

FINDING CHIEF KAMIAKIN

“The books say that these Coyote Stories from people who imagined, but to me these things are true to fact. I have seen for myself where things happened in Coyote’s time, the shape of rocks and rivers and lakes.... The history of my family and people has been told by my uncles and other elders and is written in the ancient rocks. You cannot read it all in a book or understand it all; you can only see it. The drums, the Seven Drums beating and the words of the song, speak the same truths as are in the Bible. Listen, you can hear them. Truth is the same everywhere.”

--Andrew George (*Tipiyeléhne Xáyxayx*/White Eagle),
First Centennial Commission “Living Treasure of Washington,” 1989

“It so happens that the words and stories passed down by my aunts made the oral transmission of history my particular interest.... The American Indians handed down their clan and national histories only in that way.... It’s beautiful. And of course there is a tradition that we don’t think of as oral, but which existed for thousands of years, by word of mouth only, until it was reduced to writing in King David’s time: the Bible. All these oral histories can be surprisingly accurate.”

--Alex Haley

FINDING CHIEF KAMIAKIN

The Life and Legacy of a Northwest Patriot

Text by Richard D. Scheuerman and Michael O. Finley

Introduction by Albert Redstar Andrews

Foreword by Robert H. Ruby

Photographs by John Clement

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For the Kamiakin family elders

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Abbreviations

BRC Bruce Rigsby Collection, University of Queensland, Graceville
CAA Catholic Chancery Archdiocesan Archives, Seattle
CAR Colville Agency Records, National Archives and Records Administration
CIA Commissioner of Indian Affairs, NA
CRC Click Relander Collection, Yakima Valley Regional Library
CWC Cull White Collection, Washington State University, Pullman
DRT Documents Related to Ratified and Unratified Treaties, NA
EKC Edward Kowrach Collection, Gonzaga University, Spokane
ICC Indian Claims Commission Papers, NA
ISC Isaac Stevens Collection, University of Washington Library, Seattle
LMC L.V. McWhorter Collection, Washington State University, Pullman
MHS Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MJC Melville Jacobs Collection, University of Washington
MAC Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane
NA National Archives and Records Administration, Seattle
OHA Office of History and Archaeology, Colville Confederated Tribes
OHS Oregon Historical Society, Portland
OIA Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, NA
OPA Oregon Province Archives, Gonzaga University, Spokane
PWC W. Parkhurst Winans Collection, Washington State University, Pullman
PWP W. Parkhurst Winans Papers, Eastern Washington University, Cheney
RCA Records of the Commands of the United States Army, NA
RRC Robert Ruby Collection, Museum of Arts & Culture, Spokane
SED Senate Executive Document
SI Secretary of Interior, NA

SW Secretary of War, NA
TCC Thomas Cornelius Collection, Huntington Library, Huntington, California
UW University of Washington, Seattle
VRC Verne Ray Collection, Gonzaga University, Spokane
WBC W. C. Brown Collection, Washington State University, Pullman
WHC Walt Horan Collection, Washington State University, Pullman
WIA Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, NA
WSHS Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma
WSU Washington State University, Pullman
YNL Yakama Nation Library, Yakama Cultural Heritage Center, Toppenish
YVL Yakima Valley Regional Library, Yakima

Introduction

by Albert Redstar Andrews

I grew up on the Colville Indian Reservation hearing about my Kamiakin relatives living on the Yakama, Umatilla, and Nez Perce reservations and elsewhere. When we would travel to these places and meet with Longhouse people, I would hear of the “teachings” and their stories, immersing me deeper into our heritage. I also learned about those of my family who fought all the way through to Bear Paw in Montana during the Nez Perce War of 1877. Some of our people escaped to Canada and then came back down and lived on the Umatilla Reservation. I remember going down to some of their homes as a boy with my grandparents. After a brief time for weeping, I would hear them tell of our family members who died along all along that trail, in Kansas, in Oklahoma, and at Fort Spokane. Those are sacred places. I would also hear the elders speak of what life was like before all this happened to us. My hope is that our children better connect to their past so it can inform their future. Maybe the knowledge can strengthen them as well. We don’t have many elders amongst us who “carry” the stories of our past. Perhaps we must rely on books for these things.

I have often asked myself, “What is the way out of the struggles we have?” Our lore and ways of hunting and root-digging were our life for millennia. Then we were thrown into modern time with all the social ills and challenges. How do we contend? There was such evil done removing us from our ancestral homes. We never considered ourselves “owners” of the land. We sought to care for what the Creator entrusted us. While traveling through my ancestral homelands in 2004, I met Richard Scheuerman as he was passing through Lapwai on a camping trip across the Lolo Trail. I had read the book he had written with Clifford Trafzer about the Palus people, *Renegade Tribe*, and learned about his work on area reservations with Colville tribal historian Michael Finley to tell the story of the Kamiakin family. My mother’s father, Charley Kamiakin Williams, was a grandson of Chief Kamiakin. He was born near present Starbuck, Washington in a fishing camp on the Tucannon River near its confluence with the Snake. He later moved to the Colville Reservation. I remember Cleveland Kamiakin and his wife, Alalunt’i, living up by the old Longhouse in Nespelem, and my father’s father and mother, Willie Red Star Andrew and Hattie Paween, who lived by the concrete bridge. Grandma was a sister to Alalunt’i and Annie Owhi. These women were from the Wawawai and Almota areas of the Snake River—the people of Chief Hetelexkin. He helped lead the Palus band with Chief Joseph in the 1877 war and was the first one killed at the Big Hole in Montana.

