make butter." The nuns believed that the girls would then teach these skills to their mothers, who were thought to be "shiftless because they were ignorant." Their wards, however, were not fond of laborious tasks, and most of the hard work in building the school was done by the sisters themselves, who hoped they could eventually "overcome the idle strain in the half-breed."⁷⁵

In the space of a few short years, the nuns transformed their pupils' appearance and deportment. The girls were dressed in white uniforms which conformed to those worn by Belgian schoolgirls in the sisters' homeland, and had otherwise acquired many of the manners of white ladies. Besides their lessons in domesticity, they received a vigorous elementary education.⁷⁶ By 1848, the school had grown to include some forty-two girls and the nuns had established a second girls' school in Oregon City.⁷⁷ The sisters' hard work did not go unnoticed. James Douglas wrote to Hudson's Bay Company officials in London that the nuns displayed "a surprising degree of address in the management of their pupils." The school, he added, was "numerously attended by

the daughters of Canadian farmers, who may be considered fortunate in having so munificent provision made for the education of their children."⁷⁸

The Catholic boys' school, St. Joseph's College, opened one year earlier than St. Marie with a donation of 4,800 francs from Joseph Larocque, a former Hudson's Bay Company chief factor, then residing in Paris.⁷⁹ There were three teachers for the 28 Metis boarders, "all children of Canadians or Americans, except only one that is of pure native blood." By this time, the priests recognized that Oregon was destined to be English speaking and instruction was given in both French and English. It was hoped that Latin would be added "as a first preparation for the priesthood." The boys competed for prizes in reading, writing and elementary science. Mothers and fathers were instructed by the priests on their parental duties. Discipline was strict. The students were well behaved. Like St. Marie de Willamette Academy, St. Joseph's had an excellent reputation.⁸⁰

Throughout the 1840s, however, an intense battle between Catholics and Protestants for the minds of children took place. No sooner was St. Joseph's underway, when Father Bolduc, the principal, was urging that his church "secure for higher education" another institution in order to keep pace with the expansion of school facilities offered by the Protestants.⁸¹

In the end, the competition for pupils meant that all

the religious denominations over-extended themselves and many schools had to be closed for financial reasons. None were hit harder than the ambitious Catholics. Although their churches were "mortgaged to heretics," as the visiting French envoy, Saint-Ament, phrased it, they continued to expand in an attempt to battle the zealous Protestants. In order to offset their dire financial circumstances, Father Blanchet toured South America in search of funds, but his efforts came too late. By 1855, the nineteen priests of the Oregon Mission had been reduced to seven. The mission, which claimed to have brought some "six thousand pagans to the faith," was abandoned in favour of retaining six churches to serve the settler population. In 1844, Blanchet wrote that "one thousand Canadians, women and children, had been saved from the imminent perils of losing their faith." A decade later, the census of 1853-54 listed only 303 men, women and children as Catholics, and widespread antagonism towards Catholicism permeated Oregon.⁸²

Anti-Catholic sentiments in the United States spread westward with the settlers who brought with them such anti-Catholic tracts as the best selling and scandalous Maria Monk (1836), a supposed expose of sexual activities in the Hotel Dieu nunnery in Montreal, and more sophisticated books like Lyman Beecher's A Plea for the West (1835), which argued that evangelical protestantism "would win the West to true religion and genuine republicanism", against the Catholic "forces of

darkness."⁸³

Such literature might have had little effect were it not for the Whitman massacre at Waiilatpu on November 29, 1847, which was believed to have been instigated by Catholic priests and carried out by their Indian followers. Moreover, the massacre heightened the public's mistrust of 'half-breeds', who were regarded as being Catholic and in alliance with the priests. The populace was outraged that the children of Hudson's Bay Company employees at the mission were allowed to go free while their American schoolmates were held captive or killed by the Indians. Two Metis who lived with the Indians, Joe Lewis from Red River and Tom Hill, a graduate of Dartmouth College, were cited as instigators of the slaughter.⁸⁴

There were over seventy people at the mission. Fifty survived the massacre. Chief trader Donald Manson's two sons, John and Stephen, who were about 16 and 17 at the time, and another Metis boy, David Malin, aged 6 or 7 years, were sent to Fort Walla Walla by the Indians who feared Hudson's Bay Company retaliation. Mrs. Saunders, the schoolteacher's wife, attributed the fact she was spared to young John Manson's intervention on her behalf with the Indians.⁸⁵ When news of the massacre reached Fort Vancouver, chief factor Peter Ogden quickly outfitted a rescue expedition to Waiilatpu where he successfully negotiated for the release of the hostages and delivered them safely to Fort Vancouver. Nevertheless, the Hudson's Bay Company, its mixed-blood population and the

Catholics were linked in the popular imagination, so that anti-Company, anti-Catholic and anti-'half-breed' attitudes formed a kind of inseparable trio.⁸⁶

No sooner was the Catholic clergy exonerated for responsibility in the Whitman affair, than the priests were accused of supplying ammunition to Indians to exterminate Protestants during the Cayuse Indian War of 1848, which followed in the wake of the Whitman massacre. A petition was quickly introduced in the territorial legislature calling for the expulsion of all Catholic clergy from Oregon. The legislation was never passed, but the Oregon Mission collapsed under this and other pressures.⁸⁷

While the anti-Catholic drama was unfolding in Oregon, the lure of the goldfields in California reduced the territory's population by an estimated one-half.⁸⁸ In the Willamette, French Prairie was depopulated of the church's flock. In May of 1849, some five-hundred retired servants and their families accompanied by Father Delorme left en masse for the California mines.⁸⁹ They were not the only Metis to go. Among the miners in California were many former Fort Vancouver students and gentlemen's sons, such as David McLoughlin, William McKay and Andrew Pambrun, who were then young men and fully knowledgeable about the old brigade routes south. Along with other fur trade children, McLoughlin and McKay discovered gold and founded the Trinity mines which paid \$100.00 a day to each man.⁹⁰ Andrew Pambrun, who did not go

to California until 1851, "made very poor success," but got an ounce a night for "affording music on the violin from one to three hours when dancing was carried on."⁹¹ Few became rich. Many did not return. Some twenty heads of households from the retired servant population died in the disastrous epidemics of 'bilious yellow fever' which swept the goldfields. Others simply disappeared.⁹²

The evacuation forced the closure of the schools. St. Joseph's shut its doors permanently in June, 1849, just as the youngest sons of the most established retired servants in the Willamette were learning to read and write. For many of these Metis boys, the closure marked the end of their formal education.⁹³ Sister Mary Dominica McNamee notes that, in the aftermath of the "disaster", St. Marie de Willamette was "a home for orphans, children whose fathers died on the mining expedition and whose mothers returned to their native villages [or wandered off] when they found themselves without support." Towards the end of 1850, typhoid fever killed eleven of the orphans and the sisters closed the school the following year and removed the remaining children to Oregon City.⁹⁴

The girls' school in Oregon City lingered on until 1852, but even an elaborate ad in the Oregon Statesman failed to attract more than twelve boarders after the orphans, who were regarded as "savages", arrived from the Willamette. Even McLoughlin's granddaughters, Margaret and Maria Louisa Rae, the children of his daughter Eloise and her husband William

Glen Rae who had committed suicide in San Francisco, were removed.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the school was used by both Catholic and Protestant families who did not wish their daughters exposed to the evils of the goldfields while they were away. It was a turbulent time for children. One girl remembered crying herself to sleep every night because she thought she had been abandoned to the nuns. Another girl recalled:

My people went to California in 1852 and he [Dr. McLoughlin] tried to persuade my mother to leave me at the Sister's School -- she seemed to be considering his proposition when I began to cry, and tender-hearted old Dr. said, "Tut, tut, don't cry, you shall go with your mother," and go I did.⁹⁶

The exodus to California and the closure of the Catholic schools destroyed much of the homogeneity of the retired servants' community. The depopulation of the valley made it easy for newcomers to buy the servants' farms or acquire their lands under new land acts passed in their absence. As a result, many families, who had sold their farms before or after returning from California, spread throughout the territory, settling in remote places in small groups of two or three families. Much of the French-Canadian fur trade culture, which had flourished in the valley under the Catholic priests, became invisible to outsiders or was lost.⁹⁷

In the decade the priests had been among the retired servants, they had forged secular as well as non-secular roles for themselves. As one observer commented, "the priest is everything to the families on French Prairie - friend, confidant, law giver, counsellor, arbiter, judge".⁹⁸ In the

process, the priests had effectively reinforced a French-Canadian fur trade-cum-Metis, identity among the people, but after the closure of the Catholic schools, the community became a mere shadow of its former self. There were other schools for the children to attend, but the intent of these institutions was to promote good English-speaking Protestant Americans, rather than foster the growth of Catholic French-speaking Metis, as the priests had attempted. Within a decade or so, many of the original French names were anglicized and only a remnant of the former community existed.⁹⁹

V

Despite the growth of educational institutions in the Pacific Northwest, not all fur trade children received a formal education. No matter how widely McLoughlin cast about for new recruits for the Fort Vancouver school, he was never able to encompass all the children in the district. Although he offered youngsters a free education at the fort school, it was difficult to retain the students for long periods of time without more extensive boarding facilities than the fort could provide.

Fur trade children were extremely mobile. The very nature of the trade demanded a great deal of transiency within the district. Families travelled on brigades or expresses for months at a time. Fathers were transferred from post to post and, in the course of this movement, their children were fortunate if they had more than a term or two at one of the

fort or missionary schools.

The schools attempted to compensate for the difficulties of transient youth by taking "scholars from a distance" and either boarding their pupils or finding them accommodation "in the neighborhood."¹⁰⁰ But, even in the more sedentary agricultural communities in the Willamette Valley, annual trapping expeditions continued as a way of life for some retired fur trade families. As a consequence, formal schooling for servants' children was piecemeal.

VI

For Metis youngsters who went to school, what was learned in the classroom played an important role in weaning them from the native cultures of their mothers and preparing them to meet the challenges of the new society which came to dominate the region, but the price was high, and results were not always what educators envisioned.

The education of Metis children in Oregon was contradictory and reflected the ambivalent status of 'half-breeds' in the larger society. Each institution treated its fur trade pupils differently. As previously noted, at the Whitman Mission, the Catholic academies, and many of the private schools, the children received the same education as white students. By contrast, at the Fort Vancouver School and the Methodist Mission, a manual labour curriculum designed for Indian pupils was adopted. Indeed, at the Methodist "Indian Manual Labor School", fur trade children were lumped

together with native pupils just removed from tribal life.

As a consequence, there was no single educational experience for servants' children. The only goal shared by all the educational institutions was the conversion of their students to Christianity and all that implied. The children did become Christians, but baptism could include the disquieting emotional experience of being thrust into the alien worlds of harsh evangelical childrearing practices at the Whitman mission, or being physically abused, exploited, and mistreated at the Methodist Indian school. Moreover, becoming a Christian meant abandoning or blending the pagan beliefs of native mothers or grandmothers with the new religion. In practice, being a Christian was synonymous with being 'civilized' and, for many of these schoolchildren, this meant rejecting much of their mother's culture in favour of their father's.

As for academic achievement, it is doubtful if the brief tutoring in the first Willamette school run by Solomon Smith produced much of lasting value. At least, if writing is used as a criterion, then these informal classes were dismal failures. Few of the children who attended could write their names as adults.¹⁰¹

The Fort Vancouver School appears to have been somewhat more successful. At best, however, it only received mixed ratings from its pupils. For example, Louis Labonte, the first servant's son to attend the school, recalled little about what

was learned, but he did remember that Dr. McLoughlin had taken him by the hand to school, treated him kindly, and told him he would provide him with books and pens.¹⁰² Of the gentlemen's sons, Billy McKay thought the children were fairly well schooled and remarked, "when I reflect back to the time of that little school, it produces rather a pleasant sensation."¹⁰³ Ranald MacDonald stated that he "made no progress" in John Ball's class.¹⁰⁴ James Birnie, who attended the school from 1835 to 1837, noted: "I was sent to the Fort Vancouver school (such as it was) ...The misfortune I had was that I was never in a [proper] school."¹⁰⁵

Whatever its academic shortcomings, however, the majority of children who attended the Fort Vancouver School were instructed in manual labour skills necessary for pioneering in the Pacific Northwest. McLoughlin had anticipated that the economic future of Oregon would be largely in foodstuffs and the stress he placed on agricultural training for the boys and domestic instruction for the girls allowed many of the fur trade children to successfully integrate with their American neighbors later in life.

Moreover, the educational opportunities which had been lacking for the oldest children in servants' families were greatly improved by the time their younger brothers and sisters were ready for the classroom. As better schools developed with the advance of American settlement, the younger children of servants became literate and fluent in English.¹⁰⁶

Learning English, however, had the adverse effect (from the educators' point of view) of facilitating the growth of Metis culture. Like French and Chinook jargon, English gave mixed-blood children another bond of communications.¹⁰⁷

Conversely, while fur trade children reaped many benefits from being literate, their mastery of reading and writing divided them from their illiterate parents and their oral traditions. Under these circumstances, child-parent relationships were altered. Some parents came to rely upon their youngsters to read and write for them. For example, young Henry Buxton, one of the Red River Metis children who came to Oregon in 1841, recalled:

Father was a man without education and as I had received little benefits in that direction I was frequently called up to read the [Hudson's Bay Company] contract [with the settlers] to parties.¹⁰⁸

VII

While girls and boys generally received the same elementary schooling if they attended the same school, the outcome of their education varied according to their gender. In the absence of white women, mixed-blood daughters were the most desirable marriage partners for the male newcomers.¹⁰⁹ Through marriage, servants' daughters could experience upward social mobility. This was particularly true of the girls who attended the Catholic academies and became well groomed in the arts of domesticity. As the historian Harriet Munnick points out: "Girls educated by the Sisters usually became the

wives of white men and the mothers of still more eligible daughters."¹¹⁰ Thus, although the Catholic Mission had promoted a French-Canadian culture, it also inadvertently produced wives for white American males, who were largely Protestant. As a result of their schooling in institutions designed for Euro-American children, some fur trade daughters chose to forget or deny their Indian ancestors and, in effect, became white women.¹¹¹

For Metis women to deny their Indian ancestors was to alienate themselves from their brothers who to a greater extent retained ties with native people. Although many brothers perused successful careers in white society, no amount of formal education in Euro-American institutions could make them into 'white' men. While the shortage of white women in the West permitted Metis girls access to the dominant society through marriage to white men, the same imbalance closed this access route to their brothers. The choice of wives for servants' sons was limited to Indian or Metis women. Even if no gender imbalance in the population had existed, the intermarriage of white women with Indian or 'half-breed' males was regarded as unacceptable by many in American society. Like some officers' sons, by the time they reached middle age, some servants' sons had rejected living in the dominant society in favour of life among other Metis or Indian people.

Despite the different treatment society awarded each sex, schooling did not eradicate the children's maternal Indian

culture as the educationalists had anticipated. Many of the first generation of fur trade youngsters retained their native identity and added the new knowledge acquired in school to what they already knew. Many of the children demonstrated that they could operate effectively in both American and Indian cultures as well as retain their group identity as fur trade children or, as some called themselves, "Hudson Bay" people.¹¹²

This term was not one of endearment. Few of the children showed any loyalty to the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly or to England. The schools nurtured their students in the ideas of an egalitarian society, free trade, and the God-given Manifest Destiny of the United States. The youngsters shared with their American counterparts contempt for the hierarchical structure of the Hudson's Bay Company. Instead of reinforcing notions of rank and class, many mixed-blood youngsters appear to have emerged from their education believing upward social mobility was available to them as individuals if they followed the tenets of the American work ethic.

Reality and abstract ideas are, of course, two different things. The majority of servants' children who were schooled as white children were educated according to their father's class and entered the dominant society at that class level. Gentlemen's sons already held their father's rank by birthright and attempted to retain a similar social standing in the new society. For those educated as Indians, their lives became integrally linked with those of native people.

In short, the civilizing and christianizing goals of the schools were largely met, but in the attempt to acculturate fur trade youngsters, certain unforeseen developments occurred. For one thing, the classroom forced children of different racial and cultural backgrounds to socialize with one another and, in this atmosphere, new alliances were formed and commonalities discovered. For another, the acculturation process, whereby individuals absorb significant, but not necessarily all aspects of the dominant culture, allowed the children to adopt the protective colorations of American society without necessarily relinquishing all of their native background.¹¹³

Recent literature demonstrates that the English Sunday School, which was designed to create mass literacy for religious readings, inadvertently helped to forge a powerful working class consciousness.¹¹⁴ In a similar way, the industrial boarding school fostered pan-Indianism as a by-product of the coercive acculturation process and in itself became part of American Indian culture.¹¹⁵ In like fashion, educationalists' attempts to assimilate servants' youngsters to Euro-American society through schooling unintentionally served to strengthen their collective identity as 'half-breed' fur trade children. For the various schools the students attended were unable to award the children full equality with white North Americans. If they happened to "look Indian" or "half-breed," it did not matter how high their educational

attainments were; they were discriminated against because they were part Indian.

Notes

1. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the U.S. Exploring Expedition used the term "a small manual labor school" to describe the Fort Vancouver School in 1841. See: Edmond S. Meany, ed., "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," WHO, Vol. 16, 1925, pp. 291, 298-299.
2. For example, see: Harriet Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's In Oregon, 1830-1840," Marion County History, Vol. 5, 1959, p. 52; Harriet Munnick, "Dupatti": Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay," Marion County History, Vol. 6, 1960, p. 28.
3. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's In Oregon," p. 52. Also see: Oswald West, "Oregon's First White Settlers on French Prairie," OHQ, Vol. 43, 1942, pp.201-202; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, New York, J. Collord Printers, 1844, p. 132.
4. Archbishop F.N. Blanchet, The Catholic Missionaries of Oregon, Portland, 1878, p. 3; Carl Landerholm, ed., Notices & Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest, Portland, Champoege Press, 1956, p. 1; Harriet Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Portland, Binford and Mort Publishers, 1979, pp. xvii-xviii.
5. R.C. Clark, ed., "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," OHQ, Vol. 39, 1938, pp. 28-30, 32.
6. Landerholm, Famed Quebec Mission, p.11.
7. Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver: 1836-1838, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, pp. xxxi, 3-4, 10. The Fort Vancouver school which began with 5 boys in 1832; had 24 or 25 pupils by 1834; 30 scholars by 1835, and enrolled 60 students in 1836. With the opening of other schools in the 1840s, the Fort Vancouver student population stabilized at about 40 pupils and this number appears to have remained constant until the end of the decade. No enrollment and/or attendance records have been found. See: Bond, "How Public Schools Started," p. 56; John A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver Historic Structure Report, Vol. II, Denver Service Centre, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, April 1976, pp. 292-293, 299, 302-303.
8. Jessett, Reports and Letters, pp. 5, 10, 56, 82-83, 86, 125; Hussey, Fort Vancouver, pp. 292, 308-317.
9. Hussey, p. 293. Also see: Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Minneapolis, Ross & Haines, 1967, p. 160.

10. Cyrus Shepard, "Early Letter from the Methodist Mission", WHO, Vol., 25, No. 1, 1933, pp. 53-54.
11. Rev. W. P. Strickland, History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church from the Organization of the Missionary Society to the Present Time, Cincinnati, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1850, pp. 73, 91. It is almost certain that Rev. Lee and the Methodist missionaries influenced McLoughlin's decision to turn the school into a manual labor institution. See: Stuart Mockford, ed., "Jason Lee's Peoria Speech," OHQ, Vol. 59, 1958, p. 24; Robert J. Loewenberg, "New Evidence, Old Categories: Jason Lee as Zealot," PHR, Vol. 47, 1978, pp. 356, 360, 362-363; Interest of Pathfinders in Education, PABC, Victoria, B.C., p. 55.
12. Parker, Journal, p. 160.
13. Interest of Pathfinders in Education, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C., p. 55.
14. H. W. Schupf, "Education for the Neglected: Ragged Schools in Nineteenth-Century England," History of Education Quarterly, Summer 1972, p. 162.
15. Brian W. Taylor, "Utilitarianism and the Child: Jeremy Bentham," Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective, edited by Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, Calgary, Destseligt Enterprises Limited, 1982, p. 7; Mary Warnock, ed., John Stuart Mill: Utilitarianism, On Liberty, Essay on Bentham, Glasgow, William Collins Sons and Company, Ltd., 1962, p. 13. On the relationship between religion, education and capitalism, see: J. H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1963, pp. 381-415, 640-641, 810-812.
16. For comparisons between Indians and the lower classes, see: John Pollock, George Whitefield and the Great Awakening, Belleville, Lion Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 40; Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, edited by Charles Lillard, Victoria, Sono Nis Press, 1987, pp. 22, 44-45, 48-50. Also see: Thomas W. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1976, p. 5; Ivy Pinchbeck, Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society: Vol. II, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973, p. 394.
17. Edmond S. Meany, ed., "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," WHO, Vol. 16, 1925, pp. 291, 298-299; Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838...1842, Vol. IV, Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1845, p. 332.

18. McLoughlin continually referred to the school as "his" or "my" school in his correspondence with Beaver. See: Jessett, pp. xvi, 6-10.

19. L.W. Cowie, Bell and Lancaster, London, Methuen Educational Ltd., 1973, p. 8.

20. L.W. Cowie, Bell and Lancaster, Toronto, Methuen Education Ltd., 1973, pp. 6-31; G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, New York, Penguin Books Ltd., 1979, pp. 169-170.

21. These punishments existed in the Fort Vancouver school from 1832 to 1834, while Ranald MacDonald was a pupil, and may have continued after he left the school. See: Ranald MacDonald to E. E. Dye, March 21, 1892, Oct. 31, 1892, E. E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. (Student monitors were used on occasion in the schools at Red River when expenditures exceeded the salaries needed for additional teachers. See: Andrew Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, p. 46.)

22. Jessett, pp. xvi, 7-8, 16-18, 25, 59, 82, 123. It appears that McLoughlin subscribed to the American work ethic commonly outlined in advice to parents at the time -- "if children were not in school they should not be without regular employment." See: Robert H. Bremner, ed., Children and Youth in America: A Documented History, Vol. I, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 561.

23. Clark, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver," pp. 23-24; Lewis, "The History of the Educational Activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Oregon," p. 101.

24. Jessett, pp. 123-124.

25. Jessett, p. 19; Meany, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," pp. 291, 299; Wilkes, Narrative, p. 332.

26. Hussey, pp. 295, 298.

27. Jessett, p. 145.

28. For example, see: Harriet Munnick, "Grandma was an Indian," Marion County Historical Society, Vol. 7, 1961, p. 8.

29. Hussey, p. 294.

30. Parker, p. 160.

31. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's In Oregon, " p. 54.

32. Hussey, p. 291. The many languages at Fort Vancouver were always problematic for those who only spoke English or French. For example, in 1834, Rev. Jason Lee noted: "Preached to a mixed congregation, English, French, Scotch, Irish, Indians, Americans, half-breeds ... some of whom did not understand five words of English." See: Lee, "Diary," pp. 265, 401. Four years later in 1838, when Rev. Herbert Beaver was chaplain, James Douglas informed the Hudson's Bay Company Governor and Committee in London, that Beaver's "professional exertions have been unavoidably limited by the multitude of languages Native & Foreign that flourish here." He went on to note that in great measure this handicap prevented Beaver's intercourse with the "lower classes". See: E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver, First Series, 1825-38, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, Appendix A, p.239.

33. Hussey, pp. 291-292.

34. Shepard wrote: "Teaching the children to sing excit[ed] much interest." McLoughlin also employed this teaching method when he taught the wives and children of Catholic servants to chant the canticles in French. See: A.B. Hulbert, The Oregon Crusade: Across Land and Sea to Oregon, Denver, Colorado College Press, 1935, p. 195; Landerholm, p. 15.

35. Clifford M. Drury, ed., First White Women over the Rockies: Vol. I, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, pp. 102-107, 111, 125-126. Also see: Parker, p. 160. Some of the missionaries also adopted singing as a method of teaching English at their mission schools. Rev. Eells, for example, felt that the Indians were "passionately fond of music ... and it may be made use of as a powerful instrument in the moral training of the children." See: Rev. Eells, "Oregon Indians," The Missionary Herald for the Year 1841, Vol. XXXVII, Boston, Crocker and Brewster, 1841, p. 436.

36. Thomas J. Farnham, An 1839 Wagon Train Journal: Travels in the Great Western Prairies...and in the Oregon Territory, New York, Greenley & McElrath Tribune Building, 1843, p.98; Meany, "Diary of Wilkes," p. 291; Parker, p. 160. Lieut. Emmons commented: "The choir was led by a band of little boys & girls, generally half-breeds and mostly orphans." See: George Thornton Emmons, "Extracts from the Emmons Journal," OHQ, Vol. 26, 1925, pp. 270-271.

37. According to Cyrus Shepard, when the Methodists opened the first schools in the Willamette, the servants' children were "wholly unacquainted with the English language" and usually spoke in Chinook jargon, yet three years later, when the Catholics arrived, they were amazed that English was so widely used among the children. See: Hulbert, The Call of the Columbia, p. 194.

38. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," p. 56; Munnick, "Dupatti," p. 27.
39. H. S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of Louis Labonte," OHO, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 169; Silas B. Smith to E.E. Dye, Dec. 5, 1989, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. (The most celebrated linguist among the students was Ranald MacDonald who knew eight or more languages before he left school and achieved fame as the first person to teach English in Japan after mastering that language. See: Ranald MacDonald, Old Fort Colville, to Mrs. E.E. Dye, Oct. 31, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, OHS.)
40. Hulbert, The Oregon Crusade, pp. 193-195, 200; Charles Henry Carey, ed., "The Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, North America, Commenced 1834," OHO, Vol. 23, 1922, pp. 239-242; Charles Henry Carey, ed., "Methodist Annual Reports Relating to the Willamette Mission (1834-1848)," OHO, Vol. 23, 1922, pp. 310, 316. Philip L. Edwards taught the school at Champoege during 1835-36. See: Harvey W. Scott, "Jason Lee's Place in History," WHO, Vol. 1, 1906-1907, p. 23; Robert H. Down, "Oregon's Century of Education," OHO, Vol. 34, 1933, p. 305; Lee, Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, pp. 139-140; Munnick, "Dupatti," p. 31.
41. Jason Lee, "Missionary Intelligence - Flat Head Indians," Christian Advocate and Journal for the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. X, No 10, Oct. 30, 1835, p. 38; Robert Moulton Gatke, ed., "A Document of Mission History, 1833-34," OHO, Vol. 36, 1935, p. 82. On the Indian population in the valley, see: Wilkes, Narrative, p. 350.
42. Carey, "Methodist Annual Reports," p. 310.
43. Hulbert, pp. 194, 196, 199; Rev. Gustavus Hines, Oregon: Its History, Condition and Prospects, Buffalo, George H. Derby and Company, 1851, p. 26.
44. Hulbert, pp. 187-203; Carey, "The Mission Record Book," pp. 235-243; Lee, Frost, pp. 132-133; Robert Moulton Gatke, "The First Indian School of the Pacific Northwest," OHO, Vol. 23, 1922, pp. 70-83. Hines, Oregon, p. 16; Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," p. 55.
45. Hulbert, pp. 196 -197, 200. Also see: Parker, pp. 164-165.
46. Charles D. Schreibeis, Pioneer Education in the Pacific Northwest: 1789-1847, Portland, Metropolitan Press, 1937, pp. 61-62.