I grew up speaking my language as a child and often spent time with the elders. They would joke, “This young man can speak good Indian!” (I learned of this observation years later.) Those visits are treasures to me now. My family, my people, and my home become a coherent, meaningful story through those experiences with the Old Ones and my later travels to their homes. I had seen these places on maps when I was younger but had never been to many until I worked for the National Park Service some years ago. During that time, my home remained on the Colville Reservation but I was often able to reside for

long periods in the Wallowa Valley. My role involved editing and writing terms in our language for brochures and graphics. My duty station was in Joseph, Oregon and I loved being in that beautiful place.

There is a well-worn path leading northeast from the Wallowa Valley over a bunchgrass-covered saddle and across the mountains to the Snake River crossing at Dug Bar. Going up there once on a trip from Joseph, Oregon, I stood in this deep rut of a trail looking back over the Imnaha River area. I realized this might have been the last view my ancestors had before taking their final leave of the Wallowa Country, their home. An elder, Joe Redthunder, once observed to others, “Be very careful when you walk that land because we have people buried all over down there.” Too many of those areas have been looted by “treasure seekers” who disturb what is sacred. Today, I want to bring my children to those places; just to go and be there. It would be something to move back there, unencumbered. This is our ancestral homeland. But I got homesick for my family and friends in Nespelem and Coulee Dam, many of whom are descendants of the original Palouse people and Joseph Band of Nez Perce, and eventually decided to move back to the Colville Reservation. But in connection with that work, I explored the areas inhabited by my ancestors and examined many of their trails and campsites.

I have visited our Kamiakin family’s Palouse River place and Rock Lake and imagined what my people (on my maternal grandfather’s side) were like when they lived there and along the Snake River. Those visits have impressed upon me an understanding of why our people always looked to their home. I came to realize why my grandparents wept when they talked about where they lived in the Palouse Country, the Wallowa Valley, and along the Snake River—they could never return. But our elders taught us important lessons about respecting others in spite of the many tragedies and indignities they experienced. At the old Longhouse, a dispute had arisen between the traditional Longhouse people and those of a local church who wanted to enter and pray before the wake service. The traditionalists wanted no part of “those people” praying inside the Longhouse. After much discussion, my grandfather, Charley, rose. He spoke of a great rope which descended from above. He related that as this great rope got nearer to Mother Earth, it came apart into various strands. He said that to each strand is a religion, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Pentecostal, and the Longhouse. And all are connected to this great rope as it ascends above them to the one Creator. The traditionalists allowed the church people to enter with their prayers before continuing with the services led by my grandfather. From him and other family elders I’ve learned religious tolerance.

My work with the National Park Service and the telling of stories such as are in this book have provided something like homecomings and renewed my interest in my heritage. We never saw our Nez Perce, Palus, and Yakama elders as famous people, and they did not seem to affect any special privilege. To be sure, circumstances of the 19th century cast Chief Kamiakin as figure of great significance in the history of our people and land. But as this story shows, his remarkable life was connected to a wide realm of family members and friends. There were many other men and women of kindness, courage, and wisdom, and their experiences are also related here. These qualities made them honorable people, and books like *Finding Chief Kamiakin* flesh out their history—what I call the “documented record.” Some readers in both the Indian and White communities may object to how a name or term is spelled, or question a specific date given for an event. History seems to have many “knowing” eyes. All of these written words, however, will not change our true history. But, for me, the matter of greater significance is that this work validates the story of our people, and helps us contend with the influences still threatening to scatter us further.

I knew Cleveland Kamiakin, Charley Williams, and Willie Red Star Andrews as living persons—not as mere figures in a book. But young people today who did not know them in life can still make their acquaintance through stories like these and better understand their responsibility to uphold their honored tradition. *Renegade Tribe* helped in important ways to do this, and persons now emerge through *Finding Chief Kamiakin* whose descendants will, in turn, provide the next chapter of our people’s enduring story.

Nespelem, Washington
July 10, 2007

Foreword

by Robert H. Ruby

Finding Chief Kamiakin is the first inclusive biography of Kamiakin, a major Indian leader in the Pacific Northwest Plateau Indian wars of the mid-19th century. This remarkable story portrays his life from birth to death, an astounding presentation since the search for elusive facts has required sorting through volumes of documents in archives and depositories absorbing primary information not seen in print before, and from countless oral histories. A. J. Splawn's 1917 biography *Kam-Mi-Akin, Last Hero of the Yakimas* was limited to exactly what Splawn wrote in the preface: "It is to present the Indian side of the war of 1855–58...." There are brief segments about Kamiakin in many other books, but these are also limited to the wars and turmoil for Indians in that era.

Richard Scheuerman and Michael Finley have constructed the dramatic saga and genealogy of the aristocratic Weowicht family to which Kamiakin belonged. Such an exercise would seem impossible today. It was done by the patient recording of Native people's oral histories and the fusing of bits and pieces of original written sources and information collected by Whites interviewing first and second generations of Native people in the hiatus from the time of their military defeat at mid-19th century to near the 21st century. Indians now interpret that information with their perspectives. Scheuerman is in the cadre of non-Indians who collected Native history through oral interviews over many years and has worked recently with tribal historians like Finley to bridge gaps in the continuity of available historical accounts. Scheuerman, a professor at Seattle Pacific University, has spent over thirty years documenting the Kamiakin story. Finley, a member of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation, is a professional historian who is employed as a cultural adviser to the Colville tribes. This duo is one of emerging authors and historians of both cultures gathering, interpreting, and writing Indian and frontier history.

The future assures more Indian history will be rewritten with input of Native people to alter the history written or seen only through the eyes of Whites. Some of it is faulty, unintentionally. Some biased, intentionally. For example, a most egregious portrayal is the November 1847 Whitman killings as it reads in most history books. I chose this episode because its history is familiar to not only professional historians but also general readers. The history is fueled with emotion, incorrect interpretation and distorted analysis. The 1850 trial for the five accused Indians was skewed in many respects, and there was a lack of mitigating evidence. In a four-day trial, less than two full days were given to testimony of several people called by the prosecutor. They all testified to the same thing, that they witnessed the killings of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and nine others. The defense spent less than a half-day pleading for mercy for the Five. The jury came with a verdict of murder and the Five were executed on June 3, 1850.

Yet the jurisdiction of the court, set up by the United States, was improper. The killings occurred in Indian territory, where Indian law was the rule of the culture before the U.S. declared the Pacific Northwest as American territory in August 1848. At the trial the judge denied testimony that it was legal in Indian country for a family to kill a medicine man if his treatment was a failure. The 1850 trial should be revisited by the US Congress, and this time the defense should present a case giving the Indians their chance to tell their story and give an overall view of their lives and the situation. They should not have been hanged since they were insurgents in the first strike of the first Indian war in the Pacific Northwest, the first of a series of wars in which Kamiakin played a major role as the tribes sought to thwart the invasion of emigrants in the mid-19th century.

In this book, Scheuerman and Finley have impressively told the story of Chief Kamiakin's role in the missionary era and period of the Pacific Northwest Indian wars and have corrected many misrepresentations of his controversial life. Their account depicts the leadership and humanity of an individual whose life spanned a time of unprecedented cultural onslaught and how he sought against overwhelming odds and circumstances to defend the lives of his family and people. In my own travels in the region and studies over the years, I had many opportunities to visit with members of the extended

Kamiakin family and learned how Chief Kamiakin sought to follow their traditional way of life in the face of recurrent and often violent challenge. The authors not only provide new insights into Kamiakin's role during the wars of the 1850s, but also give a fresh account of his life after this period and how his sons and daughters and grandchildren endeavored to maintain cultural identity in the 20th century on area reservations in the face of hostile education policies and federal termination efforts.

I have had a lifelong interest in Native Americans. As a five-year-old, I was aware of Indian people who came to my father's farm for assistance. It was outside Mabton, Washington, close to the east side of the Yakama Indian Reservation. I also often saw Klickitats who came down the Horse Heaven Hills, riding their horses from Bickleton and Cleveland. My father fed them as they passed through. In winter their horse herds would drift down the hills looking for feed under the snow and come onto my father's alfalfa fields. In summer Yakamas would come by to look for farmers renting their allotments, seeing if they could get some advance rent payment. They were usually unsuccessful as the payments were always made to the Indian agent and any money given to the owners was not credited with prepayments to Indians. On Flag Day in June, White people would go to Cleveland to join the Indians dressed in colorful beaded clothing. They watched the horse races, gambling, drumming, and chanting; they tasted native foods—combined with lots of carbohydrates such as macaroni, potatoes, bread, sweet desserts—and deer meat, as well as the best salmon I've ever tasted. On the Fourth of July we would join the combined celebrations in Toppenish and I would watch the elaborate parades with boyhood wonder.

I later began recording conversations with my Indian friends and neighbors. This endeavor became a fascination in 1953 when I was assigned by the Public Health Service to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, where I had charge of the hospital for eighteen months. I wrote a small book based on my research there, *The Oglala Sioux: Warriors in Transition* (1955), which Alvin Josephy, Jr. used as one of his references for *The Patriot Chiefs* in 1961. This encouraged me to write more, using the raw information I was gathering here in the Pacific Northwest. Almost immediately on returning to Washington State in 1955 from Pine Ridge I settled in Moses Lake, which was a small town beginning to expand with the incoming irrigation water from the Grand Coulee Dam reservoir. Some of the early comers thought Moses Lake was named after the biblical Moses. Knowing better, I immediately started to research Chief Moses, for whom the lake had actually been named, in order to set the history straight. At that time I began making many acquaintances and friends on the Colville Indian Reservation, including many of those noted in this book. I talked to Billy Curlew many times. There was some thrill in knowing he had been Chief Moses' horse handler. I attended his funeral and joined others sprinkling soil on his grave.

I chauffeured Cleveland Kamiakin, Chief Kamiakin's youngest son, around the Columbia Basin as he pointed out places the Indians traveled to when they were free. He spoke slowly, in a low voice. Peter Dan Moses, another elder, would travel with us. I remember a sweathouse location he pointed out south of Soap Lake, Washington. He was more animated than Kamiakin, who was up in years at that time. I was with both Cleveland and Peter Dan on a hot June 2, 1957 for the dedication of a monument near Wenatchee for the burial site of Chief Moses' sister, Sinsinqt. The site is at the edge of high bank of the Columbia River near the mouth of Moses Coulee. Men at the dedication wore the heavy felt, broad brimmed brown hats, the usual attire at the time, except Kamiakin's which was black with a high, cone-shaped crown and decorated with a bright scarf around it.