47. Gatke, "A Document of Mission History," p. 30; Hines, pp. 37, 239. Robert Moulton Gatke, ed., "Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts: Third Superintendent of the Oregon Mission," OHQ, Vol. 21, 1920, p. 169. The term 'Indian Manual Labor School' was applied to all the Methodist Indian schools at the time and each one had a similar curriculum. See: Strickland, History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 91.

48. The first reinforcements arrived Sept. 20, 1837; the second, a larger party numbering some 36 adults and 16 children, arrived June 1840. Both parties came by sea and included a doctor and many tradesmen. See: Hines, pp. 27-28, 37-38, 42, 88, 239; Strickland, pp. 122-123; Schreibeis, Pioneer Education in the Pacific Northwest, p. 61.

49. Charles Henry Carey, ed., "Diary of Reverend George Gary," OHQ, Vol. 24, 1923, pp. 83-85; Hines, pp. 35. After Cyrus Shepard's death in 1840, the first school was placed under Dr. Elijah White. William Geiger, a Presbyterian, who later went insane, was schoolmaster. Medorem Crawford, one of the teachers at the new manual labour school, wrote: "The general result of all that work on the part of the missionaries here was deleterious to the Indians. As fast as we learnt the boys to talk in English they would learn to swear. I could hardly find an exception but that they turned out the worst Indians in the country." See: Edwin V. O'Hara, Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon, Portland, Glass & Prudhomme Company, 1911, pp. 199-200; Lee, Frost, pp. 148-149, 174, 247, 255, 261-262, 303-304.

50. Carey, "Mission Record Book," pp. 237-266; Carey, "Diary of Reverend George Gary," pp. 85, 87-88, 91; Hines, p. 35.

51. Carey, "Diary of Reverend George Gary," pp. 85-91; Carey, "The Mission Record Book," pp. 265-266.

52. Rev. C. G. Nicolay, The Oregon Territory: A Geographical and Physical Account of that Country and its Inhabitants, London, Charles Knight & Company, 1846, pp. 182-183.

53. For example, see the register of the first school reprinted in: Carey, "The Mission Record Book," pp. 265-266.

54. Hussey, pp. 295-296.

55. Hines, pp. 122, 126.

56. For example, Angelique Carpentier, enrolled as Angelia Carpenter, was placed in the school by her father, a Company servant, when her mother died. See: Munnick, Catholic Church

Records: St. Paul, p. A-14; Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," p. 83.

57. Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," p. 83.

58. Horace S. Lyman, History of Oregon: The Growth of an American State, New York, North Pacific Publishing Society, MCMIII, p. 223.

59. Prior to the establishment of the Oregon Institute, the mission had been offered for sale to the Catholics, but some Methodists feared it would become a nunnery. In any case, Father DeSmet declined the offer and instead opened St. Francis Xavier Mission in the Willamette. The Indian Manual School was sold to the nine Methodist trustees of the Oregon Institute. Jason Lee was named agent for the Institute, but he died at his family home in Stanstead, Canada on March 12, 1845, before he could return to Oregon and assume the position. See: Carey, "The Methodist Annual Report", pp. 334, fn. 16, 339, 357; Hines, p. 241; O'Hara, Pioneer Catholic History, p. 88.

60. Carey, "Diary of Rev. George Gary," p. 93.

61. Carey, "Methodist Annual Reports", p. 334; Gatke, "Mission History", p. 77; Hines, p. 241.

62. Carey, "Methodist Annual Report", p. 357.

63. Gatke, "Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts," p. 169.

64. The 'low' morality in Oregon was used by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries as a justification for the creation of educational institutions. The rapid growth of schools also reflected desires to reproduce in the West the eastern mania for education which was rapidly turning the United States into a 'land of colleges'. See: Methodist Annual Report, p. 362; "Small Colleges in Oregon," OHQ, Vol. 30, 1929, p. 85. Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876, New York, Harper & Row Publishers, 1980, p. 400.

65. James Rood Robertson, "Origin of Pacific University," OHQ, Vol. 6, 1905, pp. 110-111; "Documents -- A Brimfield Heroine - Mrs. Tabitha Brown," OHQ, Vol. 5, 1904, pp. 204-205; H.S. Lyman, ed., "Recollections of Grandma Brown by Jane Kinney Smith, of Astoria," OHQ, Vol. 2, 1901, pp. 287-295.

66. Carey, "Methodist Annual Reports," pp. 353, 358.

67. Protestantism was equated with republicanism. The U.S. absorption of the Mississippi Valley and California were commonly regarded as Protestant victories over a population controlled by the Pope. In an attempt to save Oregon from the Catholics, considerable sharing of manpower and resources took place between the various Protestant missions. See: Gatke, "The Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts," pp. 45, 168, 179-181. Also see: J. Orin Oliphant, "Documents Illustrating the Beginnings of the Presbyterian Advance into the Oregon Country," WHQ, Vol. 26, 1934-35, p. 128; Malcolm Clark, Jr., "The Bigot Disclosed: 90 Years of Nativism," OHQ, Vol. 75, 1974, pp. 109-129.

68. Landerholm, p. 75. Population figures for the Willamette Valley in 1841 are given in: Wilkes, "Report on Oregon Territory," pp. 285, 291. In 1841, the area from Champoege south for about 15 miles was known as French Prairie and was the most heavily populated portion of the Valley. See: Lloyd D. Black, "Middle Willamette Valley Population Growth," OHQ, Vol. 43, 1942, pp.40-41.

69. Landerholm, pp. 30, 43, 77, 103, 146, 170, 173, 242; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, pp. xvii, xviii. Also see: Wilkes, Narrative, p.350.

70. Landerholm, pp. 145-146. The serious debt problem among the farmers of Quebec was a contributing factor to the Rebellions of 1837. See: W. Stanford Reid, "The Habitants' Standard of Living on the Seigneurie des Mille Isles 1820-50," CHR, Vol.28, No. 3, 1947, pp. 276-277.

71. Landerholm, p. 59. In seventeenth century New France, the Jesuits were tolerant of Indian dress, but the Sulpicians criticised the Jesuits for "not making the squaws wear long skirts and the braves trousers." By the nineteenth century, it appears that all the Catholic orders insisted on Euro-American dress for Indian and Metis men and women. See: W. J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, Toronto, Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1969, p. 195, fn. 21.

72. Glyndwr Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward From Sir George Simpson 1841-42, London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973, pp. xxxi, 81-83, 107; Landerholm, p. 135.

73. Eugene Duflot De Mofras, "Extract from Exploration of the Oregon Territory...1840,1841 and 1842," OHQ, Vol. 26, 1925, p. 173. (In addition to the Canadian priests, there were also American Jesuits in Oregon under the leadership of Father Peter J. De Smet. The Canadian and American Catholic Oregon missions divided the territory between themselves. Father Nobili of the American mission, for example, spent ten months at Fort Vancouver in 1844-45 as parish priest, followed by

three years in British Columbia, where he served fort, as well as, native populations throughout the area. See: Edwin V. O'Hara, "De Smut in the Oregon Country," OHQ, Vol. 10, 1909, pp. 239-262; John Bernard McGloin, "John Nobili, S.J., Founder of California's Santa Clara College: The New Caledonia Years, 1845-1848," BCHQ, Vol. 17, No.3-4, pp. 215-222; F. N. Blanchet, "Oregon Grapeshot: F.N. Blanchet, St. Paul du Wallamette to the Bishop of Quebec, November 3, 1844," OHQ, Vol. 69, 1968, p. 270; Archbishop F. N. Blanchet, The Catholic Missionaries of Oregon, Portland, June 20, 1878, p. 1, (Ms. P-A6), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.)

74. Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, Willamette Interlude, Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1959, pp. 153, 159.

75. McNamee, Willamette Interlude, pp. 163-164.

76. McNamee, p. 168-174.

77. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xix; Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," p. 55; O'Hara, pp. 124-126, 129; Landerholm, p. 234.

78. McNamee, p. 175.

79. Schreibeis, p. 66.

80. Landerholm, pp. 206, 229; O'Hara, pp.35, 124-126; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xix; Schreibeis, p. 66.

81. Landerholm, p. 206; Oliphant, "Documents Illustrating the Beginnings of the Presbyterian Advance into the Oregon Country," p. 128; Clark, "The Bigot Disclosed: 90 Years of Nativism," p. 118.

82. O'Hara, pp. 99, 160-163, 168-169.

83. Father Blanchet asserted that such works led to a mistrust of Catholics among the "ignorant population" and it might be added, they did little to enhance the lives of Catholic Metis youngsters, who in addition to having to deal with increasing racism in society, had to content with anti-Catholicism as well. See: Landerholm, p. 54; Cremin, American Education: The National Experience, p. 37; Clark, "The Bigot Disclosed," pp. 111-112.

84. There are a considerable number of first hand recollections of the massacre and the events which followed. Most mention Joe Lewis as leading the Indians to violence, however, it also appears that the Indians "told Joe Lewis that if he was on their side he must kill Francis Sager", a boy of fourteen. According to William McKay, Tom Hill had been

telling the Cayuse what they could expect once white settlers arrived en masse and had embittered the Cayuse against the missionaries. Hill, however, was in California at the time of the massacre. In any case, the Cayuse, had sufficient reasons of their own to despise the Whitmans. See: Rev. J.B. Brouillet, Authentic Accounts of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and other Missionaries by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon in 1847, Portland, S. J. McCormick Publishers, 1869, pp. 33-35; Dr. William McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS; Charles F. Ernst, ed. Told By the Pioneers: Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Washington, Vol. I, 1937, pp. 76-86; Also see: Fred Lockley, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Frank Collins," OHQ, Vol. 17, 1916, pp. 363-364; Mary Saunders, The Whitman Massacre: A True Story by a Survivor of this terrible tragedy which took place in Oregon in 1847, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1977. pp. 19-20, 28-30; Matilda J. Sager Delaney, A Survivor's Recollections of the Whitman Massacre, Spokane, 1920, p. 17-19; Catherine Sager Pringle, "Letter of Catherine Sager Pringle," OHQ, Vol. 37, 1936, pp. 356-359. Also see: O'Hara, p. 145.

85. Mrs. Mary Husted (nee Saunders), San Francisco, to John D. Manson, Victoria, Jan. 1, 1878, James Murray Yale Papers, (Ms. 537), PABC; Thompson, Shallow Graves At Waiilatpu, p. 103. Also see: J. O. A. Young, "The Whitman Mission and Massacre", Clark County History, Vol. V, 1964, p. 29.

86. Such ideas were deliberately fueled by the protestant missionaries, Rev. Griffin, Mr. Gray and Rev. Spalding in their historic writings later in the century. They used the Whitman affair to capitalize on anti-Catholic and anti-Company feelings in Oregon. See: Clark, "The Bigot Disclosed," pp. 113-118. Also see: O'Hara, pp. 145-153. The Company's reputation was further tarnished when James Douglas, one of the three chief factors at Fort Vancouver after McLoughlin's retirement in 1846, refused to lend the impoverished Oregon Legislature funds to fight an Indian war if the uprising spread. He stated that "the Company would not allow him to make such appropriation." Douglas's letter on the Whitman Massacre was published in the Friend in Honolulu and is reprinted in Brouillet, Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman, pp. 105-108. As Governor of Vancouver Island, however, Douglas lent the Governor of Washington Territory funds during subsequent Indian uprisings. See: Senate. Thirty-First Congress, Second Session, Executive Document, Message From the President of the United States, No. 72, Dec. 2, 1850, pp. 465-466; Edmond S. Meany, "Last Survivor of the Oregon Mission of 1840," WHQ, Vol. 2, 1907-08, p. 13. Gatke, "The Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts," pp. 35-37, 46-47. Despite the anti-Company and anti-Catholic sentiments among the general public, none of the survivors blamed either the Catholics or the Hudson's Bay for the massacre. In fact, they

praised the Company greatly for securing their release. See: the survivors' accounts listed in footnote 84.

87. O'Hara, pp. 144-148; Ray Hoard Glassley, Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest, Portland, Binford & Mort, 1972, pp. 27, 37-38; Schreibeis, p. 67.

88. Lewis, "Education in the Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857," pp. 220-221; O'Hara, pp. 129-130; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xix.

89. F.X. Matthieu, Refugee, Trapper & Settler, Salem, Oregon, June 14, 1878, OHS; McNamee, Willamette Interlude, p. 202.

90. William Cameron McKay, Autobiographical Notes by the Grandson of Alexander McKay, Member of the Astoria Expedition 1811, Pendleton, Oregon, May 1, 1886, Bancroft Collection, 56301, (P-A 166), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

91. Pambrun, p. 79.

92. On the Father Delorme brigade from the Willamette Valley, see: McNamee, p. 202.

93. McNamee, p. 202; O'Hara, p. 129; Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St Paul, p. xix; Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," p. 55. The "haste to be rich" also interfered with Methodist schools. See: Gatke, "Letters of the Rev. William M. Roberts: Third Installment," pp. 179-187.

94. McNamee, pp. 202, 259.

95. McNamee, pp. 251, 259, 289-290.

96. Fred Lockley, ed., Conversations with Pioneer Women, Eugene, Rainy Day Press, 1982, pp. 287-288; Maria M. Lacey to E. E. Dye, March 28, 1910, E. E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

97. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xx.

98. O'Hara, p. 160; De Mofras, "Extract From Exploration of the Oregon Territory," p. 173.

99. Munnick, Catholic Church Records: St. Paul, p. xx; Juliet Pollard, Interview with Harriet Munnick, Willamette Valley, February 16, 1984.

100. Robert George Raymer, "Educational Development in the Territory and State of Washington," WHQ, Vol. 18, 1927, p.

- 165; Julia V. Glen, "John Lyle and Lyle Farm," OHO, Vol. 26, 1925, p. 134.
101. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," pp. 55-56.
102. Louis Labonte, "Louis Labonte's Recollections of Men," OHO, Vol. 4, 1903, pp. 264-265.
103. William McKay to E.E. Dye, Aug. 10, 1891, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; Clarke, History of Old Oregon, p. 188.
104. Ranald MacDonald to E. E. Dye, March 21, 1892, Oct. 31, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.
105. Robert Birnie, Life and Adventures of Robert Birnie born at Astoria, Oregon, February 7, 1824, San Francisco, 1872, (Ms. CE65-33), Bancroft Library, Berkeley, pp. 1-2.
106. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," pp. 55-56.
107. Raymer, "Educational Development in the Territory and State of Washington," p. 165.
108. Henry Buxton to E.E. Dye, (n.d.), (Ms. 1089), E.E. Dye Papers, OHS.
109. For example, in 1841 some white male settlers left Oregon "because there were no young women to marry, except squaws or half-breeds." See: Wilkes, Narrative, p. 337.
110. Munnick, "The Earliest Three R's," p. 55.
111. For example, see: Theresa Truchot, The Black Wind, [private publication], 1974, p. 32.
112. B.A. McKelvie, ed., "Before B.C. Was Born as related by Jason O. Allard," MacLean's Magazine, May 1, 1929.
113. See: Stephen Steinberg, The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America, New York, Atheneum, 1981, pp. 47-48.
114. James Walvin, A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914, New York, Penguin Books, 1984, p. 114.
115. On the creation of pan-Indianism in the classroom, see: Sally J. McBeth, Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians, Washington D.C., University Press of America, Inc., 1983, pp. 2-5, 17-18. Also see: Ben Calf Robe, "School Days," Siksika! A Blackfoot Legacy, Invermere, Good Medicine Books, 1979, pp.

7-14; Jacqueline Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions with the Dominion: Early Catholic Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia,"; Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hollows School, 1884-1920, Indian Education in Canada, Vol. I: The Legacy, edited by Jean Barman, Yvonne Herbert and Don McCaskill, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986, pp. 88-132.

Chapter Seven

Science and the 'Half-Breed': Race and Racism

Young Franz Boas may have been the first scientist to record the "tendency in the mixed race to revert to either of the parental races." He may even have been the first to try and explain his observations using Mendel's laws of inheritance, but he was not alone in determining that many Metis were white.¹ This chapter explores the dynamics of genetic realities and racial attitudes in the lives of fur trade youngsters. It will be argued that, although individual racial attitudes towards 'half-breeds' were not consistent, racism generally increased in each decade from the 1830s into the early twentieth century, and was directly related to the new evolutionary theories emerging from science. This chapter and the one which follows will demonstrate that fur trade children grew to maturity in an increasingly hostile world and that, in the end, each child had to come to terms with what it meant to be a 'half-breed'. For some, that decision was involved with the color of their skin.

II

In 1835, Rev. Samuel Parker at Fort Vancouver commented: "It is worthy of notice, how little of the Indian complexion is seen in the half-breed children. Generally they have fair skin, often flaxen hair and blue eyes."² Parker, no doubt, overstated the case, but his comments are well taken -- some

mixed-blood children look white, others look Indian, and still others blend the physical appearances of both parental genotypes.

In the Pacific Northwest, a kind of selective breeding process existed whereby the fairest Indian and Metis women were chosen as wives partially because they provided the best assurance of light skinned children. In an age when race was deemed of utmost importance, references to Metis skin colour were commonplace. Missionary Narcissa Whitman wrote home to New England in the 1830s of the fur traders' wives: "Some are half-breeds and are so white that you can scarcely tell the difference."³ Amelia Douglas (later Lady Douglas of British Columbia) was described by Fort Vancouver schoolteacher John Ball in the early 1830s as "the lightest.. half breed woman" at the fort.⁴ Eloise McLoughlin, chief factor John McLoughlin's daughter, was noted for her 'fair skin and blonde hair.'⁵ An old friend of Dr. William McKay said of him in 1867 that "his family name was Scotch, but his complexion" corresponded "more aptly to the celebrated snuff of that name."⁶ In 1904, Donald Ross in Edmonton wrote to the historian Eva Dye in Portland, "I met Col. McDonald in 1887 a half brother of Ranald and son of A. [Archibald] The Col. had no sign of mixed blood in him and at that time was Indian Agent at Qu'apple [sic], NWT."⁷

Native people also commented on Metis appearances. At Fort Simpson the Indians called the Work youngsters "God's

children" -- on account of their flaxen heads. Some of the children...were almost white headed."⁸ In turn, gentlemen's sons were quick to comment on the complexion of their fellow 'half-breeds'. Andrew Pambrun, for example, referred to James Bird, alias Jimmie Jock, a well educated Metis renegade who lived among the Blackfeet Indians, as "a large finely built man, very fair for a half-breed".⁹

According to the historian George W. Stocking, Jr., Boas "spent a good bit of time measuring heads and his inquiry was directed to such long mooted issues as the viability of racial hybrids."¹⁰ Such inquiries may have been 'long mooted', but the reality of differing racial appearances within individual Metis families had and continues to have profound consequences in the lives of mixed-blood children. Far from having no practical significance, the real biological differences of complexion variability between fur trade children and their parents is of crucial importance in understanding their culture and what happened to it.

If all Metis looked like Indians or white people, it seems certain their fate would have been different. But this was not the case. Historically, relations between Metis and Indian have been uneven, even hostile at times. Just as it has been common to regard all Indians as if they were one interchangeable people, when in fact the term Indian was a European invention with no equivalent in native languages, it has also been assumed that 'half-breeds' were welcomed by

native relatives.¹¹ In reality, however, Metis relationships with Indians were as ambiguous as their relations with white people. At one extreme were men like James Sinclair, who "though part Indian," when faced with a possible threat from the Blackfeet, "was afraid of them so much that he never went out of his tent after dark," while at the other extreme were fur trade children like the McKay brothers and William Pion, who were known as "born Indian fighters" and, in the case of Pion, an "Indian hater."¹² As Maria Campbell comments in her book, Halfbreed (1979), "There never was much love lost between Indian and Halfbreeds."¹³ This is not to suggest that harmonious relationships were unusual or that all Indians practiced discrimination, but rather that existing tensions helped to reinforce Metis identities in some settings by making them a group apart from whites and Indians.

Both Indians and Europeans showed preferences for their own people. It is perhaps not too farfetched to speculate that, if native people had remained in control of western North America where Americans and Canadians settled, white skinned half-breeds would have become the target of prejudicial treatment (much like those children fathered by American troops and left in Viet Nam), and their darker siblings would have been favored. But, of course, Euro-Americans quickly came to dominate the region and made it infinitely easier for those Metis who were white to become members of the mainstream than it did for their siblings with

'Indian' looks.

Although skin color is perceived differently in different societies and at different time periods, in nineteenth century United States and British North America one might argue that the issue of racial difference could only have been a 'moot point' if either native or Euro-American society had been colour blind. Neither group was unconscious of race, however, and consequently, differences in appearance divided Metis families in a variety of ways: the fairest tended to receive the lion's share of societal rewards, such as access to higher education, while the darkest were often harassed and treated like Indians.¹⁴

More than any other factor, the genetic variability of Metis people through the intermarriage of Indians and whites since the beginning of colonization explains why thousands of white North Americans within mainstream society can legitimately claim Indian ancestry even though there is nothing about their appearance or culture to link them to their native past. At some point in time, their Metis relatives chose to relinquish their native ties, if only from the view of the dominant society, and survived by assimilation into the mainstream. Access was provided by a white complexion and enough familiarity with the capitalist system, Christianity and other Euro-American values to afford a relatively easy transition.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all

'white' Metis seized the opportunities open to them because of their physical appearance. As shocking as it was to ethnocentric Euro-Americans, some Metis preferred their own ways to those of the newcomers. Roots in fur trade culture were not easily dismissed and were often restructured to take advantage of changes in the socio-economic environment. Indeed, from the photographs which remain of sons and daughters at Fort Vancouver, there are few visible characteristics to distinguish many of them from any other Euro-Americans of the same class in the same time period. Yet, some of those who looked white came to be identified more closely with Indians than with white Americans. For these youngsters, nurture was a more important determining force in their lives than nature.

With the decline of the fur trade, however, the offspring of Hudson's Bay Company employees increasingly became lumped together with the more numerous 'half-breed' proteges of the goldminers and other men who sought their fortunes in the Pacific Northwest. Unlike the fur trade youngsters, these children lived largely within the dominant society. They had no cohesive force, such as the fur trade, which might have led to a distinctive culture of their own. Instead, most of them were raised as white children and the dominant culture was their culture. Others, largely the children of Indian women who had been abandoned were raised as natives and identified themselves as Indians. As the late nineteenth century

Canadian ethnologist Daniel Wilson aptly observed, in a statement that might well have applied to the whole of the Pacific Northwest, the lack of white female immigrants in British Columbia meant that the population increased "through the association with the squaws that hang round" the settlements and the "descendants of this varied admixture of nationalities will, doubtless, talk as freely of 'Anglo-Saxon' rights and duties as [in] any of the older settlements."¹⁵ In short, half-breed children born within the mainstream did not share the burden of generations of fur trade culture.

The movement of fur trade children into the general population after mid-century was set against a background of increasing racism in society and anyone who had "Indian blood coursing through their veins."¹⁶ While there is little historical documentation to record this phenomenon, it seems clear that as Euro-American attitudes towards half-breeds hardened with each passing decade, it became commonplace for Metis to forget their Indian heritage in an attempt to lessen the burden it imposed upon themselves and their children.¹⁷ A 1926 study of mixed-bloods in Virginia noted that many of them "had gone away to other places and in many communities have passed for white and married into white stocks."¹⁸ Similarly, a descendant of the fur trade stated: "It was bad enough being French on the Canadian Prairies, without being French Canadian and Indian. When the family moved to British Columbia at the turn of the century, we simply became French

Canadian and forgot our Indian ancestry."¹⁹ The same was true for fur trade children in the Pacific Northwest, for racism, rooted in contemporary scientific assumptions, might vary in different locales, but in the end knew no regional boundaries.²⁰ Being white skinned or looking Euro-American helped in the transition.

III

Contemporary ideas about Indians and half-breeds were never far from the country born children growing up in the Pacific Northwest. The youngsters were infants when John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet, employed Indian agents under his direction to prepare natives "for a full participation and enjoyment with [other] citizens of America," but they were adults in 1870 when Metis, including the former Fort Vancouver student, Dr. William McKay, were disenfranchised because of their Indian blood.²¹ McKay took legal action, but the U.S. District Court declared that he was either a British citizen or an Indian and neither made him eligible to vote. Eventually, McKay was 'naturalized' by a special act of Congress signed by his old friend, President Grant, but the goodwill of presidents did not flow down to other less fortunate fur trade children.²² The case was symptomatic of the new order of things in the Pacific Northwest, which unfolded as the fur trade children became adults and society increasingly linked their future to that of the Indians, rather than the white man. In brief,

scientific developments failed to counter commonplace prejudices and were the source of many widely held views detrimental to the welfare of mixed-blood populations.

For servants' children, many of whom were second generation Metis, their first taste of discrimination probably came in school where teachers and textbooks stressed the superiority of Euro-Americans over native people.²³ By mid-century, American and European racial theorists were providing a mass of materials defending innate differences between the various families of mankind.²⁴ Two persistent features of this racism were the belief in the natural inequality of human beings and the readiness of those in positions of authority to generalize freely about the character of racial and ethnic groups without any systematic study. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, ideas emanating from such scientific disciplines as anthropology bound together racism, disguised as biological determinism, and ethnocentricity, which favored Anglo-Saxon culture, so that anyone with Indian blood was doubly tainted.²⁵

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Fort Vancouver children were born, laymen commonly identified half-breeds by visual observation, while scientists debated whether they were a new race or 'hybrids', the offspring of two distinct species. Polygenists, those who believed in multiple origins of mankind, argued that they were hybrids; while monogenists, those who believed in a single act of

creation, contended that half-breeds were 'mongrels' derived from a single species.²⁶

In science, the most widely-accepted definition of species was that of the French naturalist George L. L. de Buffon whose 'doctrine of immutability' postulated that two animals belonged to the same species if they could perpetuate themselves by copulation.²⁷ The creation of a "third race", as Alexis De Tocqueville called the mixed-bloods he encountered while visiting America during 1831-32, provided living proof of Buffon's theory, thus supporting monogenists' claims and lending credence to the notion that the way to solve the 'Indian problem' was through miscegenation, which was taken to mean the interbreeding of whites and Indians.²⁸

With outspoken scientists asserting that the children of Indian-white unions would become white rather than Indian in only three generations, miscegenation was a respectable idea that drew support from leading members of society.²⁹ President Thomas Jefferson vigorously declared that Indians were "on a level with whites in the same uncultivated state," and was fond of telling various Indian groups: "You will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins and will spread with ours over this great land."³⁰ In a lighter mood, the statesman William Byrd declared: "a sprightly lover is the most prevailing Missionary that can be sent amongst these, or any other infidels."³¹ Like the Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush, these men believed that interracial mating

would result in a unified American people and insure the future of the Republic.³² And, in this amalgamation, the half-breed would be, as De Tocqueville observed, "the natural link between civilization and barbarism."³³

Even Dr. Charles Caldwell, a man noted for his outspoken racist views, thought that the only way to advance the Indian was "to cross the breed," so that "the more white blood, the more civilization."³⁴ In England, Professor Herman Merivale, later to be the British Colonial Secretary, expounded similar sentiments in a series of lectures he gave at Oxford University between 1839 and 1841. He stated:

I am most anxious to impress upon your minds, because I firmly believe it to be the very keystone, the leading principle, of all sound theory on the subject [of native people] -- that native races must in every instance either perish, or be amalgamated with the general population of their country. By amalgamation, I mean the union of natives with settlers in the same community . . . and, if possible, as connected by intermarriage."³⁵

Such views also found popular support in the fur trade where fathers dreamed of bright futures for their Metis offspring. But, as Alexander Ross (a Scottish schoolteacher and Astorian who remained with the British fur trade after Astor's enterprise failed) observed, government intervention was necessary if half-breeds were to become agents of civilization. As he put it:

By these means [fur trade marriages] a close alliance is found between the leaders and the aborigines of the country and might, by means of their offspring, be instrumental in bringing civilization among the Indians were some wise policy adopted for the government and care of half-breeds,

whose destiny it is to be left in indigence by poor parents in this far-distant region of the earth.³⁶

Miscegenation had been encouraged in the 1600's in New France. Subsidies for intermarriage had been supported by the British Colonial Office from 1719 to 1766. In the United States, Patrick Henry introduced a bill to encourage miscegenation between Indians and whites in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1784. But, the English and American policies were debated rather than proclaimed as legislation. Despite the rhetoric of President Jefferson in the United States and Herman Merivale in England, and the encouragement of philanthropists in both countries, the last and only nineteenth century proposal to provide bounties for Indian-white marriages was defeated in 1824.³⁷ Indeed, the pendulum swung in the other direction by century's end. Miscegenation was not only deemed sinful between Indians and whites (and between Blacks and whites), but various American states passed legislation forbidding interracial marriage and in some cases declared the progeny of such unions illegitimate.³⁸

In the United States, miscegenation as an answer to the 'Indian problem' lost its appeal when the civilizing process failed to keep pace with frontiersmen's desires for Indian lands; it was replaced by more expedient solutions such as Indian removals and extermination.³⁹ In Hudson's Bay Company territory in the 1840s, the words of Sir John Franklin, the famed arctic explorer, echoed those of Alexander Ross:

The half-breed American Indians are upon the whole,

a good looking people, and where the experiments have been made, have shown much expertness in learning and willingness to be taught; they have however, been sadly neglected."⁴⁰

The idea of miscegenation had suggested an important role that Metis might play in society, but when the idea became unpopular American attitudes towards half-breeds became ambivalent. The Metis were seen as an undesirable population with few social assets. Indeed, in the twentieth century when Franz Boas proposed miscegenation as a means of furthering equality between blacks and whites in the United States, he was badly out of touch with the views of his contemporaries who paradoxically concurred "that almost all existing races were of mixed ancestry."⁴¹

IV

Although the expansion of Europe was as much an outcome of copulation and concubinage as of Christianity and commerce, a myth (largely propagated by historians bent on creating national identities) developed that the union of white and red races had never really taken place except among fur traders and frontiersmen.⁴² In the 1880s, the prolific French Canadian historian, Benjamin Sulte, informed his readers that racial interbreeding had increased the Indian population, not the white. French Canadians were not the "descendants of savages" and as for the half-breeds, they were an inferior race, "lower than European, but higher than the indigenous element."⁴³ In more recent times, Francis Prucha, a leading American historian of Indians, has argued that "There was of

course some intermixture, as is inevitable when two races come in contact, but by and large it was replacement of the Indians on the land by the whites, not intermingling, that marked the English colonization."⁴⁴

Historians may perhaps be excused for being blind; no doubt the majority of Metis youngsters in the older colonies survived by assimilation into mainstream society. Nevertheless, in the 1880s, while Benjamin Sulte was making his historical pronouncements, Daniel Wilson, the ethnologist, was quick to recognize "the semi-Indian features in the gay assemblies at a Canadian Governor-General's reception, in the halls of the Legislature, among the undergraduates of Canadian universities and mingling in selectest social circles." Wilson concluded:

In Lower Canada half-breeds and men and women of partial Indian blood, are constantly met with in all ranks of life...there is hardly among the original settlers a family in the lower ranks, and not many in the higher, who have not some traces of Indian blood [and] this is, what has been going on in every new American settlement for upwards of three centuries.⁴⁵

Indeed, the historian Mary Young contends that Indians themselves survived by assimilation and "for that reason scholars have probably much underestimated the success (by ethnocentric standards) of assimilationist policies."⁴⁶

The historians' obstructed vision was in keeping with the racial beliefs of the late nineteenth century. Such self-imposed ignorance was convenient since it masked the shocking fact, as Wilson and other scientists pointed out, that a large

percentage of early colonial populations, perhaps even the majority in some areas, were of mixed-blood origins. Nevertheless, in the East it was common, even in anthropological circles, to consider mixed Indian-white populations who had cultures distinct from native Indian people as surviving Indians, rather than 'half-breeds' with unique cultural identities of their own.⁴⁷

Some of these communities retained their mixed-blood identities into the twentieth century. For example, a 1926 study revealed a population of more than 15,000 mixed-bloods (Indian-white, with some Black admixture) living in distinct communities in Virginia and North Carolina. In each case, genealogy revealed that these people were descendants of early colonists. In the case of the "Rivers," numbering over 1300 people, their roots were traced to the John White colony of 120 men under Raleigh in 1587 and friendly Indians up 'river'. In 1979, the disadvantaged "Freejacks" of Louisiana, a mixed-blood group with a distinctive culture and social status from whites, had a population of 2,500, although it was a common survival practice among the Freejacks to 'pass as white' and leave the community.⁴⁸

V

The reality was obvious. Contact had resulted not only in Metis communities, but also some Indians had adopted white ways. Nevertheless, it was more expedient for politicians and others in positions of power to believe that the Indians were

as 'uncivilized' as they had ever been and that attempts at acculturation had been unsuccessful. Such interpretations were in keeping with the growing attention paid to polygenists after 1830, who advocated the doctrine of distinct races and made the assumption that blacks, Indians and Metis were inferior to whitemen. The thesis of 'inferiority' gave 'moral' justification to black slavery and Indian removals, (since both were incapable of being civilized), but had difficulty in explaining mixed blood populations.

To get around Buffon's doctrine of species, and establish evidence that Indians and whites were separate races, polygenists claimed that Metis were less fertile than their parents and that they would deteriorate and ultimately disappear.⁴⁹ Such ideas were common in popular literature and lingered into the twentieth century when Harvey W. Scott, editor of the Oregonian, wrote that: "The [fur trade] offspring of white marriages with Indians, though often worthy persons, seldom were long lived."⁵⁰

Metis youngsters were deemed "faulty stock," a violation of nature's laws, and were considered to have the worst vices of both races.⁵¹ According to the South's leading polygenist, Dr. Josiah Clark Nott, who was mainly interested in developing scientific theories in support of black slavery, but who also made comments about the offspring of Indian-white unions, hybrid women were prone to disease. In his words, they were

"bad breeders and bad nurses -- many of them do not conceive at all -- most are subject to abortion and a large portion of their children die at an early age." Half-breeds and Indians were dominated by "dull animal passions." They were unclean, idle, and undisciplined.⁵² From the polygenists' point of view, they were distinctly inferior and could never become good American citizens.

In spite of growing scientific evidence after mid-century reaffirming the oneness of man and the opposition of many Christian churches, polygenist views remained common.⁵³ In the 1850s and 60s, rancorous debates over the origins of man took place in Britain with such notables as Robert Knox and James Hunt (the founder of the Anthropological Society of London in 1863) subscribing to the polygenic racial typology. In the latter part of the century, the French and German schools of anthropology were inclined towards polygenesis.⁵⁴ By this time, various interpretations of the Darwinian theory of the "Descent of Man" were being applied to the old question of man's origins. For some, like the president of the Paris Anthropological Society, this meant that "American Indians were American in origin" since, in his view, Darwin had failed to establish a relationship between the human inhabitants of the new world and those of the old.⁵⁵

VI

In retrospect, it seems clear that 'civilized' men did not want to recognize the relationship between themselves and

'savages'. While polygenists tended to make the most flagrant racist statements, monogenists were no less convinced that blacks, Indians and mixed-bloods were inferior to whites. Both groups championed the concept of racial purity and their ideas achieved mass dissemination through the various journals of the new popular sciences of phrenology and later eugenics.

The many facets of phrenology, which Robert Tracy summarizes as "a science of mind, a popular fad, a reforming philosophy and a language for the discussion of human relationships," are beyond the scope of this study and have been dealt with in recent works.⁵⁶ What was important about phrenology in the lives of Oregon Metis children, however, was that it addressed all the major reform movements of the day including child rearing, education and Indian policy.⁵⁷

From its beginnings in the late eighteenth century phrenology, derived from two Greek words, mind and discourse, was controversial.⁵⁸ Considered a pseudoscience by some and a serious discipline by others, as historian Roger Cooter makes clear, the boundary lines between the two were never sharply defined and cannot fully be explained by its subsequent rise and fall in popularity.⁵⁹ Indeed, phrenology became a locus for conflicting ideas of human nature and social organization by those who embraced the 'science' and those who attacked it. In the first half of the nineteenth century, it was accepted by many eminent scientists and doctors. Ultimately one branch of phrenology gained scientific

credibility through later developments in neurology. Even in 1900, however, when phrenology had long since left the laboratory and had become a kind of quackery practiced by charlatans, ideas derived from it continued in discussions on Indian education.⁶⁰ In the intervening years, phrenology found widespread popularity first among the middle class, then among the masses.⁶¹

It was the founder of phrenology, Dr. Franz Joseph Gall and his disciple Dr. Kasper Spurzheim, who demonstrated that the brain was the center of intellect. As a consequence of their pioneering work, a division of phrenology, called "practical phrenology," sought to provide a topography of the mind which would explain the formation of character through the cultivation of intellect or, as they saw it, the evolution of the brain.⁶² In the latter context, phrenologists spurred a new awareness of child development and the need for education.

Essentially, phrenologists argued that a healthy body was necessary to a developing brain and supported programs of outdoor activities for children, while disapproving of constant and repetitive mental exercises at an early age. As one phrenologist and educational reformer put it, healthy children should be allowed "all the liberty in their training that they can take without abusing it..."⁶³ For Horace Mann, the founder of the American public school system and prominent phrenologist, what this meant was nothing less than a uniform,

secular system of education for children of all classes which would insure the development of youngsters' minds and, in turn, the prosperity of the nation.⁶⁴ In England, Mann's mentor, the leading Scottish phrenologist George Combe, supported a similar universal school system, but with less success.⁶⁵

The children at Fort Vancouver might have received some benefits from the educational reforms of the phrenologists, but the school superintendent, Rev. Herbert Beaver, who was familiar with the ideas of phrenology, was never allowed to implement phrenology's theories in the classroom during his two year stay from 1836-38 at the fort. Although Beaver expressed concerns about the pupils 'sensibilities,' a term phrenologists frequently used in discussing children, his understanding of phrenology also led him to conclude that half-breed students needed more time than white children in the classroom because of their Indian heritage. There was, he wrote, "the absolute necessity of an early and careful development of the dormant faculties of the almost vacant minds of our half-savage, half-civilized, but wholly ignorant and vicious youth."⁶⁶

What Beaver revealed was the other, darker side of phrenology, which reinforced the view that half-breeds were less intelligent than Euro-Americans because they were half-Indian. In the 1830s, both Dr. Spurzheim and George Combe, the world's two leading phrenologists, ventured across the

Atlantic to study "the American Indian." They concluded that the Indians had a peculiar organization of mental organs which made them mentally inferior, as well as "intractable and untameable [sic]".⁶⁷ As for the half-breeds, Combe declared that they were "decidedly superior in mental qualities to the native, while ... still inferior to the European parent."⁶⁸

A few people took exception to Combe's view of the 'half-breeds'. For example, in 1849, Alexander Ramsay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Minnesota, argued that the Metis of Red River were "a superior race who partaking largely of the Anglo-Saxon blood, are marked by many of its energetic and best characteristics." Ramsay, however, had a Metis family and no doubt his comments were regarded as biased.⁶⁹ The ethnologist Daniel Wilson's views probably carried more weight. He argued that the Metis were "superior in every respect, both mentally and physically" to the Indian and on a par with white people, but his opinions were written later in the century when phrenology had lost favor with the middle classes.⁷⁰

In short, phrenologists' preoccupation with psychological or internal traits generally led them to conclude that the Indian mind, and, consequently, the 'half-breed' mind, were different from the white man's. At the center of phrenological doctrine was the idea that a small brain could not manifest a powerful mind; the mind could be developed by education, but its effects were limited by the "original organization". The

original organization of Indian brains was considered, by many, as unsuitable for development. Phrenologists also believed that intelligence was determined by brain size and that each race manifested its cultural traits through the shape of the cranium. Not only were some Indian crania found to be smaller, but Indians did not seem to possess the ability to reason, think abstractly, or accept change.⁷¹

Consequently, polygenists and others used phrenology to scoff at attempts to 'civilize' the Indians by claiming that the Indian's mental deficiencies were so great no change was possible. They employed history to show that the subjugation of black and red people and feeble white people by stronger members of their own race was the 'natural course of events'. Many concurred with the polygenist, Dr Charles Caldwell, whose phrenological investigations in the 1820s led him to conclude:

When the wolf, the buffalo and the panther shall have been completely domesticated, like the dog, the cow, and the household cat, then, and not before, may we expect to see the 'full-blooded' Indian civilized, like the white man.⁷²

By contrast, educational and Indian reformers used phrenology to argue that Indians and Metis were capable of change if they were forced to exercise their brains through education in a new environment. While Jefferson had argued that Indian intelligence was equal to that of "homo sapiens Europaeus," there was a general consensus even among the reformers by the mid-1800s that Indians and half-breeds were mentally inferior.⁷³ The intelligence of native and Metis

people was not a issue between those who opposed Indian education and those who favored it, rather their debate rested on the different interpretations each group placed on the phrenologists' theories about how much time was necessary to bring about the gradual development of mental faculties. All agreed that change was an extremely slow process, but, whereas polygenists saw the time factor as a death knell for the Indians, reformers raced the clock in an attempt to lead Indians to civilization before it was too late.⁷⁴

When phrenologists talked of principles of gradual and progressive improvement, they were presenting a theory of evolution. Indeed, popular phrenological works like Robert Chambers' Introduction to Science and Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation (1844) which, in the words of science historian Ernst Mayr, "thoroughly shook up the educated world of Britain", and went through four editions in seven months, prepared the way for Charles Darwin's Origin of Species (1859). Like Darwin, Chambers presented a doctrine of organic evolution in which living species pass through stages of development. He initiated the idea of a natural descent of species from a common ancestor and presupposed that certain peoples were less developed, or immature versions, or earlier stages of humanity.⁷⁵

On December 9, 1847, Joseph Thomas Health, a Hudson's Bay Company tenant farmer on Nisqually Plains (present day Steilacoom, Washington State), wrote in his journal:

Ploughing and harrowing. Treading and feeding off wheat. Sent to the Fort [Nisqually] for provisions for my people and half a dozen fowls to the steamer as presents. Got the loan from Captain [Charles] Dodd of six volumes of Chambers', several numbers of the U.S. Journal and other books.⁷⁶

Health's loan of Chambers was somewhat slow in coming, for, by 1841, six copies of "Chamber's [sic] introduction to the sciences" designed for schools were already in use in the Fort Vancouver classroom.⁷⁷ The students who read Chambers were given the impression that 'mongrels' or mixed-bloods, terms commonly employed in scientific works, were on a higher evolutionary scale than Indians, but on a lower scale than whites. Although we cannot be certain which youngsters read these works, nor how they compartmentalized the material, such writings could not have enhanced the childrens' self esteem. In effect, they were being taught that they were superior to their Indian mothers, but inferior to their white fathers. It was a lesson not easily forgotten and one which reinforced the notion that they were a people "in-between."

While the students were being acquainted with contemporary science, data from amassed collections of skulls from around the world attempted to prove a definite correlation between the shape of the head and the level of civilization. From such questionable evidence, craniologists, many of whom were phrenologists, believed they had conclusive proof that Indians and half-breeds were inferior to whitemen. As a result, they opposed interracial marriage. "The wisest policy, they thought," writes David de Giustino in Conquest

of Mind: Phrenology and Victorian Social Thought (1975), "was one which insured a happy cooperation among the mentally advanced peoples of the Anglo-Saxon world and western Europe." For phrenologists, the greatest and most subtle danger rested with the most primitive races. It involved the long-term and negative effects on the nation state of intermarriage with inferior peoples.⁷⁸

Long before the turn of the twentieth century, when the American social Darwinist, G. Stanley Hall popularized his theory of 'embryonic recapitulation,' which attempted to apply Darwinian biological ideas to the educational psychology of adolescence, phrenologists were arguing that every child had to live through all prior stages of human cultural history before he or she could appreciate and accept the present stage of evolution.⁷⁹

As a concept, "The child is the father of the man" could be traced back to the Greeks, but it was revitalized and given a new biological focus in the nineteenth century by phrenologists who were influenced by the 'Naturphilosophie' of Germany and the French transcendental morphologists' beliefs in recapitulation.⁸⁰ In this "embryonic hierarchy", Indians and to a lesser extent half-breeds were frequently placed in childhood. As the widely-read historian Francis Parkman put it: "Barbarism is to civilization as childhood is to maturity ... [The Indian] will not learn the arts of civilization, and he and his forest must perish together."⁸¹

VII

During the 1830s and '40s, the conclusions of Dr. Samuel G. Morton, the father of American physical anthropology, proved more acceptable to the American public's growing concerns about racial questions in the United States than the older enlightenment views of the founding fathers of the nation. Morton, who remained non-committal about polygenist theory and phrenology, nevertheless tended to favour both in his work. Morton was in the process of compiling his epochal text Crania Americana during George Combe's visit to the United States in 1839, and the two men soon teamed up to measure the vast array of Indian skulls Morton had collected using the new phrenological instruments and techniques.⁸² Consciously or unconsciously, Morton manipulated the data by averaging the smaller crania of South American Indians with the larger North American Indian crania so that the average skull size of native people was below that of Caucasians. Ultimately, Morton argued that Indians ranked fourth in cranial capacity after Caucasians, Mongolians and Malaysians and that only blacks had smaller brains than Indians.⁸³

Morton's influence on beliefs about Indians and consequently half-breeds was substantial. For the next quarter century after the publication of Crania Americana, the "celebrated Dr. Morton" was regarded as the most important expert on American Indians.⁸⁴ Based on Morton's cranial studies, the mass readership of such popular phrenological

tracts as S.R. Wells' The Illustrated Annuals of Phrenology (1865-1868) were told:

In character, the American Indian, as his organization indicates, is active, energetic, dignified, grave, firm, cautious, cunning, stern, cruel, revengeful, and unrelenting. His perceptive faculties are largely developed, but his power of abstract reasoning are small, and the range of his mind very limited... They are averse to mental cultivation, and consequently seem destined to die away ere long before the 'march of civilization'.⁸⁵

The spinoff from phrenological studies on Indians reached virtually every fur trading fort and army post in the West. Indeed, collecting crania became something of a cottage industry which lasted long after the lustre of phrenology had worn away. In 1888, for example, Franz Boas recorded that stealing bones from graves was unpleasant work, but "someone has to do it." It was indeed a messy business. Not only were unscrupulous men paid to steal recently buried bodies (which were considered superior to old burials) in the name of science, but wherever the work was carried on there was "a most abominable stench" from boiling the Indian skulls.⁸⁶

Native people of the Pacific Northwest were of particular interest to phrenologists because of their various conical shaped heads. At Fort Vancouver, John K. Townsend, the Philadelphia ornithologist and phrenologist who was fort doctor from October 1835 to March 1836, managed to steal a skull, which he claimed was that of a Chinook chief, and sent his trophy to his good friend Samuel Morton. Townsend candidly wrote Morton from the Pacific Northwest in 1835:

It is rather a perilous business to procure Indians' skulls in this country -- The natives are so jealous of you that they watch you very closely while you are wandering near their mausoleums & instant & sanguinary vengeance would fall upon the luckless ... There is an epidemic raging among them which carries them off so fast that the cemeteries will soon lack watchers -- I don't rejoice in the prospects of death of the poor creatures certainly, but then you know it will be very convenient for my purposes.⁸⁷

Earlier in the same year, twenty-five year old naturalist Dr. Meredith Gairdner, the Fort Vancouver physician before Townsend, decapitated the body of the famed one-eyed Chinook Chief Comcomly (the grandfather of fur trade children Ranald McDonald and Billy McKay, who had died of malaria five years earlier) and sent it to his mentor, Sir John Richardson, the noted Arctic explorer, for the Haslar Museum near Portsmouth, England. Flushed with the success of attaining such a prize, Gairdner wrote Richardson, "When the phrenologists look at his frontal development what will they say to this?"⁸⁸

Following the departure of Gairdner and Townsend, Dr. William Tolmie, who spent 1837-8 studying phrenology in France and England, began procuring coastal Indian skulls for the Inverness Museum in Scotland.⁸⁹ By 1860, there appears to have been a steady supply of West Coast Indian skulls and plaster casts of skulls for museums around the world even though there was no consensus about their significance as objects to be studied or measured.⁹⁰

While men of science could claim that there was an

urgent necessity to amass crania and other ethnographic artifacts because the 'uncivilized' races were rapidly changing and extinction was eminent, collecting body segments of Indians and other native artifacts became increasingly fashionable with the general public. The old Cayuse Chief Pupu-mux-mux, murdered by volunteers during the Cayuse Indian War, had his ears preserved in alcohol and kept on exhibition in the Oregonian newspaper office in Portland.⁹¹ An offer of ten thousand dollars was indignantly refused by the Modoc Indian people for the body of Captain Jack, one of their chiefs who was hanged for his part in the Oregon Indian wars. His skull nevertheless ended up in the private possession of one Colonel Robert A. Miller of Portland.⁹²

While the focus of phrenologists was on Indians, 'half-breeds' were not entirely neglected.⁹³ In 1838, when Rev. Jason Lee returned to the United States from Oregon, he took the three McKay boys from Fort Vancouver, including 14 year old William who was on route to medical school, and two Chinook Indian lads, William Brooks and Thomas Adams, who were students at his Willamette Mission, to have their heads felt and measured by George Combe, then visiting the United States. As a result of this meeting, a likeness of Thomas Adams, who had the most flattened skull of the two Indian boys, ended up as a frontal plate in an edition of Combe's The Constitution of Man, and Rev. Lee and his protegee, William McKay, received mention. Despite this encounter with the intelligent William

McKay, however, Combe clung to the notion that the half-breeds' mental capacities were less than their white fathers.⁹⁴

There was virtually no scientific evidence to support this contention, but it was believed to be true and gave a rationale for white supremacy.⁹⁵ At the same time, the belief that the Metis had 'superior intellect' over that of the Indian provided an ethnocentric explanation to justify the preference of some mixed-bloods for native lifestyles over Euro-American ones. This belief was used to explain the Metis' well known capacity for leadership among Indians on the frontier and why such leaders were feared by many whitemen.⁹⁶ Indeed, the founding of the retired servants settlement in the Willamette in 1828-9 was largely predicated on John McLoughlin's belief that half-breeds were natural leaders among the Indians. In the 1840s, he recalled:

As the half breeds are in general leaders among Indians, and they would be a thorn in the side of the whites, I insisted they should go to the Willamette, where their children could be brought up as whites and Christians, and brought to cultivate the ground and imbued with the feelings and sympathies of whites, and where their mothers would serve as hostages for the good behavior of their relatives in the interior.⁹⁷

VI

For gentlemen's youngsters, the first knowledge that they were 'different' probably came at home where childrearing practices were heavily influenced by their father's beliefs about the nature of Indians and half-breeds. In 1833, the

young Dr. Tolmie had attempted to teach native children to read and write, but, by 1841, after wholeheartedly embracing phrenology, a considerable revolution took place in his ideas. "I saw that Missionary labour amongst the Indians was impractical and fruitless in good results either to the teachers, or the taught."⁹⁸

The same kind of negative thinking became prevalent in discussions about mixed-blood youngsters, especially the boys. Although the gentlemen clung to education as the panacea that would assure the success of their children in the larger society, doubts about their abilities crept into their thinking. By the 1850s, their sons were increasingly being viewed in terms of "the general downward tendency of half-breed young men."⁹⁹

Francis Ermatinger, who had given little personal attention to his partially deaf son, Lawrence, began to suggest that the boy's backwardness was not only due to the poor school at Fort Vancouver, but also implied that his son's problems had something to do with his Indian nature. In 1841, he decided that he could not make Lawrence into a gentleman and "that he must be taught to work." By the end of the decade, he refused even to correspond with his son, who was then living with his brother in Upper Canada, because it might give Lawrence hope that he would be recognized as the son of a gentleman.¹⁰⁰ "I regret to say," wrote John Tod to a fellow trader, that "the Family of our late departed friend [John]

Work ... seems overwhelmed with grief at the reckless profligacy of the elder Son ... the other Son, altho sufficiently temperate, as regards drink, is Yet in my opinion, a much more despicable character than his brother."¹⁰¹

According to pioneer John Minto, Archibald McDonald, who had championed education for his children, suffered "keen disappointment [over] the results education bestowed on his half breed son" Ranald.¹⁰² McDonald expressed these sentiments in a letter to his friend Edward Ermatinger:

Much better to dream of less for them ... and to endeavour to bring them up in habits of industry, economy and morality, than to aspire to all this visionary greatness for them. All the wealth of Rupert's Land will not make a half-breed either a good person, a shining lawyer, or an able physician, if left to his own direction while young.¹⁰³

Underlying such statements was the subtle and unexpressed notion that 'Indian blood' was the cause of their sons' failures, rather than any parental neglect or prejudice in society. In short, some fathers blamed their wives' heritage, rather than their own, for all manner of wayward youthful behaviour which did not conform to their wishes and expectations. It was a poor rationale and one which heaped unwarranted abuse on their native and Metis wives and their children.

IX

Although stationed in the remote Pacific Northwest, Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen shared in the layman's passion for science that characterized the first three quarters of

the nineteenth century. During this time, the overwhelming majority of members of the various anthropological and ethnological societies were middle class men like themselves without any specific scientific training.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, in the 1850s and '60s, the Smithsonian Institution, with the support of the Hudson's Bay Company, solicited the gentlemen traders "to promote the interests of science by all the legitimate means" in their power.¹⁰⁵ Some Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen were considered experts on Indians and Indian affairs.¹⁰⁶ Rather than passive observers, Company officers actively contributed to the 'scientific' knowledge of the times. Their writings also tended to reinforce the contemporary, often ambivalent views of aboriginal and mixed-blood people.