Emily Peone, another Kamiakin descendant with whom I visited several times in Auburn, Washington, was very vocal, and remembered places, names, dates. She was a walking reference book, a "professional" Indian storyteller. One of the rare carryovers with that native talent was Isabella Arcasa, a beautiful lady in every sense of the word. She was devoted to her faith. She told me one time of her flight to Alaska to see Pope John when his plane landed there. She raised many, many children on the Colville Reservation who had no parents, or parents who were unable to care for them. As such she was a great preserver of foods, mostly native staples. She canned each summer and fall. And she canned salmon. One day she opened her refrigerator and it was stuffed with big salmon, probably aged, as the skins were dry and wrinkled. Canning it was her next day's job.

I had a most rewarding trip to New Zealand one time because of a connection to a story Isabella told me. One day as a four-year-old she was staying at Billy Curlew's home, near the Indian burial ground south of Nespelem. She discovered that the grave of Chief Moses had been disturbed and opened. Beads and other items were scattered on the ground. Upon hearing this story I recalled that I once was informed that clothing that had belonged to Moses was in the Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand. It was said to have been purchased in Yakima long before Moses' death. But I wondered. Could the clothing in the museum have been that which Moses was wearing when he was buried in 1899 and sold with a story it was older clothing? I immediately made reservations to fly to Australia. There I met with Otago's anthropologist Wendy J. Harsant who was vacationing for Christmas holidays and talked to her, then went on to the museum in New Zealand to meet anthropologist G. S. Park who showed me the clothing designs on the coat there. It was easily identifiable as Moses' signature. However, it was of a small size, something he would have worn in his mid-life. Nor were there soiled spots of burial mold or drying. Whatever its provenance, I hope that someday the regalia might be returned to its original Northwest home.

One of my favorite people to visit was Madeline Covington, the widow of Robert Covington who had provided information to anthropologist Verne Ray for his book *The Sanpoil and Nespelem* (1932). Members of the extended Covington family like Madeline knew many details of the Moses and Kamiakin families. After a horse accident, Madeline lost her right arm, and her left elbow was somewhat stiff so she could not reach her mouth with her fingers. She had a thin stick at least a foot long with one end notched so she could fit a cigarette in it to smoke. That cigarette holder outdid President Franklin Roosevelt's. She lived in Nespelem and had a comical smile and low key giggle with which she ended every sentence. Henry Covington, Robert's brother, lived up the Sanpoil River at the mouth of Cache Creek. He was also one with a great memory and lots of information stored in it that he shared with me. I remember a pair of snow shoes he had made and used. The frames were of usual shape, made of stout willow stems and laced with strips of rawhide. He was a delightful person who had been a great friend of Cull White. Henry had papers showing he was in military service at one time, stationed at Fort George Wright.

I also became acquainted with so many others on the reservation such as Chief Jim James, with an aristocratic demeanor as of authority, yet soft-spoken. I have the memory of one cold winter day driving to visit James and his wife. As I pulled into his yard, his buggy dusted with snow was stored under a tree. A huge frozen venison hind quarter hung on the back porch. Helen Toulou lived in Ferry County in the southeast part of the reservation. There was a town there then, Kewa. She was the descendant of a Lake mother and the son of a high profile British official connected with the fur trade. Helen was a sturdy woman, as was Clara Moore who lived at Belvedere on the reservation. At the time she was champion huckleberry picker and most talented weaver of baskets. Clara told me about her trip to Spokane to take part in the reception for Queen Marie of Romania in November of 1926. Clara made a leather dress to wear that day, which she showed to me. It is now in the Museum of Arts & Culture in Spokane. The authors of *Finding Chief Kamiakin* have made notable use of accounts by members of the Covington, Peone, and other families in the collections of Okanogan County Judge William. C. Brown, Cull White, and others at the Museum of Arts & Culture and other regional archives.

Life is constantly evolving. A half-century ago it was difficult for a White person to enter a reservation and get anyone's attention, and almost impossible to get answers to questions. That was rightfully so, because Indian people expected a White person was there only to take advantage of them. I had little trouble after being introduced around by Cull White, after which I got along on my own. Cull was an itinerant Francis Marion Streamer of his time. He was retired from the sheep business that had taken him over the Plateau moving his sheep seasonally. He became a friend to many Indians on numerous reservations and knew their ages and backgrounds. Cull had two homes, one in Ephrata and one at Coulee Dam on the Colville Reservation. I'd often stay at his home in Coulee Dam. The menu was usually a tasty, rib-sticking camp stew. Cull would also stay overnight at my home in Moses Lake when he would often arrive unexpectedly in the evening from a trip. Cull made records of his visits with Indians and those valuable notes at Washington State University were used by the authors for this book.

The loss of Native American history was more than the dismantling of a culture. The United States government began as early as the 1880s to erase Indian history by forbidding Native people to speak their language. They began with children, snatching them from reservations and putting them in schools far from their homes. The rules were severe. They were not allowed to speak in their Native tongue. Today immigrants from over the world are allowed to move to the United States and bring their language. Indian historians, the storytellers who transferred the histories verbally from generation to generation, are almost a thing of the past. Their places have been taken over by educated Native people. Many tribes are now progressive and aggressive in resurrecting their history by consulting elders for any remnants they might recall. They glean libraries, archives, and other repositories. The Umatilla, the Spokane, the Yakama, and other tribes are appreciative of that history gathered when they were crippled by outsiders.

Reading Scheuerman and Finley's book inspires me with their persistence and with the great amount of information they were able to find. I had pangs of nostalgia, wishing I could start another go-round in recording and writing raw Indian history—if only I could rewind my internal odometer. However, "you can't go home again." But things have changed. Indian people are writing their own history. The people I knew and worked with, the first- and second-generation descendants of those Indians of the last half of the 19th century, have passed away. The demeanor of the people today has changed, as well. They are managing for themselves on their own determination.

To visit the agency when I worked there years ago, I would need help finding an Indian employed there. Today that has reversed. I have to hunt through the office to find a White employee, as it should be. Even the countryside, the environment, is different. I made trip after trip in all seasons to Spokane, Lapwai, Yakima, Wenatchee, and Nespelem. In midwinter, taking the highway from Moses Lake up to Grand Coulee was a bit treacherous. It would be glazed with a slippery crust of ice. I would cross the Columbia River at Coulee Dam to drive onto the reservation. I followed down the river to Belvedere. The high, steep banks of the river would be shrouded with snow from which sun-generated sparks flashed as I moved along. As I turned north to go over the reservation to Nespelem the snowy countryside would be eye-blinding white. There was quietness, as if everything were at rest. Motion was stilled except for a wandering horse. Others were hunkered in clumps or standing under trees. There would be an infrequent slow-moving automobile to pass. Coming into town I would see small shacks from which vapors of smoke from wood stoves swirled slowly from chimneys into the sky. Off-roads of gravel and dirt were traveled with caution. One always carried supplies for overnight in case of problems. Inside the homes it was warm. There was comfort from the harsh outside. In the yards there were abandoned cars and piles of trash covered with snow. Paths led to woodpiles and outhouses. One blind lady had a rope attached from her house to the outhouse so she could hold on to it to find her way.

In midsummer it was the opposite. Daily temperatures were high. There was lots of movement after spring had swept away the snow and brought back life to the outdoors. Green grass on the hillsides was turning to yellow before fading to autumn rust brown. I would bring my children when they were old enough to swim, hike, and camp. They played and socialized with Indian children. It was safe to drive the off-roads over the reservation visiting families. There were voices of birds, and scampering wild animals. Wagons and cars were on the roads. There was the cacophony of the rodeos, celebrations of all sorts, sports, and various gatherings. When I visited the reservation I'd talk to Indian historians, the storytellers who had a special ability to keep and pass on the history vocally. They have faded as new technology has taken over and long-time memory is no longer necessary. Tribes I've worked with such as the Colville, Umatilla, Spokane, and Yakama have been aggressive in resurrecting their history. They have programs to attempt recovery of lost native languages from the time they were forced to speak English only. Many Native languages are lost forever. Some have been revived enough to use; others are only remnants of what was once spoken.

There is another reason I cannot return to research as it once was for me. It would be lonesome. I've lost my partner, John Brown. I first met John about 1960, when he was head of the history department at Wenatchee Valley College in Wenatchee, Washington. John called me one day after returning from a trip to the Washington State Library in Olympia where he had been researching Chief

Moses. A librarian told him that I was doing similar research and had been there using the same materials. So John contacted me by mail. I answered with a perfunctory reply, thinking he was a student at the college. He persisted and wrote again, telling me of his position and his interests. So we agreed to meet and he came to Moses Lake. We decided then and there to work together on the biography of Moses. Our common interest led to a lengthy collaboration. The partnership was flawless. I was the luckiest person to have worked with John because we worked at the same speed—without computers—and with the same passion for some forty years.

By the time of his first visit with me I'd worked half a decade or more interviewing the people on the Colville Indian Reservation, so John essentially came soon after I'd done most of the interviews on the Colville. We spent more time together on the Spokane Indian Reservation, then on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, and so on. But we kept up visitations to the Colville where the people are related to the other tribes in the Plateau. The last time John Brown and I together visited the Colville Indian Reservation was in 1989 for the grand celebration of Isabelle Arcasa's 100th birthday.

By going to history books like *Finding Chief Kamiakin*, I revisit Indian people whose lives have deeply enriched my own. They were the first- and second-generation descendants of those who struggled through Indian wars against an invading force of Euro-Americans. We read biographies of Joseph, Moses, Leschi, and other great leaders in the Pacific Northwest, but until now we have had no decisive close-up account of Kamiakin. Though the peoples Kamiakin led in the turbulent wars of the 19th century were pushed to their knees, they were not beaten. Today they are distinctive, thriving cultures. Time has brought together two authors, one of each culture, to do justice to Kamiakin as this book surely does.