The gentlemen's works tend to fall into two categories -- those written as ethnology, like Alexander C. Anderson's "Notes on Indian Tribes of North America" (1836), which describes native life-styles, languages and populations -- and narratives, such as Alexander Ross's The Fur Hunters of the Far West; A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon and Rocky Mountains (1855), which outlines his personal adventures in the fur trade and, as he put it in his earlier work, Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River (1849), "the trials and misfortunes which the first adventurers had to undergo among the Indians."¹⁰⁷

Editorial practice in the nineteenth century was to extensively revise fur trade manuscripts to make them conform

to accepted rhetorical practices. Nevertheless, none of the published writings of the fur trade officers that have been examined mention that the author's themselves are fathers of 'half breed' children. While Ross's Fur Hunters made a plea for the education of fur trade children, his description of the 'half-breeds' reinforced those found in scientific writings. Ross wrote:

Half-breeds, or as they are more generally styled, brules, from the peculiar colour of their skin, being of a swarthy hue, as if sunburnt, as they grow up resemble, almost in every respect, the pure Indian. With this difference that they are more designing, more daring, and more dissolute. They are indolent, thoughtless, and improvident. Licentious in their habits, unbounded in their desires, sullen in their disposition. Proud, restless, and clannish, fond of flattery. They alternately associate with the whites and the Indians, and thus become fatally enlightened. They form a composition of all the bad qualities of both.¹⁰⁸

In Traits of American Indian Life and Character (1853), Peter Skene Ogden gives a more sympathetic and balanced view of fur trade children, but, like Ross and the other traders' writings, his statements did little to alter contemporary views of 'half-breeds.' Ogden tells the story of a fur trade son at Fort Colville:

The son of a respectable Indian trader, he had been sent, while yet a child, to Canada, and there placed under the care of a clergyman, who, I am confident, did ample justice to his charge. This is the plan frequently adopted by Indian traders; but not unseldom [sic], after a lavish expenditure of money, and the most anxious solicitude, thy are doomed to see every hope blighted, and to learn, too late, that they have laboured in vain. Others, more fortunate, have reason eventually to congratulate themselves, on seeing their children become

efficient and respectable members of society.¹⁰⁹

The officers' attitudes towards 'half breeds' and Indians were passed on to their Metis youngsters.¹¹⁰ Like their fathers before them, some officers' sons came to be regarded as Indian experts and sought after as 'living links' with the past by late nineteenth century historians like Hubert H. Bancroft, Frances Fuller Victor and Eva Emery Dye. William McKay, who was kept busy in old age writing for local newspapers and delivering speeches in Chinook, commented: "I am continually interviewed and receive letters from persons I know nothing of, but are historically interested in our country & of course I treat them kindly & give them some information."¹¹¹ Andrew Pambrun also found his views solicited from time to time. On the subject of Indian allotments in 1884, he wrote:

Having been born and reared on the frontier, I was naturally supposed to know more of the Indian, than less experienced persons, and I was consequently importuned by different officers of our government to make a written statement of my views.¹¹²

Despite their first-hand knowledge of Indian life, the writings of fur trade sons did little to alter the stereotypical views of native people espoused earlier by their fathers.¹¹³ Although mixed-bloods themselves, gentlemen's sons often depicted half-breeds much as contemporary society did. Moreover, their comments reflected the middle class bias they had acquired in childhood and set them apart from their less educated Metis counterparts. For example, Ranald MacDonald

told Anglican Bishop George Hills of British Columbia that half-breeds "drink and are dissolute" and "do not turn out well" because "the men from Canada were not the best but the worst" and only the "scum" of Indian "women would consent to receive them." ¹¹⁴ Writing in the Tenton Times, a weekly newspaper in Choteau, Montana in the 1890s, Andrew Pambrun noted:

The halfbreed...is held perhaps even lower than the Indians. I would say that they have always been loyal to our government, and always cheerfully enlisted themselves most efficient...They are pliant to and obey with alacrity all commands, and in battle with Indians they are heedlessly brave...But alas, these commendable traits in many instances are overshadowed by the love of the demon, drink, the primary cause of this is the rearing, associations and lack of proper education, and is also superinduced [sic] by disease.¹¹⁵

In short, both gentlemen traders and their sons appear to have been as ethnocentric in their opinions of Indians and Metis as the population at large. In general, they adopted a paternalistic attitude towards half-breeds and Indians reflective of by-gone days when the Hudson's Bay Company had employed a similar posture to good advantage in dealing with the Indians. Although their long term experience with native people made them wary of quick answers to Indian and Metis problems, in the end they offered no new solutions.

Judged only by their writings on native people and 'half-breeds,' it would appear that the officers' sons had been successfully assimilated into the dominant society, but the truth was they were conscious of writing for a white

readership. In reality, by the late nineteenth century, when most of their works were written, three out of the four gentlemen's sons in the first class at Fort Vancouver, William McKay, Alexander Pambrun and David McLoughlin, were living part-time on Indian reservations within the former Oregon Territory. The fourth, Ranald MacDonald, had taken up residence at old Fort Coville surrounded by Metis relatives. All four had experienced racial prejudice and had wrestled with what it meant to be half-breed in a society which condemned them as a race, but might accept them in a limited way as individuals. For example, Pambrun alternated, as if he could not decide, between using "we" and "they" when he referred to half-breeds. Occasionally, the bitterness felt by fur trade sons over their 'half-breed' status spilled over into their writings.

For example, in 1891, Elizabeth Custer, the widow of George Custer, then writing for Harper's Weekly, visited Fort Colville and characterized Ranald MacDonald for Weekly readers as the "Prince of Paupers ... an old man...bowing and smiling, while half-breed children, chickens, and dogs scattered on either sides."¹¹⁶ MacDonald's response was curt. In a cutting rebuke to "Mrs. General Custers' criticism", especially that he was a "Prince of Paupers" and that his nephew's well educated and 'almost white' wife was a "squaw", he wrote proudly of his mixed-blood heritage.

MacDonald's remarks found support in his community. The

Kettle Falls Pioneer, the local newspaper, sided with MacDonald, "the Oldest of Pioneers," declaring that Mrs. Custer's remarks were not only uncalled for, but that "since her brave and fearless husband was so foully [sic] butchered by the Indians, she has an abhorrence for anyone with Indian blood coursing through their veins."¹¹⁷

Sometimes, the fur trade boys took out their resentment in petty forms of sabotage against the Hudson's Bay Company, or in harsh words directed against those that fathered half-breed children. David McLoughlin, for example, took his revenge by giving away goods at the Fort Vancouver store against Company policy. He told his friend F. X. Matthieu, an escaped rebel from the Rebellion of 1837 in Quebec and an immigrant to French Prairie in the Willamette, "Take all you need...and never mind the old man," referring to his father.¹¹⁸ Andrew Pambrun, who "opposed all forms of aristocracy," stated that while he worked as a clerk at Fort Vancouver he made it a rule to serve laborers before "rich men in fine clothes" as was the norm in the Company trade. As an old man in the 1890s, he recalled, in a somewhat confusing and telegraphic fashion, the bitter conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Metis at Red River in 1847 when he was schoolmaster there:

In council a member of the Hudson's Bay Company introduced a resolution to debar the mixed-bloods from any advancement in the service or their salary to exceed one hundred pounds per year. It did not matter how well qualified or meritorious the individual might be, his blood kept him from promotion. Just think of the injustice of such a law, and that against their own blood. It is evident

these hypocritical saints took their women from no amiable motives but merely for the immediate gratification of their brutal desires....

There were of course noble exceptions ... who deprecated and even denounced the evils then existing, and who raised their children under their own supervision, and at the proper age sent them to school. The resolution ... was aimed at these more favored ones to obviate which and to break if possible the power of the monopoly, Alex. Isbister a graduate of college, J. Lumsden, professor in the above, a Catholic Priest and myself combined. Isbister went to London, where he became a professor in one of the Colleges, and got acquainted with some influential members of Parliament, who ably seconded our efforts. We furnished all the necessary information and petitions asked, and the sequel shows how we succeeded. Now the mixed-bloods hold lucrative and responsible positions. Premier Norquay and some members of the Canadian Parliament are of this class, and the whole country is thrown open to settlement.¹¹⁹

X

While gentlemen's sons often wrote disparagingly about half-breed and Indians, they nevertheless tended to regard themselves as champions of the "Red" and Metis cause. As contradictory as it seems, McKay, Pambrun and other Metis who fought against the Indians during the Indian wars in Oregon, saw themselves working on behalf of the Indians, half-breeds and the government. For example, J. W. Redington, a Metis scout, described William McKay, after the battle at Cayuse Station during the Bannack War in 1878, sitting on his war-horse delivering an eloquent oration in a "ringing voice that could be heard by every Indian on the Umatilla Reservation," urging them to stay on the side of the whites instead of joining the hostiles.¹²⁰

Despite their best efforts to combat racism, very little

was known about mixed-blood populations and there were few ways fur trade youngsters could fight illusions and suppositions. In the East, the genetics of light skin and knowledge of Euro-American lifestyles hastened the half-breeds' route into the mainstream. In the West, however, the Metis population had reached sufficient numbers by the 1870s to call attention to themselves as a unique manifestation of the frontier. Dr. Victor Havard, for example, reported to the Anthropological Society of Washington, D.C. on May 20, 1879 that he estimated that there were some 32,921 'French' mixed-bloods in communities on both sides of the border, stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. But, as Harvard noted, "The designation of French is often indifferently applied to Canadian, metis of all grades, and even pure Indians who associate with metis and speak their patois."¹²¹

The scientific recognition of the Metis identified not only a new people, but also a new culture. In 1883, the ethnologist Daniel Wilson called it "a most remarkable phenomena [sic] connected with the grand ethnological experiment which has been in progress on the North American continent for the last three centuries." Wilson described the large middle group of intermarried mixed-bloods on the Canadian prairies as "the true representative of race," distinct in "manner, habit and allegiance" from Indians or whites.¹²²

Such statements were not made about the Willamette Metis

but, like their Canadian counterparts, they too were subject to the influences of the new popular scientific movements, social Darwinism and eugenics, which stressed nature over nurture, and paid more attention to the effects of inter-racial breeding than to Metis lifestyles.

In 1887, the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Canada instructed its investigative committees, made up of the most respected scientists in the nation, to pay "especial importance" to "mixed races:"

to ... the resemblances and differences between the offspring and the parent stock, the number of generations during which inherited race characteristics are distinguishable, and the tendency to revert to one or other of the ancestral types.

Although the Society was also interested in the relationship between whites and Metis and went so far as to suggest that "social causes, especially the disheartening sense of inferiority," might possibly account for "mental differences" between half-breeds and other races, their studies began, as most nineteenth century studies did, from an a priori assumption that there were differences in mental capacities between races.¹²³

To oppose such thinking on behalf of mixed-blood youngsters was to oppose the irresistible dictates of scientific authority. The belief in cultural superiority of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had been replaced by concepts of racial superiority based on evolutionary and biological theories. While the former

interpretation had offered hope of assimilation into mainstream society through cultural attainment, the latter theories presented an impossible situation for fur trade children who were condemned because of their 'Indian blood'. As the Rev. Frederic W. Farrar remarked on the changing scientific attitudes in his paper on "Fixity of Type," read before the Ethnological Society of London in 1864:

There was, at one time, a universal impression that the diversities of type and complexion observable in the human race might easily be accounted for from the effects of climate, custom, food, and manner of life. The opinion is now entirely abandoned by the majority of scientific men.¹²⁴

Scientific racism had achieved the "biologization of history" by equating cultural progress with the physical and mental differences thought to exist between Indians, half-breeds and Euro-Americans.¹²⁵ What most scientists failed to understand, however, was that many fur trade children were white, intelligent and could assimilate into the frontier communities of the Pacific Northwest.

Notes

1. Franz Boas, "Some Recent Criticisms of Physical Anthropology," American Anthropologist, N.S. I, 1899, p. 105; Boas, "The Half-Blood Indian: An Anthropometric Study," Popular Science Monthly, Vol. I, 1894, p. 768; Boas, "Heredity in Head Form," American Anthropologist, N.S. 5, 1903, p. 532.
2. Rev. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Minneapolis, Ross & Haines, 1967, pp. 160, 165.
3. C. M. Drury, ed. First White Women Over the Rockies: Vol. I, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, p. 110. By contrast, Hudson's Bay Company Governor Nicolas Garry referred to one gentlemen's family as "more black than white." Nicholas Garry, "Diary of Nicolas Garry," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1900, p.110.
4. John Ball, Autobiography of John Ball, Grand Rapids, Dean-Hicks Company, 1925, p. 93.
5. Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Royal Family of the Columbia: Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, pp. 73, 192.
6. Keith and Donna Clark, ed., "William McKay's Journal 1866-67: Indian Scouts," OHO, Vol. 79, 1978, p. 312.
7. Donald Ross, Edmonton to E.E. Dye, Portland, May 21, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland, Oregon.
8. Anne Huggins, Fort Nisqually, to E.E. Dye, January 1, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland.
9. Andrew Dominique Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier in the Pacific Northwest, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, p. 42.
10. George W. Stocking, Jr., A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 189.
11. On white perceptions of Indians, see: Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian, New York, Vintage Books, 1979, p. 26.
12. Sinclair was eventually killed by the Indians at the Dalles in 1855. See: Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier, pp. 63, 83.

13. Maria Campbell, HalfBreed, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart-Bantam Ltd., 1979, p. 25.

14. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with Metis Informants, 1983-88. Also see: Beatrice Culleton, April Raintree, Winnipeg, Pemmican Publications Inc., 1984, p. 34. This novel by Metis author Beatrice Culleton explores the contemporary problems in Metis families when some children look white and others look native.

15. John Reade, "The Half-breed," Proceedings and Transaction of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 3, 1885, p. 10. One example of a short lived Metis community resulting from the intermarriage of white goldminers and Indian women was Port Douglas at the headwaters of Harrison Lake, B.C. See: Mary E. Whithead, Port Douglas: A Case Study of Decline, MA Thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, May 1985, p. 51.

16. "Mrs. General Custers' Criticism of the Oldest of Pioneers ... Ranald MacDonald," Kettle Falls Pioneer, Washington, September 3, 1891, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS, Portland.

17. Juliet Pollard, "Tracing Metis Roots: Metis and Native Workshop," Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Annual Meeting, Hotel Bessborough, Saskatoon, October 4, 1986. (As children, these people of Indian ancestry were not told about their Indian heritage or were told not to talk about it for fear it would taint people's impressions of them.)

18. Arthur H. Estabrook, Ivan E. McDougale, Mongrel Virginians: The Win Tribe, Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins Company, 1926, p. 193.

19. Juliet Pollard, Interview with G.L., Vancouver, April 1983.

20. For example, see: T. W. Davenport, "An Object Lesson in Paternalism," OHQ, Vol. 4, 1903, pp. 49-53.

21. Robert J. Lewenberg, Equality on the Oregon Frontier: Jason Lee and the Methodist Mission 1834-43, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1976, pp. 57-59.

22. Clark, "William McKay Journal," p. 309. McKay knew Grant when he was stationed at Fort Vancouver in 1852. On Grant at Fort Vancouver, see: James C. Strong, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer of the Territory of Washington," WHQ, Vol. 3, 1912, p. 183.

23. Isaac Watts, The Improvement of the Mind, London, J. Abraham, 1801, p. XVIII; William Mavor, Youth's Miscellany: or, A Father's Gift to his Children, London, E. Newbery, 1798, pp. 105, 150; William Mavor, The Elements of Natural History, Chiefly Intended for the Use of Schools and Young Persons, London, Richard Phillips, 1808, p. 13.

24. Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1981, pp. 116-138.

25. Douglas Lorimer, "Theoretical Racism in Late-Victorian Anthropology, 1870-1900," Victorian Studies, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1988, pp. 405-430.

26. Robert E. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes Towards Indian Mixed-Bloods in Early Nineteenth Century America," Journal of Ethnic Studies, Vol. 8, 1980, p. 17.

27. Bentley Glass, Owsei Temkin, William L. Straus, Jr., eds., Forerunners of Darwin: 1745-1859, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1968, pp. 93, 276.

28. John Stone, Stephen Mennell, eds., Alexis De Tocqueville on Democracy, Revolution and Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980, p. 334. Debates over Indian origins led to a proliferation of scientific, quasi-scientific and religious tracts. Early on, the widely read History of the American Indian by James Adair, Rev. Elias Boudinot's A Star in the West and Barbara Simon's The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel attempted to prove that North American Indians were descended from Hebrews. Such writings were matched by an equally large and more "scientific" collection of writing which argued Indians had migrated from Asia and therefore were Asiatic in origins. Such works spurred the educated frontier travellers to search for evidence of Indian origins. John Wyeth, for example, believed he had found "fresh proof that our savage tribes of this continent emigrated from the old world" by the style of bows he encountered while on his expedition to Oregon in 1832. Such theories supported the notion that Indians had descended from civilized people and, therefore, or so it was argued by monogenists, could be uplifted again to become productive members of American society. Moreover, the idea that Indians could be civilized was reaffirmed in enlightenment thought which claimed that moral capacity was the basic possession of all human beings. See: J.E. Chamberlin, The Harrowing of Eden: White Attitudes Towards Native Americans, New York, Seabury Press, 1975, pp. 14, 108; Michael Paul Rogin, Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 5; John B. Wyeth, Oregon; or A Short History of a Long Journey from the Atlantic Ocean to the Region of the Pacific, By Land, Cambridge, 1833, p. 55; Bernard W.

Sheehan, Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1973, pp. 27-28, 65; Herbert Hovenkamp, Science and Religion in America: 1800-1860, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, pp. 5-6; Henry Schoolcraft, The Indian Tribes of the United States, Vol. I, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Company, 1884, pp. 29-33.

29. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes," pp. 18-19; Sheehan, Seeds of Extinction, p. 175.

30. In part, Jefferson's attitude towards the Indians was a response to Buffon's assertion that new world plants, animals and people were degenerate species compared to those in the old world. Jefferson's views were also influenced by his Secretary of the Treasury, the ethnologist Albert Gallatin. See: Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Thomas Jefferson's Ethnological Opinions and Activities," American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 9, 1907, pp. 499-502; Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, pp. 42-43; Robert Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, pp. 16-54. Ronald T. Takaki, Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, p. 59; Sheehan, p. 174; Brian W. Dippie, The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy, Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1982, p. 260.

31. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes," pp. 18-19.

32. Sheehan, p. 177.

33. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes," p. 20; Takaki, Iron Cages, p. 81.

34. Horsman, p. 118.

35. Herman Merivale, Lectures on Colonization and Colonies, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 510-511.

36. Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West, edited by Kenneth Spaulding, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pp. 195-196.

37. The accounts of this proposed legislation are conflicting. See: J.B. Brebner, "Subsidizing Intermarriage with the Indians: An Incident in British Colonial Policy," Canadian Historical Review, No.1, 1925, pp.33-36; Sheehan, pp. 175-176; Dippie, The Vanishing American, pp. 260, 393. Merivale's lectures, which proposed interracial marriage, were not published until 1861, long after the idea had ceased to be popular in America. Moreover, Merivale saw intermarriage as

a natural process, rather than one that could be enforced by legislation. See: Merivale, Lectures on Colonization and Colonies, pp. 510-511, 536.

38. For examples, see: Frank W. Porter III, "Anthropologist at Work: A Case Study of the Nanticoke Indian Community," American Indian Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1978, pp. 2-3; Darrell A. Posey, "Origin, Development and Maintenance of a Louisiana Mixed-Blood Community: The Ethnohistory of the Freejacks of the First Ward Settlement," Ethnohistory, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1979, pp. 177-179.

39. Indicative of the changing attitudes towards half breeds was the increasing use of the term 'half-breed Indian.' Whereas, in 1824, it was perfectly acceptable for Henry Schoolcraft, the historian, Indian agent, and father of a Metis family, to write that there were "124 whites, of whom 69 were mixed bloods" living near his Sault Ste. Marie agency, by 1844, mixed-bloods were commonly included in the Indian census and often referred to as 'Indian half-breeds'. See: Herman J. Viola, Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy: 1816-1830, Chicago, Sage Books, 1974, p. 100.

40. This favorable view of Metis was widely read in: George Combe, The Constitution of Man In Relation to The Natural Law, London, Cassell and Company, Limited, 1893, p. 107.

41. Stocking, A Franz Boas Reader, pp. 190-191. By the 1880s, the recognition that nearly all people in the world were of mixed-blood was accepted by scientists. Besides Boas, a few other men of science argued amalgamation as a solution to race problems. See: Reade, "The Half Breed," pp. 4-21; J.W. Powell, "From Savagery to Barbarism: Annual Address of the President, Feb. 3, 1885," Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington, Vol. III, 1883-1885, p.194; Lorimer, "Theoretical Racism," p. 427; Stone, Mennell, Alexis De Tocqueville, pp. 334, 341.

42. Ronald Hyam, "Empire and Sexual Opportunity," The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Vol. 14, No.2, 1986, p. 35.

43. Serge Gagnon, Quebec and Its Historians: 1840 to 1920, Montreal, Harvest House, 1982, p. 90.

44. Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in the Formative Years, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 6. Sheehan makes a similar statement. See: Sheehan, p. 176.

45. Reade, "The Half-breed," p. 10. Also see: Daniel Wilson, "Pre-Aryan American Man," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 1, 1882-1883, pp. 43-44; Schoolcraft, The Indian Tribes of the United States, Vol. I, p. 296.
46. Calvin Martin, ed. The American Indian and the Problem of History, New York, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 82.
47. Porter, "Anthropologists At Work," pp. 2-7.
48. Estabrook, McDougale, Mongrel Virginians, pp. 1-205; Posey, "Origin, Development and Maintenance of a Louisiana Mixed-Blood Community," pp. 177-179; V. Havard, "The French Half-breeds of the Northwest," Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution 1879, Washington D.C., 1880, pp. 312-313.
49. Horseman, pp. 129-130.
50. Harvey W. Scott, "Jason Lee's Place in History," WHO, Vol. 1, 1906-07, p. 24; William J. Scheick, The Half-Blood: A Cultural Symbol in 19th Century American Fiction, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1979, pp. 10-11.
51. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes," p. 24; Lewis O. Saum, The Fur Trade and the Indian, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1965, p. 206.
52. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes," pp. 22-24; On Nott, see: Bieder, Science Encounters the Indians, pp. 92-95; Horseman, pp. 129-133.
53. Hovenkamp, Science and Religion in America, pp. 165-165; Bieder, Science Encounters the Indians, pp. 91-92; Horseman, pp. 131-132. Also see: Edward Lurie, Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966, pp. 122-211. Glass, Owsei, Temkin, Straus, Forerunners of Darwin, pp. 402-411; James Kennedy, "On the Probable Origin of the American Indians," Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 4, 1856, pp. 226-267.
54. Lorimer, "Theoretical Racism," pp. 405, 411-412; John Crawford, "On the Supposed Infecundity of Human Hybrids or Crosses," Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 3, 1865, pp. 356-362. It was commonly believed in the scientific community that Agassiz, Morton, Malte Brun, Humboldt, and other outstanding American and European scientists advocated polygenist explanation for the origins of man. See: Kennedy, "On the Probable Origin of the American Indian," p. 229.

55. John Campbell, "On the Origin of Some American Indian Tribes," The Canadian Naturalist and Quarterly Journal of Science, Part One, Vol. 9, 1881, p. 66. Also see: Otis T. Mason, "Anthropological Investigations During the Year 1879," Annual Report of Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1879, Washington D.C., 1880, p. 449. (At the present time, some native people hold the same view and argue that Indians originated in North America, rather than migrated to the continent. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with E.H., July 1989, Vancouver.)

56. Robert Tracy, "Review: The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science, by Roger Cooter," Victorian Studies, Vol. 29, No. 4, Summer 1986, p. 622. Studies on phrenology included: Roger Cooter, The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organization of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1984; David De Giustino, Conquest of Mind: Phrenology and Victorian Thought, London, Croom Helm, 1975; John D. Davies, Phrenology Fad and Science: A 19th-Century American Crusade, Archon Books, 1971.

57. De Giustino, Conquest of Mind, pp. 137-138.

58. J. Spurzheim, Phrenology, or, The Doctrine of the Mind and of the Relations between its manifestations and the Body, Third Edition, London, Charles Knight, 1825, p. 1.

59. Roger Cooter, The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organization of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 1-11.

60. Robert E. Bieder, "Can They Be Improved?" Nineteenth-Century Science and Hopes for Indian Reform, Unpublished Paper, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1986, pp. 1-32.

61. One indication of the popularity of phrenology in North America is given in the American Medical Almanac (1841): "It is impossible to estimate the numbers of believers in phrenology in this country...The science is now embraced by large numbers in the medical profession...It is also favorably received by many members of the legal and clerical profession...The day of its final triumph and general adoption cannot be far distant." See: Davies, Phrenology Fad and Science, p. 140.

62. Davies, pp. 135-143.

63. Davies, pp. 80-81, 135-143; De Giustino, pp. 137-139.

64. "I declare myself," wrote Mann, "a hundred times more indebted to Phrenology than to all the metaphysical works I ever read." It is "the guide to philosophy and the handmaid of Christianity." Mann's statements were quoted in: S. R. Wells, The Illustrated Annuals of Phrenology and Physiognomy For the Years 1865-6-7 and 1868, New York, Samuel R. Wells, Publisher, 1868, p. 65. Later in the nineteenth century, Mann was instrumental in having Combe's Constitution of Man adapted for use in public schools. On Mann and phrenology, see: Jonathan Messerli, Horace Mann: A Biography, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1972, pp. 117, 165, 172, 334, 350-351; Davies, pp. 22, 85-86.

65. George Combe, "On Secular Education, (1852)," in Educating Our Masters, edited by David A. Reeder, Leicester University Press, 1980, pp. 43-69; George Combe, The Constitution of Man, New York, Cassell Publishing Company, 1893, pp. 93-97.

66. For example, Beaver opposed corporal punishment and putting little boys to work as men in the fields. He advocated clean, well ventilated sleeping quarters for boarding students. Such ideas were not unique to phrenology, but Beaver used the terminology of the phrenologists when he discussed them. See: Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, Portland, Champoege Press, 1959, pp. 123-125. In the 1890s, long after phrenology had ceased to be taken seriously, advocates of Indian education still used its terminology. The reformers echoed the sentiments of Rev. Beaver at Fort Vancouver fifty years earlier, when they spoke of the primary task of the school as the "enlargement of the [Indian] brain as an organ of mind." See: Bieder, "Can They Be Improved?," pp. 1-32.

67. Beginning in the 1820s, phrenologists had taken an active interest in the American Indian and there was no subject which appeared "more frequently" in their journals. Spurzheim and Combe were following in this tradition. See: Davies, pp. 145-148.

68. Combe, The Constitution of Man, pp. 103, 107.

69. Chamberlin, p. 169.

70. Wilson, "Pre-Aryan American Man," p. 43.

71. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, p. 59.

72. Horseman, pp. 117-118.

73. For Jefferson's ideas about Indian intellect, see: Takaki, p. 58.

74. De Giustino, pp. 139-140; Robert Winston Mardock, The Reformer and the American Indian, University of Missouri Press, 1971, p. 4; Mervale, p. 535.

75. Ernst Mayr, The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1982, p. 382. On Chambers' works and ideas, see: Richard Yeo, "Science and Intellectual Authority in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Britain: Robert Chambers and Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," Victorian Studies, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1984, p. 6; M.J.S. Hodge, "The Universal Gestation of Nature: Chambers' Vestiges and Explanations," Journal of the History of Biology, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1972, pp. 127-151.

76. Joseph Health, Memoirs of Nisqually, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1979, p. 124. The Governor and Committee wrote John McLoughlin in 1843: "Mr. Joseph Health, an experienced agriculturalist has gone out by the Cowlitz, with the intention of taking a farm on the Pugets [sic] Sound Company's land. A duplicate of his agreement is forwarded herewith. We hope that his great practical acquaintance with farming in all its branches will be of essential service to the settlement." See: E.E. Rich, ed. The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Second Series, 1839-44, London, The Champlain Society, 1943, p. 315.