Moses Lake, Washington
July 15, 2007

Preface

Kamiak Butte. Owhi Lake. Leschi Point. Qualchan Road. Located on maps depicting a vast and varied landscape from the Bitterroot Mountains to Puget Sound, place names like these evoke the Pacific Northwest's enduring Native American heritage. Less widely known is that these individuals, whose names are also attached to many other places across the region, were all members of the same extended family. Such designations were used placed by cartographers and engineers who sought to pay tribute to leading figures among the region's First Peoples. In some cases modern place names like Spokane and Walla Walla are derived from words associated with area tribes, but Kamiakin and Owhi were individuals who played important roles in the 1850s era of conflict between Indians and Whites for control of areas in which places named for them are located. For example, a century ago Colfax, Washington pioneer banker James Perkins recommended that wedged-shaped Kamiak Butte near Pullman be so named. He knew enough about Northwest history to suggest that any area possessing a "Steptoe Butte," honoring the commander of the ill-fated 1858 Steptoe expedition, should also pay tribute to the Yakama-Palouse leader popularly credited with the army's defeat, Chief Kamiakin. Since that time Kamiakin's name has also been attached to schools, parks, and streets in places from Pullman to Seattle and now also identifies premium regional wines.

Names like Kamiakin and Owhi sound vaguely heroic today to Northwest residents. Written histories that mention their lives describe them in the context of the dynamic times in which they lived and tell about their struggles to maintain cultural autonomy and identity in the face of an overwhelming flood of European-American settlement. This epic sweep would violently claim the lives of many prominent Indian leaders of the time including Owhi, Leschi, and Qualchan whose deaths took place through the treachery of their adversaries. But they did not die on the battlefield, although Kamiakin and Qualchan were severely wounded in 1858. Rather, Indian leaders were captured and executed in a conscious effort to break native resistance to American rule. "The soldiers tried to catch and kill all our good fighters," recalled Mary Owhi Moses, daughter of Yakama Chief Owhi and Qualchan's sister, at the

distance of sixty years when she was interviewed by Judge W.C. Brown in Nespelem in 1918. In many instances they succeeded, and the victims' widows and young children were left to fend for themselves.

The remarkable story of what took place in the life of Chief Kamiakin before and after the Northwest Indian wars and of other survivors and their descendants is less known. It might seem as if after open conflict came to end in the fall of 1858 that, except for the notable exception of the Nez Perce War a generation later, virtually all Indians accepted relocation as their fate and moved soon afterward to area reservations. (Even in the case of the Nez Perce War of 1877, Chief Joseph and other tribal leaders were reluctantly attempting to remove to the confines of a Nez Perce reservation reduced ten-fold by the 1863 "Thief Treaty".) But for many Indian families this was not the case. In addition to exercising treaty rights arising from the 1855 Walla Walla Council guaranteeing seasonal hunting and fishing rights, many Indian families like the Kamiakins tenaciously clung to outposts of their homeland for many years. The story of Chief Kamiakin also represents the important idea of constancy in the face of so much misfortune and a moral challenge to the great national theme of continental conquest.

At the dawn of the twentieth century significant numbers of Indian families still lived at the ancient village of *Palus* at the mouth of the Palouse River, at *Samuya* near present Ice Harbor Dam on the lower Snake River, at the White Bluffs village of *Tacht* along the Columbia River, further upstream at *P'na* near Priest Rapids, and elsewhere in the region. While most of these places are now flooded by hydroelectric dam reservoirs, some Indian families still own properties there under the terms of the Indian Homestead Act. After the war period and a year of exile in the Bitterroot Mountains of Montana and Idaho, Chief Kamiakin returned in 1859 with his family to the Columbia Plateau where he lived for the remainder of his life independent of tribal, reservation, or government authorities. This is a biography of that man and the further story of his sons' and daughters' lives during the challenging years of transition to life on area reservations, principally the Colville, but also among the Yakama and Coeur d'Alene confederated tribes. Kamiakin's descendants became prominent in Indian cultural and political affairs in the twentieth century and often sought under exceedingly difficult circumstances to assert the treaty rights negotiated by their father and grandfather and other Plateau leaders in 1855.

Chief Kamiakin's efforts to steer an independent and honorable course for his people were undertaken against the disastrous backdrop of cataclysmic change in the Pacific Northwest that threatened the very existence of the region's First Peoples. His actions drew the wrath of the Oregon and Washington territorial civilian and military authorities who could not abide the presence of an articulate and defiant spokesman for Indian sovereignty. While acknowledged by Governor Stevens at the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty Council as "Head Chief" of the Yakamas and Palouses, a designation he would not have sought, Kamiakin also had close paternal relations among the Nez Perce and Spokane, while his marriages brought important alliances with the Klickitats and Moses Columbia. Yet Kamiakin's resolute course of action in defense of his people, homeland, and traditions led to disaffected relationships with members of all these tribes who sought other means of accommodation with the newcomers. Because of these circumstances, Kamiakin had few confidants among his own people, fewer with Whites, and none among the Americans.

Only a handful of individuals emerge from historical accounts as persons who knew Kamiakin well during the pivotal years of the frontier era—the irrepressible Oblate missionary Father Charles Pandosy, gregarious Hudson's Bay Company trader Angus McDonald at Ft. Colville, and fearless Chief Peopeo Moxmox of the Walla Wallas. But the circumstances of American conquest caused these British citizens to withdraw from the country, and the war claimed Peopeo Moxmox under most despicable circumstances at the hands of the Oregon Volunteers. For these reasons, and because he fought a generation before reporters from coastal newspapers or such Eastern publications as *Harper's Weekly* covered the exploits of Chief Joseph and Sitting Bull, Kamiakin has emerged as an enigmatic figure. Descriptions of his character by Indian and White and by friend and foe, however, are almost universally admirable. To Isaac Stevens, Kamiakin's "countenance has an extraordinary play" reminding the governor of "the panther and the grizzly bear." The intrepid traveler Theodore Winthrop, who journeyed through the Yakima Valley before the wars, wrote that Kamiakin was "every inch a king," yet imbued with a profound humility that enhanced his regal bearing.

Winthrop's words hint at the family's remarkable Star Brothers origin myth that fostered a special sense of dignity and responsibility in descendants of fabled Chief Weowicht like Owhi, Kamiakin, and Mary Moses. Trader McDonald described Kamiakin as "well-formed and powerful" and possessing a "sagacious intellect" of "clear foresight." His assumed premonitions suggest a figure of tragic heroism, but McDonald's portrait of Kamiakin also shows him to be "a hospitable man and fond of fun and anecdote" who enjoyed a glass of wine. Yakima Valley pioneer A. J. Splawn, whose youthful and accidental encounter with Kamiakin led to the rescue of Splawn's companion when they were lost on an 1865 trek through the Palouse region, characterized him as a man of "greatest dignity and genius," and "the strongest personality of his time west of the Rocky Mountains." But even contemporaries like Splawn and McDonald lamented the lack of documentation about Kamiakin's incredible life.

Chief Kamiakin was a great and good man. He was a devoted father and resourceful family patriarch who provided for his substantial clan in times of extreme deprivation. The Yakama-Palouse leader invited the first missionaries to his homeland and protected them in the face of opposition from both fellow tribesmen and territorial military officials. He easily moved between worlds ancient and modern, guiding his adolescent sons and daughters on traditional spirit quests but seeking Catholic baptism for his newborn children, and spearing salmon at Kettle Falls with tools of archaic design while selectively breeding horses and introducing cattle and crop irrigation to the people of the Columbia Plateau. His life and other family influences would later guide the historic efforts of members in future generations, like those of Kamiakin's sons Tomeo and Cleveland, granddaughters Sophie (Wakwak) and Nellie (Friedlander), and great-grandchildren Frank George and Lucy Covington, who provided insightful oral histories and played leading roles in 20th century fights against termination and other federal policies designed to "pulverize" tribalism (Theodore Roosevelt's term).

Kamiakin's youngest son, Cleveland, possessed rare abilities to skillfully serve his people's interests in the political convulsions that engulfed the Northwest a century after the Plateau Indian wars. First, he kept alive the wisdom and traditions handed down from his parents and other elders whose lives had endured the rack of warfare, exile, and the uncertainties of life in the face of rapid regional settlement by Euro-Americans. But much like his father, Cleveland also possessed a power to live in the present. He did not settle for short views and agreements of convenience with agency and other government officials when 20th century congressional legislation and federal power development along the Columbia River threatened treaty rights negotiated in 1855. In the face of recurrent defeat in political affairs ranging from salmon protection and tribal governance to off-reservation land claims and BIA corruption, he remained a person of hope who modeled supreme patience and imparted the prospect of a fresh beginning each day.

Cleveland's agile mind was informed but not constrained by the opinions of others, past utterances, or previous defeats. Cleveland's strong associations within the circle of the Colville Reservation's last traditional chiefs—men like Willie Red Star Andrews, Peter Dan Moses, Charley Williams, and Jim James, seemed to draw from misfortune itself the will and ways for future success in a new era of hard-fought battles in state and federal courts. Organization of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians in 1947 contributed to the defeat in the 1960s of federal reservation termination policy, testimony to the Indian Claims Commission in the 1950s led to decisions in favor of Indian petitioners in 1963, and the tribes' 1952 suit for Coulee Dam revenue-sharing finally prevailed four decades later.

Cleveland never sought passive refuge in the Kamiakin family reputation. He actively grappled with the giant events of his time and all time when life along the region's great rivers changed in fundamental ways and threatened sacred native values. Tomeo and Cleveland adroitly guided Indian children from his own and other families in the tribes' special heritage and patiently shared the wisdom they had gleaned from the elders of their youth who inhabited another age. But they also looked beyond cultural distinctions and generously gave of their time and knowledge to a new generation of historians and anthropologists like Cull White, Robert Ruby, Verne Ray who sought to inform their own understandings and that of the general public.

While important details about Chief Kamiakin and his family were recorded in A. J. Splawn's *Ka-Mi-Akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas* (1917) and William C. Brown's *The Indian Side of the Story* (1961), other significant information has emerged only in recent years. A research project organized in

the 1980s by historian Clifford Trafzer of Washington State University among elders on the Nez Perce, Colville, and Yakama reservations introduced scholars and area residents in both Indian and White communities to the profound significance of Plateau Indian oral histories. This work led to several important publications by Trafzer and his students related to Chief Kamiakin and 19th century Indian policy. Investigations by Father Edward Kowrach into the life of the Oblate Father Pandosy for his biography, *Mie. Charles Pandosy, O.M.I., a Missionary of the Northwest: Missionary to the Yakima Indians in the 1850's* (1992), led to his discovery in Seattle's Catholic Chancery Archdiocesan Archives of Kamiakin's letter, "*Les Yakamas aux Soldats*," dictated to the Oblate blackrobe in the tense aftermath of Haller campaign in the fall of 1855. The document is remarkable for Kamiakin's extensive recitation and commentary on events leading to the war and his perspectives on means to resolve the conflict. At the Oblate Archives Deschaletets in Ottawa, Canada, Kowrach also uncovered other relevant letters from fathers Pandosy and Chirouse during their years at St. Joseph's (Ahtanum) Mission which was founded at Kamiakin's behest.