77. John A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver Historic Structure Report, Denver Service Centre, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, April 1976, p. 315. Phrenologists' beliefs about Indians and half breeds were widely read in the popular literature of the times. Some of these works reached Company forts and were read by fur trade fathers and perhaps, their children as well. In addition, there were academic tracts like the Phrenological Journal founded in Edinburgh in 1823, as the main organ of the movement, which also appear to have been read at the fort. Moreover, the gentlemen brought the ideas of contemporary science as part of their cultural baggage to the Pacific Coast. For example, Dr. John Helmcken writes of Vestiges, Darwin and his own studies in evolution before joining the Hudson's Bay Company. See: Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1975, pp. 44-45; Davies, pp. x-xiii, 3-11, 162.

78. De Giustino, pp. 69-70. (In this passage, De Giustino is referring to the British phrenologists' concern with Britain's future, but similar concerns were also expressed in the United States.)

79. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in American 1790 to the Present, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1977, pp.

218-219; John Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society, pp. 47, 111.

80. On the history and scientific theories of recapitulation, see: Stephen Jay Gould, Ontogeny and Phylogeny, Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977, pp.13-68. William Wordsworth is credited with the phrase "the child is the father of the man" which he wrote in 1802. Alfred Lord Tennyson also used the idea of recapitulation in In Memoriam (1850) where he envisions a child who "moved through life of lower phase" to be born again as a man. See: Abrams, Donaldson, et al., eds., The Norton Anthology of English Literature, Major Authors Edition, pp. 948, 1498.

81. Rogin, Fathers and Children, pp. 6, 113-125.

82. Davies, pp. 147-148.

83. Bieder, pp. 22-23. On the work of Samuel Morton, see: Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, pp. 55-103; Horsman, pp. 121, 125-127. On Morton's manipulation of data, see: Stephen J. Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, New York, W.W. Norton, 1981, pp. 54-60.

84. For example, see: Scheick, The Half-Blood, pp. 10-11. One of the challenges to Dr. Morton's finding came from Daniel Wilson in Canada who found Morton's statements were not borne out in fact. See: "Cranial Type of the American Race," The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist, Vol. II, 1957, pp. 289-290. Also see: Anders Retzius, "Forms of the Skull in America," Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1859, Washington D.C., 1860, pp. 264-269.

85. Wells, The Illustrated Annuals of Phrenology and Physiognomy, pp. 24-26.

86. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indians, p. 67.

87. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indians, pp. 66-67; T. D. Stewart, "The Chinook Sign of Freedom: A Study of the Famous Chief Comcomly," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1959, p. 568. Townsend felt that skull flattening did not detract from intelligence and found the coastal Indians "a race of people who appeared more shrewd and intelligent" than other Indians. However, he continued to see the Indians as an "expiring race" of children. John K. Townsend, Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, Philadelphia, Henry Perkins, 1839, pp. 165, 303, 310, 313, 334, 338-339, 341; On the hiring of Townsend, as the fort doctor, see: E.E. Rich, ed. The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941, p. 203.

88. Comcomly's skull was one of the few artifacts which survived the bombing of the Hasler Museum during World War II. In 1953, the skull was given to the Clatsop County Historical Society of Astoria and thus returned to the vicinity of its original tomb. In 1956, the skull was loaned by the Council of the Chinook Nation to the Smithsonian Institution for anthropometric studies. See: Stewart, "The Chinook Sign of Freedom: A Study of the Skull of the Famous Chief Comcomly," pp. 563-576; A.G. Harvey, "Meredith Gairdner: Doctor of Medicine," BCHQ, Vol. LX, No. 2, 1945, p. 104.

89. William Fraser Tolmie, William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader, Vancouver, Mitchell Press Ltd., 1963, pp. 31, 327-333, 391-393.

90. For example, the Canadian Naturalist and Geologist reported that a Dr. Durkee, of Boston, had donated a cast of the head of a "Flat-head Indian from the Columbia River," to their Natural History Society of Montreal's collection of crania. See: "List of Donations to the Natural History Society of Montreal," Canadian Naturalist and Geologist, Montreal, Vol. V., 1860, p. 479. Also see: Lorimer, p. 410.

91. Pambrun, p. 93. Besides cutting off Chief Pu-Pu-Mox-Mox's ears, some volunteers "brought back razor straps made out of his hide." See: Elizabeth Ann Coone, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Woman," WHQ, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1917, p. 17.

92. Ray Hoard Glassley, Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest, Portland, Binford & Mort, p. 206.

93. Horseman, p.118.

94. George B. Roberts, "Letters to Mrs. F.F. Victor, 1878-83," OHQ, Vol. 63, 1962, p. 208. On Lee's trip east with the boys, see: Dr. W.C. McKay Answers to Questions, T.M. Anderson Correspondence, (Ms. 495), OHS, Portland. Also see: Claude E. Schaefer, "William Brooks, Chinook Publicist," OHQ, Vol. 64, 1963, pp. 45.

95. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes," p. 24; Chamberlin, p. 31.

96. On some Metis leaders among the Indians, see: Robert V. Remini, Andrew Jackson, New York, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969, p.57; H.S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," OHS, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 99; Scheick, The Half-Blood, pp. 8-10.

97. McLoughlin's recounting of the origins of the Willamette settlement appear in many works. The original apparently ended up in the McLoughlin Papers in the Bancroft Collection in Berkeley. The first publication was probably that of the

Oregon Pioneer Association in 1880. See: "Copy of a Document found among the Private Papers of the late Dr. John McLoughlin," OPAT, 1880, p. 49.

98. Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, pp. 221, 345.

99. John Minto to E.E. Dye, May 14, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

100. Lawrence eventually lost contact with the family and disappeared from historical records. See: Lois Halliday McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980, pp. 223, 226, 228, 232-233, 254, 261, 283, 293. Also see: T. C. Elliott, ed., "Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin," OHQ, Vol. 23, 1922, p. 369.

101. Henry Drummond Dee, "An Irishman in the Fur Trade: The Life and Journals of John Work," BCHQ, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1943, pp. 265-266.

102. John Minto to E.E. Dye, May 14, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1014), OHS.

103. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, p. 254.

104. For example, the Anthropological Institute of Britain was largely composed of medical doctors, army officers, and clergymen. Professional scientists would not dominate the society until century's end. See: Lorimer, p. 407-408. Also see: Helmcken, pp. 44-45, 77.

105. Joseph Henry, "Circular to Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company," Washington, D.C., April 20, 1860, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection -137, Washington, D.C., 1860.

106. For example, James Douglas made fourteen land agreements with Indians while Governor of Vancouver Island, Dr. William Tolmie participated in the peace negotiations which ended the Yakima Indian War of 1855 and Alexander Anderson became the federal Indian Commissioner for British Columbia. See: Robert E. Gail, Land, Man and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913, Vancouver, University of British Press, 1974, p. 171; Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader, pp. 221, 345; Alexander C. Anderson Papers, Vol. 2, PABC, Victoria.

107. A.C. Anderson, "Notes on Indian Tribes of North America," The History Magazine, Vol. VII, 1836, pp. 74-80; Alexander Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1849, Preface. Also see: John Scouler, "On the Indian Tribes Inhabiting the

North-West Coast of America," Journal of The Ethnological Society of London, Vol. I, 1848, p. 228.

108. Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West, edited by Kenneth A. Spaulding, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, p. 196.

109. Peter Skene Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1986, (reprint of the 1853 edition published in London by Smith, Elder and Company) p. 124. This book has a curious history. It was originally published anonymously "By a Fur Trader" and dedicated to Mrs. Simpson, the wife of Sir George Simpson. Judge F.W. Howay, who wrote a great deal of early British Columbia and Pacific Northwest Coast history, traced its authorship to Ogden. The Ye Galleon Press edition includes the article by Howay, but does not give the source of the article. (While visiting the Ogden family in 1982 I was allowed to examine letters from Washington Irving in New York to Peter Ogden in Oregon, concerning the publication of his manuscript, but the family did not have a copy of the manuscript. The Ye Galleon publication under Ogden's name appears to be the missing manuscript mentioned in the Irving - Ogden letters. Peter Ogden died in 1854, one year after the book was published, and the reasons for the anonymous authorship remain unclear, but may have had to do with a dispute between his parents and relatives in Quebec and New York State and his own fur trade family in Oregon and British Columbia.)

110. For more fur traders' views on half-breeds, see: Saum, The Fur Trade and The Indian, pp. 205-209; William J. Scheick, The Half-Blood, pp. 1-5; Rev. Dr. G. Bryce, "Intrusive Ethnological Types in Ruperts' Land: The Metis," Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. IX, 1903, p. 142. Typical of traders' statements about mixed-bloods are these written by John Work: "These men are half Indian, and so whimsical that they cannot be relied more upon than Indians." See: William S. Lewis, Paul C. Phillips, The Journal of John Work: A Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, p. 93.

111. W.M. McKay, Umatilla, April 4, 1892, to F. H. Taylor, W. C. McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS. Also see: Clark, "William McKay's Journal," p. 309.

112. Pambrun, p. 137.

113. For example, Andrew Pambrun wrote in the Tenton Times in the 1890s: "The aborigine is almost extinct and his invaders and conquerors occupy his once loved home, and he is even denied the old haunts for roots and berries, whereon he and his ancestors from time immemorial have subsisted. The noble

and brave of his race is gone, and he is only lagging behind, to endure a little longer the degradation, he is subject to, when he will make his exit forever, and like all bygones, be effaced from the memory of man. It does not require great prophetic genius to see his destiny! It is written on the wall in unmistakable characters to which he must succumb, and the efforts of philanthropists to avert it are futile." See: Pambrun, pp. 121-122. Also see: Abraham Blinderman, "Congressional Social Darwinism and the American Indian," The Indian Historian, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1978, p. 17.

114. Journal of Bishop George Hills, July 11, 1861, The Church of England Archives, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

115. Pambrun, p. 140.

116. Elizabeth B. Custer, "An Out Of The Way Outing," Harper's Weekly, Vol. XXXV, No. 18, July 18, 1891, p. 534.

117. "Was Uncalled For....Mrs. General Custers' Criticism of the Oldest of Pioneers -- An Interesting Letter from our Honoured and Respected Patriarch, Ranald Macdonald," Kettle Falls Pioneer, Stevens County, Washington, September 3, 1891, copy in E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

118. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," p. 103.

119. Pambrun, pp. 60-62, 72, 86. Alexander Isbister was born in 1822 at Fort Cumberland and educated at McCallum School, later St. John's College, Winnipeg. After serving as a clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company, he went to England where he became a lawyer and later, Head of the College of Preceptors in London. From England, Dr. Isbister continued to advise his fellow Metis in the struggle against the Company at Red River. He left a "considerable fortune" to Manitoba University. Premier John Norquay was also born at Cumberland House and educated at St. John's College, Winnipeg. He was a representative in the first local Parliament of Manitoba and became premier in 1878. He died at the age of 48 in 1889. See: Rev. George Bryce, "The Pre-Selkirk Settlers of Old Assiniboia," The Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1918, pp. 158-159, 162.

120. J. W. Redington to E.E. Dye, July 21, 1928, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. Although, McKay saw himself as working to improve the "Red Men", the Indians on the Umatilla reservation where he was agency physician considered him an incompetent doctor and an alcoholic. They had him dismissed on three separate occasions. Nevertheless, he was eventually adopted by the Umatilla, which made him eligible for a land allotment on their reservation and provided a measure of

financial security in his otherwise impoverished old age. See: William McKay, Umatilla Agency to F. H. Taylor, April 4, 1892, William McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS; Clark, "William McKay Journal," pp. 304-305, 308-309. John Minto claimed that McKay "nearly went to wreck" or "had a very close call after the loss of his first wife." See: John Minto to E.E. Dye, May 10, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

121. Victor Havard, "The French Half-breeds of the Northwest," pp. 309-327. Havard's estimate was low, even if he had only counted 'French' Metis. In Manitoba alone, it was estimated that there were 10,000 half-breed heads of households, as well as 5,000 half-breed children eligible for script and land grants in the 1870s. See: Donald M. Stewart, "The Land Scrip Issues of Canada," The Canadian Paper Money Journal, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1979, pp. 18-19.

122. Reade, "The Half-breed," p. 11; Wilson, "Pre-Aryan American Man," p. 43.

123. The Committee members were: Dr. E. B. Taylor, Dr. G. M. Dawson, General Sir J. H. LeFroy, Dr. Daniel Wilson, H. Hale, R.G. Haliburton and G.W. Bloxam. See: The British Association for the Advancement of Science. Committee on North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada Report -- 1887, London, 1887, p. 2.

124. Rev. Frederic W. Farrar, "Fixity of Type," Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 3, 1865, p. 394.

125. Berkhofer, pp. 56. Berkhofer credits the expression "biologization of history" to Marvin Harris, but does not cite Harris's work.

Chapter Eight

"Too Much Indian In Me": Land, Legislation and War

The Legacy of Racism ¹

In the nineteenth century an arsenal of philosophical, legal, and religious arguments were used to expropriate Indian lands and control the lives of native and Metis people. American attitudes towards Indians and, to a lesser extent, mixed-bloods were inexorably linked to land and the fact that Indians and, in some cases, Metis did not relinquish it fast enough to pacify white hunger for it.

This chapter considers the relationship between Indians, Metis and whites and land legislation in the United States and Canada after mid-nineteenth century when the fur trade children were adults. It will be argued that although racism, land legislation and citizenship rights were interwoven in the development of governmental policies, it was recognized that fur trade children were useful to the opening of the west, hence legislation regarding them tended to be ambivalent. In the end, the absence of firm legislation concerning 'half-breeds' allowed the fur trade children a variety of lifestyle options, but there was little escape from the 'half-breed' stigma and all that it implied.

II

In 1824, a reservation for half-breed Sac and Fox was set aside between the Des Moines and Mississippi Rivers, but, by the time the land was surveyed in the 1830s, white

squatters had already taken up residence beside the river lots of the half-breed claimants.²

The concept of land was tightly bound to notions of civilization and the republican ideal of United States as an agrarian society. Among other things, civilization meant owning land individually and taking up cultivation.³ Although there were many examples of Indians and Metis who earned their living by farming, it was more expedient to regard all Indians as nomadic and half-breeds as only a little better than the Indians.⁴

John Locke's remark that "there can be no injury when there is no property" was further defined by Swiss jurist Emmerich de Vattel in his Law of Nations (1820), which stated that the possession of property entailed obligations of cultivation. Such legal justification was enough to sanctify both Indian wars and removals.⁵ Thus, Lewis Cass, Andrew Jackson's Secretary of War, was able to argue:

What ignorance ... that a few naked wandering barbarians should stay the march of cultivation and improvement and hold in a state of perpetual unproductiveness immense regions formed by providence to support millions of human beings?⁶

As for the half-breeds, Cass suggested that American settlers might teach them new ways, but that it would be better to remove them along with the Indians. Otherwise, he stated, "We shall have a number of indigent, helpless people, the supply of whose wants will exceed any means which the Government should raise from the people of this Country."⁷

While the goal of integration, in one form or another, was to remain official policy throughout the nineteenth century, what amounted to extermination under official sanction was carried out during and after Jackson's administrations. The removal of Indians west of the Mississippi, it was argued, simply meant that 'civilizing' would be carried out at new locations over a longer period of time and would save the Indians from destruction. But the Five Civilized Nations, who had unanimously rejected removal and who endured the forced death march along the 'trail of tears,' knew better.⁸ By the end of Jackson's administration, some 70,000 Southern Indians had been uprooted and the massive population transfers had affected every tribe east of the Mississippi and south of Lake Michigan.⁹

III

While Indian removals were being carried out in the East, the influx of American settlers to Oregon during 1843 reduced the retired servant population in the Willamette to a minority. In short order, the immigrants attempted to oust the fur trade population from their rich farm lands.¹⁰ Although the newcomers generally referred to the Metis population as Canadians, French or French Canadians, as did the Metis themselves, by the mid-40s the largest number of retired servant families in the valley were "French-Indian, followed by Scots-Indian, Owyhee-Indian, French-Owyhee, Iroquois-Western Indian, and an occasional negro-Indian, for

a black now and then jumped ship or came with his master across the plains."¹¹ The six or seven hundred "Canadians and half-breeds" were the 'haves' and the incoming settlers were the 'have nots.' The pioneers resented being considered intruders and were envious of Metis land holdings.¹² As one immigrant described the retired servants in the New York Tribune in 1842:

These people, as I said before, are married to Indian women, and live very much the same, in all respects, as our farmers at home, with the exception of not being obliged to labor half as much. They generally have from fifty to one hundred head of horses, half as many cows, and about the same number of hogs.¹³

IV

In the late 1830s, the Hudson's Bay Company had attempted to entice retired servants with offers of "double outfits" of goods if they would move from the Willamette to Cowlitz Plain on the north side of the Columbia River, but there were few takers.¹⁴ This latter day colonization scheme was a feeble attempt to shore up British claims to the north bank of the Columbia in light of the impending settlement of the Oregon Boundary dispute. But, as James Douglas explained to the Governor and Committee, he had:

not succeeded inducing any of them to remove from their present habitations [since]... they have incurred considerable expense in improving their present possessions, [and]... are naturally reluctant to abandon, without receiving a full equivalent in return. The expense of a removal [would] reduce most of them to poverty.¹⁵

V

From the commencement of settlement in the Willamette in 1828, McLoughlin had warned the retired servants that the valley would probably be awarded to the United States and it appears that they accepted this outcome with equanimity. Moreover, the Metis expressed no desire to remain British subjects. As far as can be determined, they sent no petitions to Queen Victoria or the British government urging action on their behalf as British subjects.¹⁶ Old timers tell the story that at least some of them sympathized with Louis J. Papineau and the 1837-38 Rebellions in Lower Canada against British rule.¹⁷ One of the leaders in the community who openly sided with the Americans was F.X. Matthieu, a rebel from Terrebonne, Quebec, who had procured lead and powder for the Sons of Liberty and had actively taken part during the uprisings. Matthieu escaped British authorities by slipping across the Quebec-United States border with the help of McLoughlin's uncle. In 1842, he made his way across the United States to join the French Canadian-Metis in the Willamette, where, as he phrased it, "I knew there were lots of French there and it would be alright."¹⁸

It also seems clear that many fur trade children and Hudson's Bay Company servants were hostile towards the 'aristocratic' rule of the Company, which they likened to English government.¹⁹ By 1845, even Douglas was forced to sadly admit that the Canadians displayed little enthusiasm

for "her Majesty's Officers" visiting the Willamette and that "British feeling is dying away so much, that Englishmen, in the Wallamatte [sic], are either afraid or ashamed to own their country."²⁰

Recollections of Metis participation in the informal political events during the early 1840s are contradictory.²¹ What can be said with certainty is that, starting in 1838, leading members of the Willamette community began taking an active interest in protecting their civil and property rights. For example, on March 16th of that year, nine of the oldest and richest retired servants joined with the Americans in petitioning the U.S. Congress to protect their families and property, and that of the Indians, from "reckless and unprincipled adventurers". Following this, Metis were present at most of the seventeen or so meetings held between 1841-1844 which eventually established a provisional government for Oregon. They held meetings at their houses, lent their names to petitions and were elected to official positions.²²

Moreover, in 1845, when the Hudson's Bay Company entered into a compact with the Provisional Government for the protection of their existing "rights and privileges," the Provisional Government was extended north of the Columbia River to Cowlitz and Vancouver counties, which included all the territory north to "fifty-four forty," and, virtually all the men appointed and elected from the new districts were officers in the Hudson's Bay Company, including James Douglas,

Charles Forest, M.T. Simmons, John Jackson, Henry N. Peers, William Tolmie, Francis Ermatinger, and Simon Plamondon.²³

Although there is no hard evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company pressured their retired servants to thwart the immigrants' ambitions for provisional government, American historians have until recently stressed the idea that the servants either held themselves aloof from politics or voted en masse as directed by John McLoughlin and their priests and have minimized the fact that "the American settlers were too divided among themselves to create a government without the assistance of the Canadians."²⁴ In 1977, Robert Loewenberg revised this traditional interpretation by claiming that there was no ethnic conflict because "the French Canadians and Americans were on both sides of the question."²⁵ Loewenberg, however, did not explore the dynamics of intense racism in the community which overshadowed the creation of civic government and voting patterns.

From the scattered sources which remain, it appears that Metis concerns, like those of many of their American neighbors, revolved around local and financial questions, not sovereignty. For example, rather than the expense of a temporary government, they argued for an elected council. They opposed any form of taxation, the creation of a militia, and were adamant that the country be considered "free" to any nationality "even the native Indians". Although these measures were only partially met, they nevertheless accepted

provisional government followed by territorial government directed from Washington.²⁶

In 1958, when Oregon attempted to change the status of Champoege Park from a state park to a national one, recognizing the site as Oregon's first seat of government, Reverend J. Neilson Barry who had devoted much of his life to the history of Oregon's Provisional Government and who had singlehandedly frustrated every campaign to win federal funding for the park since 1928, began another lobby to defeat federal appropriations because it would be testimony to a historical hoax.²⁷ According to Barry, after the arrival of the great wagon train of 1843:

The French were a very unpopular minority. They were still unwilling British subjects. They were Catholics, and did not understand the English language. But worse --they had the best land.

As a result, "forty conspirators signed a written agreement to drive them out" and organized a meeting at Champoege (the main Metis settlement on French Prairie in the Willamette) on March 4, 1844 to enlist support. The intentions of the conspirators, however, leaked out; so many Canadians attended that they "far outnumbered the few Americans" and the plot failed. Barry argued that to cover up the real events of this particular Champoege meeting, historians in the 1870s invented a fictitious Champoege meeting, calling for a provisional government, which has been accepted as fact in every history text since.²⁸

Whatever the truth about the various political meetings,

Barry identified the sentiments of the settlers who had come in large numbers from the Mississippi Valley where Indian removals were taking place and where French speaking-Catholics were still dominant in major centers along the river like St. Genevieve, Natchez and New Orleans, to another bastion of French-Catholic culture which looked much like the one they had left behind.²⁹ Although the retired servant population on French Prairie was by this time a motley collection of mixed-bloods (as indeed was the population along the Mississippi), they were regarded as a homogeneous community by the newcomers.

The immigrants' bias against the retired servants was not only ethnic or cultural, it was also racist and steeped in anti-Hudson's Bay Company sentiments. The settlers had arrived imbued with "Oregon Fever" and the spirit of Manifest Destiny. They saw themselves as the forerunners of American occupation and looked with resentment at the Company's well-stocked posts and firm economic control of the region. Despite the generosity of the Company towards them, they believed they were being exploited by a foreign monopoly and ruled by a "salmon skin aristocracy."³⁰

McLoughlin commented: "The Hostile feeling against us was so great that I considered it Expedient to avoid as much as possible speaking on the Boundary question."³¹ As F.X. Matthieu recalled, adding fuel to this fire was the belief that McLoughlin "and his near friends" favored a rival

republic rather than statehood.³² In fact, however, it was the Americans who threatened that "if Uncle Sam don't watch over us, we will do it ourselves."³³

By 1845, racism was rampant. On March 3rd of that year, McLoughlin felt obliged to write Sir George Simpson:

I heard a report some days ago that some Americans were forming a party to drive all people, who had Indian wives, and half-breeds, and afterwards also, all the foreigners, that those who were not Americans, out of the country; When it was communicated to me, I considered it so absurd and ridiculous as to be unworthy of notice [but] a few days after General McCarver, one of the most respectable of the American immigrants, came to me and stated ...that...one of his companions told him that such a design had been entertained, and the narrator confessed he was one of thirty or forty, who entered into a written agreement to carry it into execution, but finding so few would join them they dropped it and I am happy to be able to say the American immigrants, except the few conspirators who are not known, are quite indignant at so atrocious a plot.³⁴

Writing to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company later that month, McLoughlin reiterated his earlier statements and added:

This report was communicated to the Canadians by one of the American trappers who has an Indian wife, and excites great sensation among the Americans and Canadians who have half-breed families. But the persons accused of suggesting this measure deny it, but others say still it is true, and one of the American trappers believes it so firmly, that he bought powder and ball to prepare himself to resist.³⁵

In April, James Douglas also wrote on the subject to George Simpson. From his perspective, such sentiments were not confined to the few concerned in the plot. "No people," he wrote, "can be more prejudiced and national than the

Americans in this country, a fact so evident to my mind, that I am more suspicious of their designs, than of the wild natives of the forest."³⁶

Despite the hostile attitudes towards the Hudson's Bay Company and the retired servants, most Americans were moderates who wished to maintain peace and order in the territory and to that end used the judiciary to safeguard their liberties and legislate their racial prejudices.³⁷ As long as the Metis were numerically strong, they retained the rights of citizenship. The Provisional Government granted the right to vote to "every free male descendant of a white man of the age of twenty-one years and upward," who was an inhabitant of the territory at the time of its organization.³⁸ But, when Washington Territory was carved out of Oregon in 1853, the franchise of half-breeds became an issue. In 1854, Kate Blaine, a Methodist missionary in Seattle, who followed her beliefs in scientific racism rather more closely than her Christian teachings, went so far as to suggest that if the territorial legislature saw fit to give the vote to half-breeds, "all kinds of Indians would 'pass' and vote."³⁹ By the 1870s, such sentiments had manifested themselves in legislation and the vote was taken away from some half-breeds.⁴⁰

Initially, the land laws adopted by the Provisional Government of 1843 formed reasonably strong safeguards for Metis interests and settlers who came between 1843 and 1850.

There were, however, as Hudson's Bay Company clerk Francis Ermatinger reported from Willamette Falls, "continual alterations here about one man jumping another's claim."⁴¹ Then, following the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846, McLoughlin received an anonymous report which stated that the "Half-breed [would] not be allowed to have Claims of Land by the United States Government." McLoughlin quickly wrote the U.S. Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, urging him to protect the lands of his former half-breed employees and their children settled in the Willamette Valley. He argued that if they did not receive title to their lands, then "it will Blast the prospects of these persons and force them with their parents to Retire Among the Indians Where they will Excite disaffection to American Interests."⁴²

McLoughlin's letter appears to have had the desired effect, but when the land policy for the newly created Oregon Territory came up for debate in the U.S. Congress in 1850, the first territorial delegate, Samuel R. Thurston, introduced a amendment which would give land to all Americans, half-breeds included, but not to any "members and servants of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Company." Thurston faced considerable opposition on the issue, but he was able to ensure that the Company's Kanaka laborers, whom he characterized as "a race of men as black as your negroes of the South" were not given the privileges of American citizenship or the right to claim land.⁴³

In the end, the Donation Land Act of 1850, which followed in the wake of the Congressional debates, granted 320 acres "to every white settler, American, half-breed Indians included, above the age of eighteen," who was or intended to become a citizen of the United States. The land act of 1853, however, only granted land to "white citizens of the United States" and, thus effectively blocked those fur trade children who had been under eighteen when the first act was passed from receiving free land.⁴⁴

Metis who could not qualify under the Donation Law were still eligible to pre-empt quarter sections for \$1.25 an acre under the Homestead Act of 1852 or obtain land under the Preemption Law of 1854.⁴⁵ Even though titles were often inchoate and imperfect, there were sellers and buyers, and land values related to land productivity fluctuated during the territorial period. In 1848, \$100 to \$200 was believed sufficient to buy a 640 acre claim in the central part of the fertile Willamette Valley, but, by 1859, it took more than \$1,500 to buy a fraction less than a section in more moderately developed regions of the valley.⁴⁶

When news of gold strikes in California reached the Willamette in 1848, almost the entire retired servant population formed into a brigade, much like the old Hudson's Bay Company brigades, and evacuated the valley for the goldfields. For retired servants who sold their property in order to finance their share of expedition costs, it was

unlikely that real estate of equal value could be purchased upon their return to the same location. The extent of such losses and other forfeitures which resulted from this movement to California is unknown, but the reminiscences of those who went to California and those who witnessed their homecoming suggest that it was significant. As F.X. Matthieu, who was a member of the trek, recalled: "We started ... 500 men strong, all French Canadian, with pack animals and some with as much as \$2000.00 worth of goods, but after we got through we were left with only about \$150.00."⁴⁷ In 1849, Margaret Bailey, who lived in the Willamette Valley at the time, noted: "The French are returning from California, mostly in poor health. They say they have made but little -- lost their summer's work -- lost their horses and cattle, and have got no crops, etc. Such is the result of an undue love for gold." ⁴⁸

Without accurate census data indicating the status of half-breeds, it is impossible to calculate what proportion of the estimated 300 or more Metis heads of households living in the valley made land claims.⁴⁹ Although it appears that many Metis declared under the 1843 act and an additional forty-eight claimed under the 1850 act, the composition of the mixed-blood population in the Willamette changed.⁵⁰ It was said that "not more than half ever returned to their Oregon homes" from the California mines.⁵¹ Also, the valley was "constantly receiving recruits -- those people whose time had expired with the Hudson's Bay Company," and this was

especially so after the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846 and the closure of Fort Vancouver in 1848-9 when a new influx of retired servants' families settled in the valley, replacing some of the older Metis families who had moved on.⁵²

Of those retired servants who filed claims, it seems certain many suffered the same fate as other homesteaders, for the crux of the matter was that while settlers filed notices of entry, many did not understand the cumbersome procurement of patents required to hold their claims and subsequently occupied lands without perfecting their titles and later lost them.⁵³ Other Metis forfeited their property on French Prairie following litigations with American immigrants.⁵⁴

In 1903, T.W. Davenport examined the original donation land claims in Marion County which includes the Willamette Valley where the land "was settled chiefly by French, Scotch and English Canadians, mountain men and trappers of nomadic habits, who married Indian women of the whole or half-breed." He concluded that sixty-six percent had passed out of the possession of "the donees and their descendants", another fifteen percent were "mortgaged for all they were worth," fifteen percent were debt free, and only five had increased their holdings.

Since the market for farm products continued to be profitable for the next quarter century after 1850, Davenport concluded that the people lost their land because they were

half-breeds. Although he saw a relationship between drinking and land loss, like other turn of the century authors, his beliefs about inherited racial characteristics blinded him to the possible connection between alcoholism in the community and racism in society. He wrote:

They are passionately fond of ardent spirits. A teetotaler of mixed-bloods would be a rare sight. Neighborly, clever people, of lax business habits, and of necessity trustful, they were soon beat out of their land possessions little by little, the princely donations of land went into the till of the shopkeeper or the safe of the money changer.⁵⁵

VI

Davenport also noted that a sizeable number of former Willamette Metis had settled upcountry. The migration to the Upper Columbia had began in the late 1840s as the result of numerous factors, including the adverse effects of racism, the loss of Willamette lands, the decline of the fur trade, and the desire to be free of civilization. In the Upper Columbia, the coastal Metis joined other retired servants who had already taken up lands around the forts as part of the 1846 Hudson's Bay Company land claims.

One of the main settlements was known as Frenchtown, which was situated a few miles west of the ruined Whitman Mission at Waiilatpu and close to the old Hudson's Bay Company fort at Walla Walla. The first record of four Metis families settling at Frenchtown dates from the late 1840s. The Catholic Church Records of the Missions of St. Ann and St. Rose of the Cayouse, which served the Walla Walla and

Frenchtown population from 1859 to 1888, lists twenty-seven heads of households. Of these, fourteen can be identified as former Hudson's Bay Company families and, of these, at least four had lived in the Willamette. With the exception of one American, the remainder of those listed in the records all have French Canadian names and were probably associated with the fur trade east of the Rocky Mountains.⁵⁶

On White Mud Plains, just outside of Fort Colville, another thirty or so former employees of the Company and their families occupied farms.⁵⁷ Some of the new arrivals from the coast, however, squatted on lands belonging to the Spokane Indians and claimed them under the 1850 Donation Land Act.⁵⁸

From the Spokanes' point of view, the Metis were taking up the best agricultural tracts before any treaty had been signed with them and without affording them any means of redress. They quickly became as hostile to the Metis as the white settlers had been in the Willamette. The Spokane leadership refused to acknowledge the 'half breeds' as part Indian and called them "Frenchies" -- a term they used for French speaking "white men". They threatened the invading Metis and fought against them in 1856 in an attempt to retain their territory. Chief Spokane Garry, who had been educated by the Hudson's Bay Company at Red River, told a meeting that had been hastily convened by Washington Territory's first Governor, Isaac Stevens, in order to avert war:

Now you Frenchmen, listen to the Governor... I was absent from here, I went to the Walla treaty, and

when I returned I found that all the Frenchmen had got their lands, written down in a paper by Judge Yantis ...Why are you in such a hurry? Why don't you wait until the Treaty is made? ⁵⁹

VII

The call for peace was too late. By the time of this meeting in 1855, the first of the Indian wars had already taken place.⁶⁰ Indian removals in the United States had only provided a temporary halt to the cries of frontiersmen for Indian lands; by the time the settlement reached Oregon, it would take eight wars, over a period of thirty years (between 1848 and 1879), and a policy of extermination before the remnants of once powerful nations submitted to peaceful settlement on reservations.⁶¹ During these wars, which were more like exercises in reciprocal mayhem and murder, strong threats were made to exterminate "all the Red mans [sic] tribe" and "Oregon people were severely criticized and denounced" for the inhuman slaughter of the Indian population.⁶² For example, near Table Rock, Oregon, the volunteers found Modoc Indian children wearing the blood-stained garments of murdered immigrant children and killed them.⁶³ In Jacksonville, miners summarily hanged a seven year old native boy, shot a pregnant Indian woman and two young girls, and drove the rest of the women of the village into the forest to freeze to death.⁶⁴ Such atrocities were frequent throughout the Indian wars.

At the beginning of the Cayuse War in 1847-8, which followed in the wake of the Whitman Massacre, Oregon was so

isolated that even the governor did not know that the United States and Mexico had gone to war. Troops slated for service in Oregon were rerouted to the Mexican front leaving much of the fighting to local volunteers.⁶⁵ In the Willamette, the retired servants met en masse and resolved that:

The Canadian citizens of Champoege county feel it their duty to assist our adopted country in the prosecution of the war against the Cayuse Indians, for the horrible massacre committed by them upon American citizens at Wailiatpu.

The community sent around sixty of its young men to fight the native people, the first of many Metis youngsters who would take part on the side of the whites in the Indian Wars.⁶⁶ Indeed, the "French Company", which, with the exception of one Frenchman, was entirely made up of mixed-bloods was considered to be "the most effective Company in the field" during the wars.⁶⁷

Since the beginning of colonization, Indians had been employed by the various European powers to fight other Indians and Europeans in the struggle for the North American continent. Native people used such opportunities to settle old grudges against Indian enemies and cement new alliances with the colonizers.⁶⁸ The reason Metis males fought against the Indians are somewhat more difficult to assess because such wars involved fighting against native relatives and rarely involved revenge motives.⁶⁹ As soldiers, fur trade boys found adventure and increased their status in the white community which needed their services. They rode their horses to war

believing that the army would offer them steady work, decent wages and pensions for their old age.

Moreover, their strong support during the Indian wars in Oregon was in keeping with the longer history of Metis as interpreter-guides, scouts and Indian fighters in North America. It was commonly believed by men like Sir John Franklin that "half-breeds show more personal courage than the 'pure breeds'" and were "great warriors."⁷⁰ It was generally assumed by the military that half-breeds "could think in terms of Indian psychology."⁷¹ Thus, they were constantly called upon to make contact with tribes and assess their temper and were considered to be "valuable and trustworthy" friends of the white man. According to Charles Frush, who had been safely delivered through Washington State during the Indian uprisings by the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter, George Montour, "If it had not been for the influence held by Montour, the half-blood with these people, your writer would not now be penning these lines."⁷²

Yet Metis loyalties to their progenitors sometimes compelled them to make difficult choices, which cast them in an awkward position with both Indians and whites. For example, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, born en route to Oregon with the Lewis and Clark party, had to quit the army because he was thought to favour the Indian cause.⁷³ Baptiste Dorion, the child born on Astor's overland expedition to Columbia, was one of several half-breeds who lived part time with the Cayuse and

was accused of inciting them to massacre the Whitmans. Yet, when open hostilities broke out, Dorion became duty sergeant in the First Oregon Rifles, which quelled the uprising and continued as an interpreter and guide for the whites until his death in 1849 at the age of thirty-one.⁷⁴

Although Andrew Pambrun's "large and roomy" homestead on Cayuse land was looted and burned by the Indians in the winter of 1855 when he arrived at the Dalles where the Walla Walla settlers had gathered, it was assumed that he was "in sympathy with the Indians" because he was a half-breed. While Pambrun argued that it was implausible "that a man in sane mind, would be in sympathy with a horde of wild savages, while his own life as well as that of his family was in jeopardy," Governor Isaac Stevens ordered him to winter at army headquarters at Fort Vancouver for his own safety. Further quarrels erupted at the fort over his dubious loyalties as a 'half-breed', but he managed to overcome the racial stigma and went on to become Governor Stevens' secretary, interpreter and guide at a salary of "Five dollars a day in Gold Coins."⁷⁵

According to Governor Stevens, there was "no such thing ... as neutrality in an Indian war, and whoever can remain on his claim unmolested, is an ally of the enemy, and must be dealt with as such."⁷⁶ The "whoever" he was referring to were the Metis and white men with Indian wives in Pierce County on Puget Sound who were caught in the middle of the hostilities during the Yakima Indian War of 1855-1856. When the Indians

plotted to capture Fort Nisqually, then in charge of Dr. Tolmie, men with anti-Hudson's Bay Company sentiments began rumours and letter writing in an attempt to show that Tolmie and the Hudson's Bay Company were inciting the Indians to war. Worse, the retired servants in the area were accused of giving aid and comfort to marauding Indians and ordered to go to the fort for their protection, but some refused. Consequently, in March 1856, Stevens had them arrested and proclaimed martial law. Those who refused to leave their claims were held for military trial.⁷⁷

Although many fur trade children experienced destruction to their property by the Indians, others had their belongings spared because of their relationships with the Indians. Indeed, some Metis households became, as Governor Stevens had charged, a refuge for white settlers who put themselves under the protection of their part Indian neighbors in order to insure their own safety. While Metis sons went to war, some of their sisters played an important role as intermediaries between the Indians and white settlers. During the Yakima Indian War, for example, one party of whites were saved because "of existing circumstances; that is to say, several of the party had half-breed wives who, with their children were distantly related," to the Indians. In this instance, the women acted as interpreters and exercised enough influence over the warriors to allow the party to pass unmolested.⁷⁸

With their motives under continual scrutiny, some fur trade youngsters felt compelled to prove themselves in feats of military daring against native people. The boys who had been schooled at Fort Vancouver quickly acquired reputations as skilled Indian fighters and were sought after by the U.S. military. Among them were the sons of Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen like William McKay, who was Assistant Surgeon and Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Cavalry in charge of the Warm Spring Indian Scouts; his brother, Donald, who commanded Umatilla scouts and was later dubbed the "hero of the Modoc War", and Archy McIntosh, who commanded a company of friendly Snake scouts.⁷⁹ Many servants' sons, like Louis LaBonte, one of the first students at Fort Vancouver, also found themselves in demand as interpreters, guides, scouts and Oregon volunteers.⁸⁰

In these positions, Metis males were able to use the full range of fur trade skills and native languages they had acquired in childhood. The boys who sought positions in the U.S. army had no problem in answering affirmatively questions like those posed by General Custer: "Do you know the country thoroughly, and can you speak any of the Indian languages?"⁸¹ For some, like the multi-lingual Billy and Donald McKay, serving as Indian fighters continued the tradition established by their father, Tom, whose very name, the fur trade and white community believed, struck fear into the local Indian tribes and carried an "extensive influence over the aborigines"

throughout the territory.⁸² As fur traders' sons, fighting against native people was to follow in the footsteps of the Hudson's Bay Company whose expertise in handling, forestalling and quelling Indian uprisings was well established and used to advantage by the Americans. At the outbreak of the first Indian war, for example, American mountain man Joseph Meek and his men travelled to Washington, D.C. to plead for military assistance, wearing the caps and cloaks of Hudson's Bay Company employees because Company men were trusted more by the Indians. In short, it was safer to travel through Indian country as a 'Bay man,' or Britisher, than an American.⁸³

Even though the "French Company" and other troops commanded by fur traders' sons were instrumental in subduing the Indians and bringing victory to the American cause, the issue of race affected the young men even in the military arena. While army officers acknowledged that the trust placed in the scouts "had been fully sustained by their actions," they nevertheless instructed Dr. William McKay and his 'half-breed' soldiers to "carry Guidons or Colors to be displayed when approaching White troops in the field in order that accidents may be avoided."⁸⁴

Moreover, it was common policy to divide the fighting forces along racial lines, so that in the Snake War, Captain David Perry commanded "all the white troops", while Metis leaders like McKay and McIntosh were in charge of Indian and half-breed scouts.⁸⁵ In the end, the half-breed status of many

scouts was never acknowledged. In United States military records, they were classified as "Indian war veterans" meaning that they were Indians (rather than half-breeds) who had been on the side of the whites in the Indian wars.⁸⁶

In addition to their wages, William McKay's men were entitled to "40 cents per day" to feed their horses and were given the month of April "to attend to their crops." Although McKay was instructed to tell the men that "they may rest assured that government ... will not fail in the promises made," after the Indian wars many Metis veterans did not receive the pensions they were promised and in military records were considered to be in a "non-combatant class."⁸⁷ Some did not even receive their pay. At the close of the Nez Perce Indian war in 1877, the scouts were discharged in Whoop-Up country, Northern Montana and were paid with yellow vouchers marked: "PAYMENT SUBJECT TO FUTURE APPROPRIATIONS BY CONGRESS," which were not honored at local stores and did not allow the men to outfit themselves for the homeward trek.⁸⁸ Donald McKay, who made many futile attempts to collect the ten thousand dollar reward for his capture of the Indian leader, Captain Jack during the Modoc War, jested about the situation he and many other Metis war veterans found themselves in when trying to collect outstanding debts from the government:

I think there is too much Indian in me to ever get it, still I am one-fourth white and one-fourth of the money would come good now that my many wounds have rendered me unfit to do any more service.⁸⁹

Like McKay, Metis war veterans were easily abused. They had been ordered to kill Indians and at least one old timer recalled the days when Donald McKay had come marching through the Dalles with his Warm Spring Scouts "carrying the fresh scalps of the Snake Indians on their spears."⁹⁰ Metis warriors carried out the dirty work of war, but were forgotten once they ceased to be useful to American expansionist desires. At best they had been viewed as useful agents of the white race, rather than as legitimate members of it. As Colonel G. W. Webb expressed it:

Knowing what the old-time Army Scouts on the plains really meant to the Army -- and then witnessing the ungrateful and inhuman treatment accorded these Scouts in their old-age days of need -- I [have] no adequate words ... to express my feelings.⁹¹

VIII

Another withdrawal of Metis from the cradleland of their birth in the lower Columbia Valley to the edges of the frontier took place in the aftermath of the disastrous 1861 flood in the Willamette, which "elevated the water at Champoege at 112 feet above mean sea level," washing away farms and reducing farm owners to poverty.⁹² As T.W. Davenport noted in 1903:

Landless and moneyless, they scattered over the country, and, as it were, dropped into all kinds of callings. Many of them have gone east of the Cascades and taken homesteads and pre-emption in the arid regions, and there upon the bunch grass lands have gained a living and some a competence by stock raising and wool growing. Others followed up the streams into the mountains and in some narrow valley made a home away from the everyday

temptations of the lowlanders. Others went to the coast.⁹³

"Despised by the whites and hated by the Indians," as one observer phrased it, many Metis chose the familiarity of the unsettled landscape of their fur trade youth over reservations or more civilized settings.⁹⁴ "I felt, ever, and uncontrollably in my blood," wrote Ranald McDonald, "the wild strain for wandering freedom." His sentiments were echoed by David McLoughlin, who stated he had gone to the remote Kootenay Valley in British Columbia "to be free."⁹⁵

It was poverty rather than freedom, however, that was a deciding factor when some fur trade children moved onto Indian reservations. The economic imperative of the fur trade had required a continuation of native lifestyles, yet the officers and their sons held the same ideas about individual land ownership, cultivation and civilization that were prevalent in the Euro-American community. Like the reformers, they linked Indian survival to agricultural training. McLoughlin felt that by hiring Indian laborers to work the fields at Fort Vancouver, he was contributing to their future well being. Where farming was impractical to implement among the Indians, it was adopted for the half-breeds. In 1828, McLoughlin allowed settlement in the 'Garden of Columbia,' as the Willamette was known, so that servants' youngsters would be "brought to cultivate the ground".⁹⁶

Nearly thirty years later, McLoughlin's assistant, James Douglas, who was then Governor of Vancouver Island, suggested

to Lord Lytton, the British Colonial Secretary, that reservations should in all cases include cultivated fields and village sites so that "from habit and association natives would invariably conceive a strong attachment" to the land.⁹⁷

Like eastern reformers, the western gentlemen of the fur trade wanted the Indians to relinquish their culture and be assimilated into Euro-American society. They endorsed reservations as the first step in this process and did not think that some of their children would live out their lives on such reservations.

Their ideas were also expressed by their sons. For example, in 1884, Andrew Pambrun, who homesteaded on different reservation lands at various times, wrote a strong policy recommendation to Senator G.F. Hoar:

That the Indians be allotted in severalty, my experience being, that As soon as an Indian owned a farm of his own, he soon felt independent and ignored his chief. Thus doing away with tribal relations. And that as soon as allotted, he be made a citizen; that is to be awarded the same privileges and protection as the white man.⁹⁸

As the nineteenth century wore on, the subject of half-breed reservations received more attention. Metis communities split on the idea of Indian-styled reservations for themselves, but there was a general consensus on both sides of the Canada-United States border that land should be given to them by virtue of their Indian blood or their pioneering efforts and that such lands should exclude whites.⁹⁹

For a few Metis, the Indian reservations served as a

replacement for the familiar and paternalistic Hudson's Bay Company forts. In theory, the reservations were supposed to be all-encompassing institutions, as the forts had been, providing care from the cradle to the grave. The offer of free land on the reservations was also important to some Metis.

In reality, however, few reservations lived up to their expectations and many fur trade children, as well as Indians, appear to have drifted on and off of them at will, rather than settling permanently. At least, if the Catholic Church Records of the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation (1860-1898) are of any indication, then few fur trade children became full time residents. Grand Ronde, which was established in the 1850s as one of only two reservations for the coastal Oregon Indians, had sixty-two heads of households, but only seventeen of them were formerly associated with the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁰⁰ While this represents a high percentage (27%) of Metis among the Indians, it is a very modest number of people when compared with the several thousands of fur trade children spread throughout the Pacific Northwest in mainstream society.

The second reservation for the remnants of the coastal Indian population, the Siletz Indian Reservation, had few, if any, fur trade children in its population.¹⁰¹ Both reservations went through a demographic crisis in the last half of the nineteenth century. Although the reservation families were large, few children survived infancy. Deaths outnumbered births, reservation numbers fell and the

government reduced the sizes of the reservation lands.¹⁰² In short, the conditions on these reservations had little to entice fur trade children as permanent residents.

IX

Starting in the 1820s, half-breeds were accorded separate articles in at least three different United States Indian treaties which encouraged them "to exertion and improvement by the possession of permanent property and fixed residences."¹⁰³ But, placing Metis on Indian reservations contributed to internal conflicts on the reservations which did not go unnoticed by American authorities. Like the Sac and Fox Metis who were "in all respects, identified with the white population" and would not be induced to abandon civilized life to settle with the Indians, the presence of mixed-bloods on reservations tended to be detrimental to the retention of Indian culture.¹⁰⁴ As part of their cultural baggage, the Metis brought with them Euro-American values and attitudes, which often led to factional disputes on the reservations. Commonly, the mixed-bloods sided with whites and their desires for material progress, while Indians tended to oppose change if it meant relinquishing their traditions.¹⁰⁵

During Andrew Jackson's time in the White House, mixed-bloods were refused any land rights on Indian reservations because of the problems they were believed to create. Instead, Jackson's administration provided monetary allocations, but this did not stop Metis political and economic

influences on the reservations. By the 1850s, it was clear that Jackson's policy had failed and once again Metis were granted reservation land rights provided they lived in the ceded area and did not choose to follow civilized life and "reside among the whites."

This mandate was absurd. The purpose of the reservation was to civilize the Indians and the primary institutions of white society were supposed to be provided to accomplish the task. The Metis, who were already "considerably advanced in civilization," could hardly be left out. Realizing this folly, reformers gradually accepted half-breeds on the reservations and encouraged them to be the links between white and "red" cultures.¹⁰⁶

In general, apathy, ignorance and government delays marked the Metis land question on both sides of the border.¹⁰⁷ In Canada, homestead lands rather than reservations were deemed appropriate for half-breeds. The Manitoba Act of 1870 set aside 1,400,000 acres for an estimated 10,000 Metis claimants, but no similar provisions were made for Metis in the rest of the Canada's Northwest who were supposed to be treated like "just another class of white settlers."¹⁰⁸

The result of this land policy, which also sought to survey the Metis's strip river lots to conform to the Canadian square system, was bitterly resented by the largely French speaking and Catholic Metis who participated in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. After the rebellion, heads of households,

including women, and some children were offered 160 acres of land by scrip or scrip worth \$160 to extinguish their claims to land as descendants of aboriginal mothers, but the system failed to deal adequately with Metis claimants. A sizable number of Metis wanted the cash outright and this prompted land speculators to buy up claims at 30 to 50 percent of face value leaving a bitter legacy of landless and impoverished Metis. Those who lived as Indians, but who had accepted land or money scrip, were disenfranchised from Indian status and rights.¹⁰⁹

Although Metis from Montana were among the claimants, it is not known how many fur trade children, born in the Canadian Northwest but raised in Oregon, or youngsters born of Canadian Indian wives of Hudson's Bay Company traders living in Oregon, collected land or scrip under Canadian law. By the 1870s, the ranks of Montana Metis had been swelled by Oregon Metis who were living in western Washington when it became part of that state.¹¹⁰ Moreover, there was a constant traffic of Metis families back and forth across the border and strong kinship ties with Canadian relatives. Under these circumstances, Andrew Pambrun's daughter and son-in-law, who lived in Choteau, Montana, "picked up script [sic] land in Canada." It is likely that they were not the only fur trade family with members born in the Pacific Northwest that took advantage of the land or money being offered.¹¹¹

The scheme to establish exclusive Metis colonies or

reservations appears to have originated with the Catholic clergy rather than Metis people themselves. The priests took a paternal stance towards their mixed-blood flocks and, in their attempts to protect them from both whites and Indians, reinforced their identity and culture as people 'in-between'. In Saskatchewan, it was Father Andre and other priests who urged the formation of an all Metis colony around the St. Laurent Mission in the Batoche-St. Louis-Duck Lake region of the territory.¹¹² In Alberta, Father Lacombe began encouraging Metis families to settle around St. Albert, north of Edmonton, in 1861. In the 1890s, he was instrumental in turning the settlement into a Metis reservation, or colony, which excluded whites and Indians, but included over 600 families from the Dakotas and Montana who were "homeless, jobless and without provisions."¹¹³

On a smaller scale, Father Charles Marie Pandosy, a member of Bishop Blanchet's group of Oblate ecclesiastics in Oregon, who had been accused of supplying hostile Indians with arms and powder during the Indian wars in Washington Territory, persuaded several retired servants' families including those of Cyrian Lawrence, William Pion, Jules Blondeaux, Francis Curtsland and Charles and Joseph Christian to cross the border and settle near the mission he had founded in 1862 on the banks of Mission Creek, in what would become part of greater Kelowna, British Columbia.¹¹⁴

In the 1880s, Andrew Pambrun lobbied for "the mixed-

bloods, relatives" of Indians already on reservations being admitted to those reservations throughout the former Oregon Territory. Such a plan was not without ulterior motives since it allowed Pambrun and other Metis to legally claim their homesteads on Indian lands without having to go through the adoption process, which was controlled by the Indian. But, as the class conscious Pambrun, himself the son of a French Canadian, concluded:

All know that one half of these people are descendants of the French Canadians, who being illiterate themselves, cared not for the enlightenment of their ill-gotten progeny. Thus being left without heritage, mental or worldly, humanity demanded that something should be done for their relief. With this object they were permitted to join their relatives.

This trickle of fur trade youngsters onto reservations, however, was met with opposition by "would be land grabbers" who threatened to fix the Indians with "a Gattling [sic] gun" and shoot the "halfbreeds" as well, including the instigator of the plan, Andrew Pambrun.¹¹⁵

X

By the century's end, the effects of Euro-American racism on fur trade youngsters was reflected in alcoholism, poverty, loss of status and other social injustices. Like their Chinook ancestors before them, the Metis suffered from cultural despair. The direction of things to come appeared as early as 1844. In that year Margaret Bailey, a white novelist who was all too familiar with abuse at the hands of her alcoholic English-born husband Dr. William Bailey, noted in her

Willamette dairy:

A half-breed young woman whom I much love came here this morning with her [Metis] husband. He was much intoxicated, and 'tis the first time I have ever seen him thus. His amiable wife tried to hide his shame ... She says her husband never was intoxicated till he went to the infamous John Hord's [bar] at Champoege." ¹¹⁶

It was a curious state of affairs. By 1900, the remnants of once powerful Indian nations had been subjugated and were largely out of sight on reservations. The few visible Metis populations that had not been incorporated into Indian society or assimilated into the white community lived on the periphery out of harm's way. In short, neither Indians nor Metis posed any threat to society, yet the new doctrines of social Darwinism and eugenics in North American society escalated racism far beyond what it had been earlier in the century, when western Indians had yet to be conquered and the white community, whatever else might be said, had a healthy respect for both the Indians who might attack them and the Metis who could save them. ¹¹⁷

The subjugation of the Indians, like that of the Metis, stripped away much of the power, control and autonomy they had once had over their lives. Under the constant stigma of 'half-breed', fur trade youngsters had been marginalized even while serving the dominant society. They had been held in suspicion and opprobrium by the very same white settlers who had depended upon them for essential life support during the Indian wars and were seen as a danger to their desired social

patterns. Like all cultures, Indian and Metis lifestyles were in a constant state of change, but, by 1900, it was more convenient to view Indians with nostalgia as living fossils of their primitive past, and elderly fur trade youngsters, like 88 year old Louis Labonte, still residing in the Willamette Valley, as 'relics' of the fur trade.¹¹⁸

The attitudes fur trade children developed towards themselves were as malevolent as the external forces of racism they experienced. It was difficult to dismiss the authority of science and the attitudes towards them largely spawned by the 'scientific theories' as they trickled into the popular culture of the white community. Over time, some youngsters must have come to believe that the 'scientific' views of themselves were true. Others suspected they might be true, while still others challenged the notion that they were inferior to white people. Nearly all exhibited feelings of personal inadequacy or inferiority in their writings at one time or another.¹¹⁹

Like other victims of social injustice, some fur trade children were ashamed of their mixed-blood heritage and disguised their origins. Despite racism, or perhaps because of it, the majority of Metis children integrated into white society.¹²⁰ They were aided in this process by their genetic inheritance which permitted those with light skin and Anglo-Saxon features to blend in with the general population in a way that was not possible for native people or their more

darkly-hued Metis siblings. In short, faced with few positive alternatives, fur trade youngsters found the most beneficial way out of their social limbo was to become white.

To be white was to have opportunities denied Indians and half-breeds. To be white was to be equal. To be white was to be rich, or so the thinking went. But this was an easier task for fur trade sisters than it was for their brothers. The shortage of white women in the Pacific Northwest allowed them to marry white men, while their brothers were more likely to remain with Metis or Indian people. As descendants of British subjects, however, it was possible for Oregon fur trade children of both sexes to categorize themselves on the United States census as Canadians or foreigners and, therefore, as whites, rather than Indians or half-breeds. As such, they were a privileged group within the mixed-blood population which developed after settlement. White status entitled them to United States citizenship and land grants.¹²¹

As T.W. Davenport found while investigating the descendants of the Willamette Valley Metis in 1903, the majority were members of mainstream society and did not fit his a priori racial assumptions. He concluded his study:

Many of the young have found ample success in other avocations and do not regret the loss of the parental donations. They are found on the bench, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the governmental employ, in college faculties, and in all honorable pursuits. Only a few have ignobly failed...for falling into the drink habit they lost their wills.¹²²

In contrast to fur trade children who renounced their

Indian ancestry, Metis who took pride in their maternal lineage repeatedly strove to prove they were as good as white people. As Ranald McDonald wrote in old age: "I am proud and have no reason to be ashamed of my blue blood of the American Indian. I plead guilty to the soft impeachment of being naturally quick to resent an insult on this score or any other."¹²³ The eldest daughter of the Fort Vancouver teacher, Solomon Smith, "expressed herself as almost irresistibly drawn to the murder of her father for the treatment she received because of the native blood in her veins. She hotly declared she knew herself to be just as good as any of her white girl friends, but that people (men especially) did not look at her the same way they did at her white friends."¹²⁴

Such perceptions were based on experience. When Lieutenant William Peel, the son of Sir Robert Peel and other naval officers of the Royal Marines, visited the Willamette in 1845, a ball was held in their honour at Dr. John McLoughlin's newly completed grist mill in Oregon City. The men "became rather free in their actions in dancing with some of the half-breed girls," and Dr. Newell, an early American pioneer who had a native wife, called Lieut. Peel to one side to remonstrate with him. "The Lieutenant said, "I really did no harm, Doctor." Newell replied, "No, Lieutenant, but you know you would not have acted in that manner with a young lady of your own class in London."¹²⁵

While it was difficult to grapple with scientific

pronouncements that they were inferior to white people, fur trade youngsters willingly accepted the corollary to this idea. Mixed-blood males were not opposed to the Euro-American notion, espoused by Daniel Wilson and others, that they had "greater powers of endurance" and were "bolder warriors and better hunters" than "pure-blood Indians."¹²⁶ They prided themselves on such masculine characteristics and, in turn, these qualities made them the backbone of the fur trade and ideal candidates for military service. By accepting the dictates of science which saw them as a people "in-between", Metis youngsters objectified the conflict between the white and red races and some of them suffered discontent as young adults resulting from an uncertain 'between and betwixt' identity. In short, the scientific views indirectly reinforced the 'half-breed' self identity as a group apart.

XI

While a sizeable number of fur trade children attempted to retain their identity by living in small family groups on the edge of the frontier, without the Willamette Valley to provide a centre for cultural growth and renewal, there was no exclusive haven for fur trade-cum-Metis culture in the Pacific Northwest. Before long, their frontier retreats became small 'white' towns in British Columbia, Washington, Oregon and Montana.¹²⁷ To the outsider and newcomers alike, it appeared that the culture born of the fur trade had passed away and that the Metis had become victims of higher

civilization.

At the same time, fur trade youngsters whose property fell within reservation boundaries were awarded special Indian status by virtue of their prior settlement. Like the Metis who willingly moved onto reservations, they were soon regarded as Indians.¹²⁸ Where the once proud native people of Oregon had expressed open dislike of half-white children, they were now reduced in numbers, broken in spirit, mixed with other native cultures, and could offer no resistance to Metis encroachment.¹²⁹ Moreover, the white technology and foreign ideologies found on the reservations were more familiar to the Metis than they were to native people. As a consequence, fur trade children often assumed leadership positions among the Indians. For example, on the Grand Ronde Reservation Chief Louis Nipissing of the Umpquas, was the son of Hudson's Bay Company servant Louis Nipissing and his Chinook wife. Joseph Sanagratti, the Indian Council judge and head of the Indian police force, was the son of a French-Iroquois Company freeman, who had been educated at the Methodist mission.¹³⁰

XII

Despite living in white communities and on Indian reservations, the children's fur trade 'consciousness' was not easily lost. Whatever culture is, social scientists tend to agree that it is not as simple as "one culture per society", nor, it would seem, is there any restriction on individuals or groups operating in one or more cultures

concurrently at different periods of their lives.¹³¹ The children carried their fur trade traditions into their new social environments and, although they modified these customs to some extent, they continued to adhere to them and organize their lives along customary patterns. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the youngsters were able to retain their identity through a complicated network of kinship relationships which stretched throughout the entire region. In the aftermath of the fur trade, mixed-blood children developed a bi-cultural strategy for survival which continues to this day among descendants who have some family members living on reservations, while most live within the mainstream of white society. Indeed, the children were able to function so well in both white and Indian cultures that the apparent disappearance of 'half-breeds' led past historians to be unaware of their cultural importance.¹³²

In brief, the persistence of a fur trade-cum-Metis culture after the demise of the fur trade rested on its power to synthesize the advantages of its derivative sources in Euro-American and Indian cultures and to take on the protective colorations of either culture as circumstances dictated. Adaptation did not mean capitulation of the childrens' identities. In spite of racism and victimization, many mixed-blood offspring of the traders challenged the dominant society and perpetuated their own 'half-breed' identity which they retain to this day. In the twilight of

nineteenth century fur trade culture, consciousness of the fur trade heritage remains. But in the late 1870s, when two fur trade daughters, Christina MacDonald and Amelia Douglas, wife of Sir James Douglas, first Governor of British Columbia, met for the first time, Christina noted: "We talked in our excitement in French, in Indian and in mixed English and Lady Douglas remarked how she liked to hear the old language again." ¹³³

XIII

The Pacific Northwest underwent tremendous social, economic and ecological changes within the fur trade children's lifetimes. They witnessed the extinction of the Chinook Indians who had given them birth, the demise of the fur trade which nurtured them, and the settling of the region by Euro-Americans who regarded them as inferior people. Under the pressure of such upheavals, transiency remained a persistent feature and, in their movements, fur trade youngsters became the first pioneers in many regions. Collectively, they were instrumental in opening the Pacific Northwest for white settlement. This contribution did not go entirely unnoticed. Whatever else was said of them, anthropologists and historians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century recognized that the fur trade children had contributed "a most important part in the advance of mankind," and "have been, in their humble way, playing an important part in the colonization and civilization of the Far

West." ¹³⁴

Notes

1. This statement was made by Donald McKay when he was unable to collect a reward promised to him by the U. S. Army for his capture of a Modoc leader during the Indian wars. See: Keith Clark, Donna Clark, eds., Daring Donald McKay or The Last War Trail of the Modocs, (facsimile reproduction of the third edition of 1884), Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1971, p. xiii.
2. Records, Documents and Correspondence Relating Claims of Half-Breeds, under Sac and Fox Treaty of 1824, Sept. 30, 1828-June 9, 1837, Record of the United States Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Vol. 26, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
3. Ronald T. Takaki, Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth Century America, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, p. 38; Robert Winston Mardock, The Reformers and the American Indian, University of Missouri Press, 1971, pp. 2-3.
4. For examples of native people who adopted farming as a way of life, see: James P. Ronda, "Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard," William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 38, 1981, pp. 387-393.
5. J. E. Chamberlin, The Harrowing of Eden: White Attitudes Towards Native Americans, New York, Seabury Press, 1975, pp. 3, 7. An example of Vattel's argument used in an Indian land claim is Coldwell v the State of Alabama, 1832. See: Vine Deloria, Jr., ed., Of Utmost Good Faith, San Francisco, Straight Arrow Books, 1971, p. 9. Although there were discussions about removing half-breeds along with the Indians from the old Northwest, no forced removals appear to have taken place. See: R. David Edmunds, "Unacquainted with the Laws of the Civilized World": American Attitudes Toward the Metis Community in the Old Northwest, The Metis in North America Conference Paper, The Newberry Library, Chicago, September 1981, pp. 1-17.
6. Chamberlin, The Harrowing of Eden, p. 203. It was commonly believed that Indians did not understand the concept of individual property ownership. This view is challenged in James Arneson, "Property Concepts of Nineteenth Century Oregon Indians," OHQ, Vol. 81, 1980, pp. 391-422.
7. Edmunds, "Unacquainted with the Laws of the Civilized World," p. 12.
8. McKenny was the architect of the removal policy during the Monroe administration, but it was not put into effect until Jackson had taken office. The American Board of Foreign

Missions and other missionaries opposed the removals and supported the Indians in their opposition. See: Herman J. Viola, Thomas L. McKenny: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy: 1816-1830, Chicago, Sage Books, 1974, pp. 200-223. On extermination, concentration camps and the indiscriminate slaughter of the Indians during the removals, see: Deloria Jr., Of Utmost Good Faith, pp. 160-161; A. Blinderman, "Congressional Social Darwinism and the American Indian," The Indian Historian, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1978, pp. 16-17. For a nineteenth century view of Indian extermination, see: Henry Trumbull, Trumbull's History of the Indian Wars, Boston, Phillips and Sampson, 1846, (Coles Historical Collection), pp. 289-320. Also see: Barbara Cloud, "Oregon in the 1820s: The Congressional Perspective," Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1981, pp. 162-163.

9. Michael Paul Rogin, Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p.58. Takaki, Iron Cages, pp. 100-4.

10. Until 1843, the Willamette population was fairly equally balanced between retired servants and Americans. In the larger Oregon territory, however, the retired servants were the majority. There were no American settlers north of the Columbia River until 1844. See: John A. Hussey, Champoeg: Place of Transition, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1967, pp. 130-131, 143, 165; Charles H. Carey, ed., "British Side of the Oregon Question, 1846," OHO, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 269, 272-273; Harvey W. Scott, "The Formation and Administration of the Provisional Government of Oregon," OHO, Vol. 2, 1901, pp. 107-108.

11. Harriet D. Munnick, ed., Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, St. Paul, French Prairie Press, 1980, Introduction.

12. Leslie M. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46," OHO, Vol. 29, 1928, p. 53; H. Scott, "The Formation and Administration of the Provisional Government of Oregon," p. 90.

13. "Documents," OHO, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 203.

14. The double outfit consisted of a two-wheeled cart, oxen, plows, a cow and necessary household furniture. See: H. S. Lyman, ed. "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," OHS, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 89.

15. E.E. Rich, ed. The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1824-38, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, pp. 240, 242; J. Neilson Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, Portland, 1936, p. 2.

16. For a definitive study on the politics of the Oregon Question, see: Frederick Merk, The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1967.

17. In 1845, for example, Lieutenant Peel of the Royal Marines lost a wager that the majority of men at a ball given in Dr. McLoughlin's grist mill in Oregon City would support the British side if the Oregon boundary question came to a contest. "American sentiment was considerably in the majority." See: T. C. Elliott, "Doctor Robert Newell: Pioneer," OHO, Vol. 9, 1908, pp. 112-113. Most of the twenty-one Red River families who were sent to Nisqually and Cowlitz in late 1841, moved to the more developed Willamette Valley, or Scappoose Plains. See: Hussey, Champoeq: Place of Transition, p. 129; John C. Jackson, "Red River Settlers vs. Puget Sound Agricultural Company, 1854-55," OHS, Vol. 85, 1984, pp. 279-289. McLoughlin was also sympathetic to the rebellions. See: T.C. Elliott, ed. "Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin," OHO, Vol. 23, 1922, pp. 369-370.

18. F.X. Matthieu, "Refugee, Trapper & Settler," Salem, Oregon, 1878, OHS, Portland, Oregon. Also see: H.S. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," OHS, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 75.

19. For example, the Red River settlers who worked for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company became American citizens and refused to pay their debts to the Hudson's Bay Company. See: Jackson, "Red River Settlers vs. Puget Sound Agricultural Company," pp. 279-289. Also see: Andrew Dominique Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier in the Pacific Northwest, Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1978, pp. 72, 86; Lyman, "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," p. 103.

20. E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Third Series, 1844-46, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1944, p. 180. Also see: L. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel," p. 55.

21. For example, on the final outdoor vote for a provisional government, F.X. Matthieu recalled that one hundred and two men were present. All in favour were asked to move to the right. "Fifty of these quickly went over to the right... The other fifty-two, all Canadians, remained as they were, or withdrew in the other direction." By contrast, Robert Newell, an American settler, remembered, "the names of some of the French who voted with us" but, he added "Had the Frenchmen opposed the motion ... the motion would have been lost." See: Lyman, "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," pp. 73-76, 89, 92, 94.; F. X. Matthieu, "Refugee, Trapper & Settler," June 14, 1878, Salem, Oregon, OHS, Portland; Rev. J. Neilson Barry, Heathman Hotel, Portland, May 5, 1958 to Dr. Hammond, Bancroft

Library, Berkeley, (P-W 15, V.2), Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, p. 10-13. Fred Lockley, ed., Visionaries, Mountain Men & Empire Builders, Eugene, Rainy Day Press, 1982, p. 145; Hussey, Champoeg: Place of Transition, pp.119-172; Scott, "The Formation and Administration of the Provisional Government," p. 140; Robert J. Loewenberg, "Creating a Provisional Government in Oregon: A Revision," PNWQ, Vol. 68, 1977, pp.15-18.

22. The 1838 petition was instigated by Rev. Jason Lee and included the signature of most of the American settlers in the Willamette, as well as nine retired servants. See: Cornelius Brosnan, "The Signers of the Oregon Memorial of 1838," WHQ, Vol. 24, 1933, pp. 185-189; Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, pp. 3-13; Hussey, pp. 126, 174; T.T. Geer, "Incidents in the Organization of the Provisional Government," OHQ, Vol. 2, 1901, p. 367. (American Metis activities in politics was not limited to Oregon; in 1850, Minnesota half-breed organized an elected council or government to look after their affairs. See: Alexander Ramsey, Wyandott Indian Sub-Agency, to Hon. Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., September 4, 1850, United States Indian Affairs, 1851, pp. 95-96.)

23. H. Scott, "The Formation and Administration of the Provisional Government," pp. 112-113; L. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel," p. 53; Lois Halliday McDonald, ed., Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980, p. 260. The compact between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Provisional Government involved the government recognizing the allegiance of British subjects and the Company agreeing to pay taxes to the government on the goods they sold to American settlers. See: F.G. Young, "Financial History of Oregon," OHQ, Vol. 7, 1906, pp. 376-379.

24. Hussey, pp. 135, 139-140, 149. Also see: Young, "Financial History of Oregon," p. 376; L. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel," p. 57.

25. Loewenberg, "Creating a Provisional Government in Oregon: A Revision," pp. 18-24.

26. P. J. Frein, ed., "Address by the Canadian Settlers," OHQ, Vol.13, 1912, pp. 338-343; Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, pp. 9-10; Hussey, pp. 157, 167. Originally all settlers, Metis and American, resolved that "no tax should be levied" and instead supported the Provisional Government through voluntary contributions. When this system proved unworkable, the first tax law came into being on June 25, 1844. Farms and farm property, however, were not taxable. See: Young, pp. 383-386; Geer, "Incidents in the Organization of the Provisional Government," pp. 373-374.

27. On Barry's lobby against Champoege State Park, see: Hussey, pp. 315-337.

28. J. Neilson Barry, Portland, May 5, 1958 to Dr. Hammond, Bancroft Library, J. Neilson Barry Letters, (P-W 15, V. 2), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

29. L. Scott, "Report of Lieut. Peel," p. 62; William J. Scheick, The Half-Blood: A Cultural Symbol in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1979, p. 5; Paul Lachance, "Intermarriage and French Cultural Persistence in Late Spanish and Early American New Orleans," Histoire Sociale - Social History, Vol. 15, No. 29, 1982, pp. 47-81; Also see: Darrell A. Posey, "Origin, Development and Maintenance of a Louisiana Mixed-Blood Community," Ethnohistory, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1979, pp. 177-183; Gregory M. Franzwa, The Story of Old Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, Patrice Press, 1967.

30. Hussey, pp. 143-149, 166; L. Scott, "Report of Lieut. Peel," pp. 62-63. On the history of "Oregon Fever", see: Cloud, "Oregon in the 1820s: The Congressional Perspective," pp. 145-164.

31. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin: Third Series, p. xxx. The Company's image was further eroded in 1844 when there was a bumper wheat crop and they refused to buy any more of the settlers' wheat because their granaries were "full and bursting." See: Margaret J. Bailey, "French Prairie Farm: 1839-1850," Marion County History, Vol. 5, 1959, p. 45.

32. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," pp. 93-94.

33. "Documents," pp. 2-3, 327-328.

34. J. Neilson Barry Papers, (P-W15, V.2), Bancroft Library.

35. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin: Third Series, p. 73.

36. Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin: Third Series, p. 190.

37. For example, in December 1845 American members of the Legislative Committee of Oregon petitioned Congress for the establishment of a territorial government under the protection of the United States. They argued that while British subjects were "amply provided with all the munitions of war," and had commercial advantages under the Hudson's Bay Company, they had no protection, no laws and no private capital to compete with the "wealthy and powerful monopoly." See: Memorial of the Legislative Committee of Oregon for the establishment of a Territorial Government under the Protection of the United

States, December 8, 1845, 29th Congress, 1st Session, Senate, pp. 1-3. Also see: Jesse Applegate, Yam Hill, Oregon Territory, June 16, 1845, to Lisbon Applegate, J. Neilson Barry File, (P-W 15, V2) Bancroft Library; Hussey, p. 165.

38. Scott, p. 107-108. Also see: Elliott, "Doctor Robert Newell," p. 113.

39. Kate Blaine continued: "You talk about the stupidity and awkwardness of the Irish, you ought to have to do with our Indians and then you would know what these words mean." See: Frederick A. Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians: Methodist Involvement in the Indian Troubles in Oregon and Washington," Church History, Vol. 49, No. 1, 1980, p. 180.

40. Keith Clark, Donna Clark, eds., "William McKay's Journal 1866-67: Indian Scout," OHQ, Vol. 79, 1978, p. 309.

41. Dorothy O. Johansen, "The Roll of Land Laws in the Settlement of Oregon," Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims: Volume I, Portland, Genealogical Forum of Portland, 1957, [pages not numbered]; McDonald, The Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, p. 260. A significant number of Hudson's Bay Company gentlemen and retired servants were among the claimants, but many of their 1843 claims were vacant, transferred, or abandoned. See: Genealogical Material in Oregon Provisional Land Claims, Abstracted, Vol. I-VIII, 1843-1849, Portland, Genealogical Forum of Portland, 1982, pp. 1-66.

42. William R. Sampson, John McLoughlin's Business Correspondence, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1973, pp. 69-71. Also see: Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-46," OHQ, Vol. 10, 1909, pp. 73-74; McDonald, p. 260.

43. Janice K. Duncan, Minority With A Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1972, pp. 16-18. Some former Hudson's Bay Company Kanakas eventually settled on Salt Spring Island, British Columbia. See: R. Toynbee, Snapshots of Early Saltspring, Ganges, Mouat Trading Company, 1978, pp. 12, 15.

44. Johansen, "The Roll of Land Laws in the Settlement of Oregon," [pages not numbered]. Congress did not confirm the Provisional Government's land grants. Although the Hudson's Bay Company's interests were protected in law, in reality there were so many squatters on its 160,000 acres that the Company had to seek military aid. See: Ralph Richard Martig, "Hudson's Bay Company Claims, 1846-69," OHQ, Vol. 36, 1935, pp. 62-63.

45. Land Laws and Early Settlers of Oregon: Map and Genealogical Data of Pioneer Families of Township 3 South, Range 1, East Willamette Meridian, Oregon, Canby Historical Society, 1970, p. 2.

46. For example, American settler Hugh Cosgrove bought a section of land next to the Catholic mission for \$800.00 in 1848, which was considered several times higher in price than most holdings sold by other retired servants. See: H. S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of Hugh Cosgrove," OHQ, Vol. 1, 1900, pp. 266-267.

47. Presumably Matthieu's included the women and children in his "500 men strong." F.X. Matthieu, Refugee, Trapper & Settler, Salem, Oregon, June 14, 1878, OHS.

48. Bailey, "French Prairie Farm, 1839-1850," p. 46.

49. F. X. Matthieu claimed that, when he arrived in the valley in 1842, there were 300 settlers on French Prairie. By contrast, J. Neilson Barry's compilation of the French Canadian population of 1844, drawn from settlers with French last names, is between 121 to 200. See: Rich, The Letters of John McLoughlin: Third Series, pp xxxiv, xxxv; Lyman, "Reminiscences of F.X. Matthieu," p. 87; Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, p. 5. On the census, see: Young, pp. 364, 377-378.

50. In addition to servants, the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company took many claims in their own names in order to secure Company property from the Americans. The Nisqually claims, filed from 1843 to 1849, were abandoned by request of Dr. Tolmie in favour of the Puget Sound Company, and the Fort Vancouver claims were abandoned by request of James Douglas in favour of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dr. Forbes Barclay and James Graham both protested that "Mr. Douglas was not authorized to make said transfer." See: Genealogical Material in Oregon Provisional Land Claims, Vols. I-VIII, pp. 3-4, 26.

51. Willard Rees, Butteville, Oregon, Sept. 18, 1879 to Hubert H. Bancroft, Bancroft Papers, (P-A 115), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

52. "Documents," OHQ, Vol. 1, 1900, pp. 203, 327-328; Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, pp. 5-6, 12-13.

53. Johansen, "The Roll of Land Laws"; Dorothy O. Johansen, "The Land Base of Oregon's Economy," Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims: Volume II, Portland, Genealogical Forum of Portland, 1980, [pages not numbered].

54. For example, see: Clark, "William McKay's Journal," p. 155.

55. T.W. Davenport, "An Object Lesson in Paternalism," OHQ, Vol. 4, 1903, pp.49, 51-53.

56. Harriet D. Munnick, Adrian R. Munnick, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Missions of St. Ann and St. Rose of the Cayouse, Portland, Binford & Mort Publishing, 1989, pp. xii, "Settlers," npn.

57. United States. Department of State, Record of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations, RG 75, No. 15, Treaty of 1846, Group B, Map L of Hudson's Bay Company Land Claims at Colville, Washington Territory.

58. The first Metis to settle on Spokane lands was Antoine Plante who began farming and later ran a ferry across the Spokane River. See: Thomas Jessett, Chief Spokane Garry 1811-1829: Christian, Statesman and Friend of the White Man, Minneapolis, T.S. Denison and Co., Inc., 1960, pp. 99-100.

59. Jessett, Chief Spokane Garry, pp. 108, 113-120; Ray Hoard Glassley, Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest, Portland, Binford & Mort, 1972, pp. 125-126. Garry was at the Walla Walla Council which drew more than 5,000 Indians. See: Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., "The Walla Walla Council of 1855," The Western American Indian: Case Studies in Tribal History, edited by Richard N. Ellis, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1972, pp. 5, 13.

60. The Indian wars disrupted the fur trade and led to the closure of some Hudson's Bay Company forts. The movement of Indians to reservations meant there were few Indians to trade with. The cost of trade goods increased because of American duties on English imports and made it difficult for the Hudson's Bay Company to continue their operations in the United States. These factors had an adverse effect on those Metis families who had no other occupations besides trapping and trading. See: Martig, "Hudson's Bay Company Claims," pp. 63-70.

61. Although a number of treaties had been signed with Indians in Oregon, in 1854 Congressional amendments consolidated various tribes and legislated that one tribe could be placed upon a reservation set aside for another. Such amendments were unacceptable to the Indians and were a major cause of the wars which followed. See: Glassley, Indian Wars, pp. 1-11; Also see: Robin Fisher, "Indian Warfare and Two Frontiers: A Comparison of British Columbia and Washington Territory during the Early Years of Settlement," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. L, No. 1, 1981, pp. 31-51.

62. Oscar Winther, Rose Galey, eds., "Mrs. Butler's 1853 Diary of Rogue River Valley," OHQ, Vol. 41, 1940, p. 351; Davenport, "An Object Lesson in Paternalism," p. 44.
63. Glassley, pp. 75, 81; Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier, p. 102. On the extermination policy during the Snake War, see: Clark, "William McKay's Journal," pp. 129-131, 149, 152; Lt. W. Borrowse, Fort Dalles, Feb. 5, 1867 to W.C. McKay, William McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS. (In this letter Borrowse ordered McKay to kill Piute Chief Paulina, one of the guerrilla Indian raiders.)
64. Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians," p. 183.
65. Glassley, p. 40. The first volunteers, some twenty-five men known as the "Oregon Rangers," were organized in 1843 after George Le Breton was killed by Clackamas Indians. Trouble was averted and the Rangers were disbanded. See: Scott, p. 109.
66. Barry, The French Canadian Pioneers, p. 6.
67. Pambrun, p. 100.
68. Thomas W. Dunlay, Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1982, pp. 1-24.
69. On fraternalism during the Indian wars, see: Charles W. Frush, "A Trip From the Dalles of the Columbia, Oregon, to Fort Owen, Bitter Root Valley, Montana, in the Spring of 1858," Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 2, 1896, pp. 339-340.
70. Franklin's statements on Metis are quoted in: George Combe, The Constitution of Man in Relation to the Natural Law, London, Cassell and Company, Limited, 1893, p. 107; Also see: Rev. George Bryce, "The Pre-Selkirk Settlers of Old Assiniboia," The Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1918, p. 157.
71. Gordon Speck, Breeds and Half-Breeds, New York, Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1969, p. ix.
72. Frush, "A Trip From the Dalles ...to Fort Owen," pp. 338-339. On George Montour, see: S.A. Clarke, "The Montures on French Prairie," OHQ, Vol. 4, 1903, p. 269.
73. Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, Genealogy Files, OHS.

74. Dorion was the interpreter for U.S. Indian Agent, Dr. Elijah White, who attempted to impose a code on laws on the Nez Perces and Cayuse in 1842, by arriving in their villages with his army of six men including Tom McKay and Baptiste Dorion. The 'laws' led to dissidence and ultimately open hostilities with whites. See: Speck, Breeds and Half-Breeds, pp. 190-199; Theodore John Rivers, "The Nez Perce Laws (1842): The Introduction of Laws Foreign to an Independent People," The Indian Historian, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1978, pp. 15-24.

75. Pambrun, pp. 97-101.

76. Clarence B. Bagley, "Attitudes of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Indian War of 1855-1856," WHQ, Vol. 8, 1917, p. 291.

77. W. P. Bonney, "The Indian War of 1855-1856 - Martial Law, Leschi Hanged," History of Pierce County, Washington, Volume I, Chicago, Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1927, pp. 169-223; Vernon Carstensen, ed., "Pacific Northwest Letters of George Gibbs," OHQ, Vol. 54, 1953, p. 196; Bagley, "Attitudes of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Indian War of 1855-1856," pp. 291-307; Roy N. Lokken, "The Martial Law Controversy in Washington Territory, 1856," PNWQ, Vol. 43, 1952, pp. 91-119; Robert W. Johannsen, "National Issues and Local Politics in Washington Territory, 1857-1861," PNWQ, Vol. 42, 1951, pp. 6-7; Glassley, pp. 43-44; William Strong, "Knickerbocker Views of the Oregon Country: Judge William Strong's Narrative," OHQ, Vol. 62, 1961, p. 85; Quincy A. Brooks, "Taken Prisoner by the Indians," WHQ, Vol. 1, 1906-07, pp. 122-124.

78. Frush, pp. 339-340.

79. Military Service 1866-67, William McKay Papers, (Ms. 413), OHS; L. Moorehouse to E.E. Dye, n.d., E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; Clark, "William McKay's Journal," pp. 121-171, 269-333.

80. H. S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of Louis Labonte," OHQ, Vol. 1, 1900, p. 170.

81. Speck, p. xv. As the Indian wars receded, patrolling the frontier became a occupation for Metis males. By the 1880s the American army had designed tests for Metis scouts. For example, see: Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet, Winnipeg, Editions Bois-Brules, 1980, pp. 90-91.

82. Annie Laurie Bird, "Thomas McKay," OHQ, Vol. 40, 1939, p. 11; Fred Lockley, ed., "The McKay Family --Fur Traders and

Indian Fighters," Visionaries, Mountain Men & Empire Builders, pp. 57-74.

83. Glassley, p. 27. Also see: Anson Dart, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Oregon Territory to L. Lea, Commissioner, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, July 20, 1850, Document No. 1, United States Indian Affairs, 1851. p. 149.

84. W. Borrowe, 1st, Lt. 2nd U.S. Arty., Fort Dallas, to Doctor W. McKay, Feb. 5, 1867, May 30, 1867, William McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS.

85. Special Order, No. 10, Major General George Crook, Camp C.F. Smith, Oregon, July 20, 1867, William McKay Papers, (Mss. 413), OHS.

86. J.W. Redington, Oakland, California to E.E. Dye, March 7, 1931, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

87. McKay received \$985.22 for his services during the Snake War, but was unable to secure compensation for his trading post at Umatilla which had been destroyed by the Indians. On wages and promises made to the scouts, see: William McKay's Speech at Mrs. Leasure, Nov. 30, 1887; J. F., Fort Dallas to William McKay, June 10, 1867; George T. Hodges, Chief Clerk, Fort Vancouver, to William McKay, Dec. 27, 1867; W. Borrowe, to Dr. W.C. McKay, Comdg. Detachment of Scouts, Feb. 5, 1867, William McKay Papers, (Ms. 413), OHS. On the plight of the Metis and Indian veterans, see: J. W. Redington, Oakland, California, to E.E. Dye, May 3, 1929, Jan., 1931, Jan. 2, 1931, March 7, 1931, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

88. J. W. Redington, Berkeley, California, to Hon. Commissioner of Pensions, Washington, D.C., May 3, 1929, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

89. Clark, Daring Donald McKay, p. xiii. The Indian wars created a financial burden in Oregon and Washington. The Cayuse War cost \$109,311.50 and was, in the words of Harvey Scott, a "prodigious effort for the small population" of the state. See: Scott, p. 114-115; Young, p. 361.

90. Fred Lockley, Conversations with Bullwhackers, Muleskinners, Pioneers, Prospectors, '49ers, Indian Fighters...and All Sorts & Conditions of Men, Eugene, Rainy Day Press, 1981, p. 80.

91. J.W. Redington, Service of Scouts and Couriers in Indian Wars, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

92. On the 1861 flood, see: Hussey, pp. 230-231; John H. Atherton, "Archaeological Investigations at Champoeg, Oregon, 1973," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1975, pp. 104-105.
93. Davenport, "An Object Lesson in Paternalism," pp. 49, 51-53.
94. Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians," p. 182; John Minto, Salem, to E.E. Dye, May 10, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.
95. In actual fact, however, both MacDonald and McLoughlin were world travellers. MacDonald had lived in Japan, Australia and various part of Europe and Canada before settling at old Fort Colville (Colville) where he had been raised. McLoughlin had lived in Canada and Europe. He originally went to the Kootenay Valley while on route to the Fraser River goldrush. See: William Lewis, Naojiro Murakami, eds., Ranald MacDonald, Spokane, Inland American Printing Company, 1923, p. 118; Margaret V. Sherlock, Hotel Congress, Seattle, to E.E. Dye, Jan. 24, 1916; David McLoughlin, Kootenai, to E.E. Dye, June 26, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; W.P. Winans, "Fort Colville 1859 to 1869," WHQ, Vol. 3, 1908-1912, p. 78.
96. Elliott, "Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin," p. 368; Sampson, John McLoughlin's Business Correspondence, pp. 69-71.
97. Robert E. Cail, Land, Man and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1974, p. 174.
98. Pambrun, Sixty Years on the Frontier, p. 138.
99. For example, the South branch of the Saskatchewan River Metis claimed land for an exclusive Metis colony on the grounds that they were the first settlers on the land. By contrast, in the Cypress Hills region of the Canadian Northwest, the Metis claimed land as aboriginal people and called for the exclusion of "all whites". See: Bob Beal, Rod Macleod, Prairie Fire: The 1885 North-West Rebellions, Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1984, p. 44.
100. The population census is taken from the Annotations, in: Harriet Duncan Munnick, Stephen Dow Beckham, Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Grand Ronde Register, Portland, Binford and Mort Publishing, 1987, pp. vii, xix, A-1-A-10.
101. The people on the Siletz had strong links with the those on the Grand Ronde, but the records have been lost. Juliet Pollard, Visit to the Siletz and Grand Ronde Indian

Reservations -- Discussion with Tina Tasker, Social Service Agent for the Siletz Reservation, April 13, 1990.

102. See: Munnick, Catholic Church Records: Grand Ronde Register, p.vii.

103. Scheick, The Half-Blood, pp.7-8.

104. Records, Documents and Correspondence relating claims of Half-Breeds, under Sac and Fox Treaty of 1824, Sept. 30, 1828-June 9, 1837, Record of the United States Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Vol. 26, Bancroft Library.

105. Scheick, pp. 8-9.

106. Scheick, pp. 8-9. The inclusion of half-breeds on Indian reservations appears to have fit nicely with President Grant's Indian Peace Policy. See: Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, pp. 129-157; Robert L. Whitner, "Grant's Indian Peace Policy on the Yakima Reservation, 1870-82," The Western American Indian: Case Studies in Tribal History, pp. 48-49. In 1850, the first reports of United States Metis who had "nothing to live on" because of the dwindling buffalo herds and competition from Red River Metis hunting in Minnesota were published. Alexander Ramsey reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.: "The yield of the hunt of our Half-breeds has been a great deal less than ordinary, as the Half-breeds on the British side came over first and frightened away all the animals. This has caused us much damage. The British Half-breeds returned heavily laden, taken away the game of our prairies to their homes, while the proprietors returned only with half loads, after being gone one month longer than usual." See: Alexander Ramsey, Wyandott Indian Sub-Agency, to Hon. Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1850, United States Indian Affairs, 1851, p. 95.

107. For example, a North-West Half-Breed Commission was not appointed to investigate land claims until the eve of the Metis Rebellion of 1885. See: Beal, Macleod, Prairie Fire: The 1885 North-West Rebellions, p. 136; Donald M. Stewart, "The Land Scrip Issues of Canada," The Canadian Money Journal, Vol. XV, No. 1-3, 1979, pp. 45-46, 88-89.

108. Beal, Macleod, pp. 24, 45; Stewart, The Land Scrip Issues of Canada, pp. 5, 18-19.

109. Stewart, pp. 5-19; 37-53; 87-93.

110. Oregon Metis began moving from the Walla Walla Valley to Western Washington and Montana in the 1850s and were among the first settlers in La Barge City, Hell's Gate and Frenchtown. Some survived very well, others became members of Montana's dispossessed Metis. See: "A List of all Persons (Except Indians) Who were in What is Now Montana During the Winter of 1862-3, which was the First Winter After the Gold Mines of this Region had become Noised Abroad," Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, 1876, pp. 334-354. On the early routes to Montana from Washington, see: Frush, "A Trip from the Dalles...to Fort Owen," pp. 337-342; Frank H. Woody, "From Missoula to Walla Walla in 1857, on Horseback," WHO, Vol. 3, 1908-1912, pp. 275-277; T.C. Elliott, "Walla and Missoula," WHO, Vol. 3, 1908-1912, pp. 274-276. On the Metis of Montana, see: William Thackeray, The Montana Metis: Identity and Self-Concept, The Metis of North America Conference Paper, The Newberry Library, Chicago, September 1981; Verne Dusenberry, "Waiting for a Day that Never Comes: The Dispossessed Metis of Montana," The New People: Being and Becoming Metis in North America, edited by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1985, pp. 119-136.

111. See: Theresa Truchot, The Black Wind, published by the author, 1974, p. 66.

112. Beal, Macleod, pp. 41, 48.

113. Father Lacombe Chapel/ La chapelle du Pere Lacombe, Alberta Culture Pamphlet, 1985, pp. 10-12; "The Half-breed Colony," Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Vol. VI, May 1896, pp. 160-161.

114. J. A. Grant Manuscript, James Murray Yale Papers, PABC, Victoria, p. 80. Also see: Pambrun, p. 95.

115. Pambrun, pp. 138-139.

116. Margaret Bailey became extremely well known in Oregon after her autobiographical Grain, or Passages in the Life of Ruth Rover, was published in 1854, exposing the abuses she had suffered. See: Bailey, "French Prairie Farm," p. 45. Shortly after Bailey made her statement, a prohibition bill was passed. It only lasted for two years, till 1846, when liquor distilling and distribution came under license fees which were a welcome source of revenue for the government. See: Mirth Kaplan, "Courts, Counselors and Cases: The Judiciary of Oregon's Provisional Government," OHQ, Vol. 62, 1961, pp. 140-143; Scott, pp. 110-113; Young, p. 382.

117. For examples of Metis and Indian power before subjugation, see: Frush, A Trip From the Dalles of the Columbia to

Fort Owen," p. 339; Stewart, "Land Scrips," p. 48; Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians," p. 181.

118. Harriet Duncan Munnick, ed. Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Portland, Binford & Mort, 1979, p. A-50; H. S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of Louis Labonte," p. 169. On the idea that Indians only have a past, not a present existence, see: Francis Paul Prucha, "American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century," The Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1984, p. 5; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian, New York, Vintage Books, pp. 29-30.

119. For example, see: John Minto to E.E.Dye, May 10, 1904, E.E.Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

120. For example, see: Anne Huggins, Fort Nisqually to E.E. Dye, January 20, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS.

121. United States Census of Oregon, 1850, OHS; Genealogical Material in Oregon Provisional Land Claims, Vols. I -VIII, 1845-1849; Oregon Donation Land Claims, Vols. I-IV. Also see: Alex LaBouff Family Genealogy, OHS, Portland.

122. Davenport, "An Object Lesson in Paternalism," pp. 49-53.

123. Ranald McDonald, Old Fort Colville, Marcus, Washington, to E.E. Dye, August 22, 1892, E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS. Also see: Robert Birnie, "Life and Adventures of Robert Birnie born at Astoria, Oregon, Feb. 7, 1824," San Francisco, 1872, (Ms. CE 65-33), Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

124. John Minto, Salem, to E.E. Dye, May 10, 1904, E.E. Dye Papers, OHS.

125. Elliott, "Doctor Robert Newell," p. 112.

126. Wilson, "Pre-Aryan American Man," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 1, 1882-1883, pp. 43-44.

127. For example, after financial ruin caused by the 1861 flood in the Willamette, the Ogdens and the McKinlay families became the first settlers at Lac la Hache, British Columbia. Andrew Pambrun's family became the first settlers in Choteau, Montana. There were also Metis settlements close to many of the former Hudson's Bay Company forts. See: Juliet Pollard, Interview with Ogden-McKinlay family, Lac la Hache, August 20, 1982; Truchot, The Black Wind, p. 69.

128. J. P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner, B.S. Allen to Hon. Luke Lea, Commissioner Indian Affairs, May 14, 1851, Message From the President, 1850-1851, OHS, pp. 468-478; Pambrun, p. 141.

129. The children of fur trade youngsters on reservations went to government Indian residential schools where they were treated as Indians. For example, William McKay's daughter Leila was "at the government Indian school" and spend two days a week with her parents. Some of Angus McDonald's grandchildren also attended reservation schools. See: William McKay to E.E. Dye, Feb. 1, 1892; Hiram Knowles to E.E. Dye, Nov. 22, 1904; Frank Woody, Attorney at Law, to E.E. Dye, May 8, 1902; E.E. Dye Papers, (Ms. 1089), OHS; F.W. Howay, William S. Lewis, Jacob A. Meyers, "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," WHQ, Vol. 8, 1917, p. 206.

130. Munnick, Beckham, Catholic Church Records: Grand Ronde, pp. A-7-A-8.

131. Sidney W. Mintz, "Culture: An Anthropological View," The Yale Review, Vol. 71, No. 4, 1982, pp. 499-527.

132. On "response-abilities" and Metis survival, see: Redbird, We Are Metis, pp. 6-7.

133. Christina MacDonald McKenzie Williams, "The Daughter of Angus MacDonald," WHQ, Vol. 13, 1922, p. 116.

134. V. Havard, "The French Half-Breed of the Northwest," Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution 1879, Washington, D.C., 1880, p. 309; John Reade, "The Half-Breed," Proceedings and transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 1, 1882-1883, p. 21; John Reade also credited the Metis with saving "to Britain and Canada the vast northwest which would otherwise not unlikely have met the fate of Oregon." Turn of the century historian, Hiram Chittenden commented that, "The extensive intermarriage of the two races during the period of more than a century under the fur trade regime has probably done more than any other one thing toward the ultimate civilization of an almost untamable race." See: Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, Stanford, Academic Reprint, 1954, p. xxvi. Also see: Bryce, "Intrusive Ethnological Types in Rupert's Land," p. 144.

Conclusion

At Easter time, wild strawberries and other meadow flowers bloom in the cemeteries on the Siletz and Grand Ronde Indian reservations where the last of the Chinook and other coastal Oregon tribes were placed in the 1850s. The setting is peaceful, but there are no fur trade children at rest at Siletz and only five familiar names, LaChance, LaBonte, Petite, Quenelle and Northwest, are to be found on the headstones and wooden markers at Grand Ronde.¹

A visit to the cemeteries helps confirm the conclusion reached in this thesis that few fur trade children lived with the coastal Indians of Oregon. In contrast to the view that the fur trade brought only minimal cultural change to native people, I conclude that the fur trade, which brought malaria, venereal diseases and environmental transformations, had a devastating impact on the natives of the Lower Columbia River, and resulted in such rapid change that it was impossible for the people to adjust quickly enough to offset the damage to themselves and their cultures.

The relationship between coastal native people and fur trade children was a difficult one and the survival of Metis youngsters among the Chinook tribes was precarious. They were not wanted and as a result of the "cultural despair" brought about by the fur trade, native people sought to destroy them. At the same time, biology played a part. Native women risked more childbirth complications with mixed-blood youngsters than

they did with native infants and they practiced abortion to avoid these difficulties.

In the Oregon fur trade, by contrast, these childbirth complications were not so grave as to prevent the development of a sizable Metis population. The transition of native women to fur trade wives, however, was not a smooth one, and in the process, native women appear to have lost the traditional support systems which guided them through childbirth in their own cultures. During the Hudson's Bay Company era, native childbirth methods were gradually superseded by Euro-American obstetrics.

II

At Lac la Hache, British Columbia, in the summer of 1982, I was taken to a carefully maintained private cemetery to view the grave of Sarah Ogden McKinley, one of Narcissa Whitman's pupils at Fort Vancouver in 1836. Early in the spring of 1989, I was escorted to the grave of Leticia Bird McKay, who had come from Red River in 1841 and was one of the Metis midwives who delivered fur trade children. The hand-carved gravestone was nestled among the evergreen trees in the old Harrison Cemetery on a road that winds through the lush farmland on the North Tualatin Plains in Oregon where Leticia had lived. In the old section of the Ross Bay cemetery in Victoria, British Columbia, there is a cluster of fur trade childrens' graves just behind the large funeral monument to Amelia Douglas, one of the most celebrated fur trade daughters. These graves both

of the most celebrated fur trade daughters. These graves both confirm the historical existence of the fur trade children and reflect upon their movements in the aftermath of the Hudson's Bay Company era.

At Christina Lake, in the Kootenay District of British Columbia, few of the residents know that their summer retreat and the mountain range which flanks the lake was named after Christina MacDonald, who owned and managed a fur trading post in Kamloops and whose beauty and equestrian skills were noted in more than one man's journals. ²

Just below Midway, British Columbia, on the United States side of the border, is Ranald MacDonald's grave and an historic marker which acknowledges him as a local pioneer and the first teacher of English in Japan. More than 500 miles away at the site of Ranald's birthplace at Old Fort Astoria, there is another monument to him erected in 1988, as a joint tribute from Japanese and American people.

The once lively Metis community on White Horse Plains near Fort Colville (Colville) and the fort itself have mostly been flooded by the hydroelectric projects on the Columbia River, but in the public library in the town of Colville, a few miles away, there is a old map framed in glass which shows the original donation land claims of the fur trade children.

At Fort Vancouver on the north side of the Columbia River, across from present day Portland, Oregon, there is little inside the historic stockade to suggest the immense

"emporium in the wilderness." In 1849, when the United States Army took over the fort most of the buildings were demolished to make way for military structures. Although some reconstruction has taken place, nothing remains of the servant's village where the children played. Indeed, much of the village site lies under the freeway which connects California to British Columbia.

Some descendants of the fur trade children still live in the Willamette, but there are few traces in the valley to indicate that this was once the heartland of the Pacific Northwest Metis. Champeog, the main village of the retired traders and their families, was largely destroyed by the Willamette River flood of 1861. Champeog State Park on the bluff above commemorates the provisional government organized there in the spring of 1843, but reveals little of the part played by the fur trade children in that government. Further down the valley, the 'original' 1838 Catholic Church Mission of St. Paul, a little log shanty which served the retired fur traders and their families, remains in the shadow of a newer, larger, Catholic church. A few French place names also recall a time when the valley was home to a thousand or so fur trade children.

My field trips support the conclusion reached in this thesis that, in the aftermath of the fur trade, many of the children spread throughout the Pacific Northwest and were in the course of time absorbed into the mainstream population.

Local genealogies also support this contention. An account written in 1965 about the family of Quebec born Astorian-cum-Hudson Bay Company servant Joseph Gervais and his Metis children illustrates something about how this transition took place over the generations:

The Gervaises, after more than a century in the Willamette Valley, are still known to the American West, continuing a six-generation community service to Oregon and their country. Joseph's son Isaac fought in the Indian wars and went to the California gold fields. His son Z. Jerome was a rancher, miner and conservationist. Jerome was followed by his son, Louis, and his sons Joseph and Richard and their children. Louis Gervais, a great-grandson, formerly of Portland and now of Wemme on Mt. Hood was a Marine Lieutenant in World War I, and later in charge of the western division of the lumber branch of the Office of Price Administration (OPA). His son Joseph is head of sales and services in the western railroad division of Union Carbide. Richard is plant manager for Brooks-Scanlon, Inc., at Bend, the biggest pine mill in Oregon. Isaac Gervais, son of Louis Gervais uncle (Isaac Gervais)³, is in the logging equipment business in Eugene.

Early on in my research, I began to develop my own genealogical files. As this thesis concludes, it is relatively easy to show that the acculturation goals of the church, school and capitalist enterprise of the Hudson's Bay Company were largely successful. It is possible to make an impressive list of the achievements made by the fur trade children in many occupations and professions. As already indicated, many of the children were pioneers in various places throughout the Pacific Northwest, but particularly in those areas where the old north-south fur trade brigade routes once ran. Many local histories acknowledge the children's contributions. For

histories acknowledge the children's contributions. For example, Gordon MacNab's A Century of News and People in the East Oregonian, (1975), describes the Chinook-born Fort Vancouver pupil, Dr. William McKay:

[In 1851] The first actual settler of Umatilla Country was the grandson of a partner of John Jacob Astor...and stepson of Dr. John McLoughlin...McKay's claim was at the mouth of How-ti-mi Creek (McKay Creek). His ranch developed into a trading post and was a popular stopping place for travellers. He planted the first fruit trees and had cattle, but his trees didn't survive the Yakima Indian War of 1855.⁴

It is difficult to be a serious scholar of Pacific Northwest history without being aware that a sizeable percentage of the population in the region is of Indian ancestry. In the past, however, many historians ignored this fact in their writings.⁵ In some cases, such decisions were prudent; in other cases, history became distorted.⁶ Such omissions tell much about the nature of the society and the taint associated with having 'Indian blood'. Racism rooted in nineteenth century science had few regional boundaries.

Many of the conclusions reached in this thesis are involved with the question of race and racism. As I argue in the text, the belief that nature was more powerful than nurture was replaced during the fur trade children's lifetimes by concepts of racial superiority based on evolutionary and biological theories which deemed 'half-breeds' inferior to whites. These racial attitudes were reflected in the politics of Oregon settlers who attempted to

disenfranchise 'half-breed' males.

The struggle for fur trade children was in learning how to cope with racism while retaining their self-worth and dignity as human beings and as 'half-breeds.' There were no easy routes. Like other victims of social injustice, the response of the children to racism varied. Some were ashamed of their mixed-blood heritage and disguised their origins, while others took pride in their maternal lineage and sought to prove they were as good as white people.

Despite racism, however, the shortage of white women in the Pacific Northwest permitted Metis girls access to the dominant society through marriage to white men, while it denied this entrance to their brothers. At the same time, the reality of differing racial appearances among siblings in individual fur trade families had profound consequences in the children's lives. The fairest tended to be well received in white society, while their darker and more 'native' looking brothers and sisters were regarded as inferior and treated as Indians. Some may have become Indians as a result. What can be said with certainty is that fur trade youngsters made choices and adapted as best they could to the changing circumstances in their lives.

The growing up experiences of fur trade children, which were shaped by the Euro-American concepts of class and capitalism, helped ease the children's transition into American society. The schooling of fur trade children aided

in this process, by teaching them to read and write in English and acquainting them with Euro-American values. But schooling also took on new meanings not envisioned by the teachers. By bringing children of various mixed-blood backgrounds together, the schools unintentionally helped forge a fur trade 'half-breed' or Metis 'consciousness' among their wards -- a 'consciousness' that was retained in later life through a complex network of kinship relationships in the native and white communities which stretched throughout the region.

The survival of this 'consciousness', this sense of being different, of being 'half-breed', had much to do with the children's abilities to take on the protective colorations of either American or native cultures as circumstances dictated. Thus, three of the four officers sons in the first class at Fort Vancouver, Dr. Billy McKay, Andrew Pambrun and David McLoughlin were members of both white and native communities at various times in their lives. When they lived with native people, however, they retained their 'white' status in the local communities and often acted as intermediaries between the native people and the white settlers, rather than embracing native culture as their own.

On balance, the fur trade children appear to have been drawn more towards the dominant white culture than towards native life on the reservations. This is not surprising. As this thesis has suggested, the formal means of educating the fur trade youngsters were aimed at teaching them the Christian

values and mores of Euro-American society and eradicating their so-called 'Indian traits.' The contact that fur trade children had with native people while they were growing up either came through their mothers, who were themselves undergoing an acculturation process to fur trade culture, or through native people employed at the Hudson's Bay Company forts. In either case, the fort setting does not appear to have been very conducive to schooling the youngsters in traditional native values. For the children born to Chinook mothers, the destruction of the Indians not only meant the loss of grandparents and other relatives, but the loss of the alternate culture they might have adopted as adults. For most fur trade children, the restrictions imposed on the reservations appear to have had less appeal than the limited freedoms allowed 'half-breeds' in the dominant society.

At the present time, anthropologists tell us there are no 'pure blood' Indians in the Pacific Northwest. What makes the Metis, an Indian, is the reservation, the residential school and the oral traditions passed from one generation to another. In short, Indian culture makes people Indian. At the same time, a large number of people in the dominant society of the Pacific Northwest are of Indian ancestry, some of them are descendants of the fur trade children who were told stories of a 'fur trade culture' when they were young.⁷ Most of them are white members of mainstream society, but a few have chosen to call themselves Metis.

Notes

1. Juliet Pollard, Visit to the Siletz and Grand Ronde Indian Reservations, Oregon, April 13, 1990.
2. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with local people at Chistina Lake, July 1986.
3. Thomas Vaughan, Martin Winch, "Joseph Gervais, A Familiar Mystery Man," OHO, Vol. 66, 1965, p. 362.
4. Gordon MacNab, A Century of News and People in the East Oregonian: 1875-1975, Pendleton, East Oregonian Publishing Company, 1975, p. 15.
5. For example, Jean Barman's ongoing study of the half-breed population in British Columbia, which uses the manuscript censuses for 1881 and 1891, makes clear that the Metis population was relatively large. Her work should help to clarify the movement of fur trade children during this time period and may reveal materials useful to the earlier period under study in this thesis where no accurate census data is available. See: Jean Barman, " "HalfBreeds" in Late Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, Victoria, May 1990.
6. For example, in Margaret Ormsby's A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1976, Ormsby does not mention that Susan Allison's husband had a native wife and family at the time of his marriage to Susan.
7. Juliet Pollard, Discussions with descendant of the fur trade families, 1980-1990.

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PERIODICAL TITLE ABBREVIATIONS

Am. Anthrop. - American Anthropologist
 Am. J. Phys. Anthropol. - American Journal of Physical Anthropology
 BCHQ - British Columbia Historical Quarterly
 Br. J. Obstet. & Gynaecol. - British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology
 CHR - Canadian Historical Review
 Can. Med. Assn. J. - Canadian Medical Association Journal
 Hum. Biol. - Human Biology
 J. Biosoc. Sci. - Journal of Biosocial Science
 OHQ - Oregon Historical Quarterly
 PHR - Pacific Historical Review
 PNWH - Pacific Northwest History
 PNWQ - Pacific Northwest Quarterly
 TOPA - Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association
 UC Publ. Arch. & Ethno. - University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology
 WHQ - Washington Historical Quarterly

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