Our work greatly benefited from the contributions of Kamiakin family elders on the Colville, Yakama, and Nez Perce reservations who generously and patiently gave of their time to share stories about Chief Kamiakin and members of his immediate family. We especially thank the late Arthur Tomeo Kamiakin, Emily Friedlander Peone, and Andrew George. These individuals deeply enriched our lives and provided important commentary on matters related to the family's experiences in the Palouse country after the war, relocation to area reservations, and involvement in tribal cultural and political affairs. Tribal elders whose guidance and kind fellowship is gratefully acknowledged include Barbara Aripa, Sharon Redthunder, Carrie Jim Schuster, Gordon Fisher, Wilson Wewah, Jr., Agatha Bart, Frank Andrews, Sr., Albert Andrews Redstar, Tanya Tomeo, and Ronald "Duckie" Friedlander.

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Richard D. Scheuerman
Spokane, Washington

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Inchelium, Washington

August 1, 2007

A Note on Epigraphs, Terms, and Spellings

Italicized chapter epigraphs feature a Columbia and Snake River Salmon myth of origin and return that has been related for generations among the Kamiakins and other Plateau Indian families. This version was told in 1980 by Andrew George late at night around a small kitchen table at his home on the Yakama Indian Reservation near Toppenish, Washington. The name "Kamiakin" appears in various spellings in historical records (e.g., Kamiahkin, Kamiakun) but is pronounced by family elders as *K'amáyaqən*, which is most closely rendered in standard English as "Kamiakun." However, the written form "Kamiakin" is used in this story as it is the most commonly seen in period documents and tribal records. The word "Yakima" is used here as a geographic reference to the Pacific Northwest valley and city, while the spelling "Yakama" refers to the Indian tribe of that name and area. Some nineteenth century references that remain in conventional use such as the 1855 Yakima Treaty retain the original spelling in the text. Ft. Colville refers to the upper fur trading post established at Kettle Falls in 1826, named for Hudson's Bay Company official Andrew Colville; while the spelling "Colville" refers to the upper Columbia Indian tribe, reservation, and US military fort.

Words and expressions exist in any language for which there is no true equivalent in others. Indian names in translation and seemingly close synonyms can have different connotations and misrepresent a word or even the entire concept. For these reasons, use of the indigenous term sometimes seemed reasonable with an explanation of its meaning in the text where appropriate. The Columbia Plateau was divided linguistically between southern Sahaptin-speaking tribes including the Yakama, Palouse, and Nez Perce; and such Interior Salish peoples to the north as the Moses Columbia and

Spokane. Although these two language families were mutually unintelligible, many Indians of the region like some members of the Kamiakin clan were bilingual due to intertribal family associations and seasonal travel patterns. Places throughout the region, therefore, often had more than one name. Unless otherwise noted, geographic names are used in the language of the tribal area and appear in italics.

Most of the letters for spelling Sahaptin and Interior Salish personal and place names appear in Standard English but several symbols and diacritical marks shown in the key below are used to indicate some sounds in these languages unfamiliar in English. Among native speakers there may be several ways to spell the same word since some have only recently been rendered in written forms and individuals and families maintain distinct phonetic structures. We acknowledge the contributions of Virginia Beavert, Tillie George, Agnes Davis, Albert Redstar Andrews, Margaret Gore, Dale Kincaid, Bruce Rigsby, and Noel Rude for systemizing the alphabet and lexicons for these languages and dialects.

<i>á</i>	short “a,” as in “ arise ”	<i>t’</i>	closing throat glottal stop, pronounce “t”
<i>áa</i>	long “a,” as in “ pay ”	<i>u</i>	short “u,” as in “ look ”
<i>íi</i>	long “i,” as in “ bee ”	<i>š</i>	“sh” sound, as in “ shape ”
<i>k’</i>	closing throat glottal stop, pronounce “k”	<i>úu</i>	long “u,” as in “ true ”
<i>q’</i>	closing throat glottal stop, pronounce “q”	<i>x’</i>	guttural “kh,” as in German “ ach ”
<i>c</i>	“ts” sound, as in “ hits ”	<i>ł</i>	“lh” sound, as in “ philharmonic ”
<i>č</i>	“ch” sound, as in “ church ”	<i>˘</i>	phonemic accent
<i>ə</i>	unaccented “uh” sound, as about	<i>ʔ</i>	glottal stop, as in the middle of “uh-oh”

Chronology

c. 1800	Kamiakin born to T’siyiyak and Commusni and raised in the Yakima Valley
1805	Lewis and Clark expedition descends Snake and Columbia rivers
c. 1825	Kamiakin marries Sunk-hay-ee, daughter of Yakama Chief Teias
c. 1830	Kamiakin marries daughters of Klickitat Chief Tenax
1841	Explorer Robert Johnson meet Kamiakin
1840s	Yumasepah and We-yet-que-wit born to the Kamiakins
1843-44	First significant wave of American immigrants over Oregon Trail followed by scarlet fever and measles outbreaks across the southern Plateau
1848	Kamiakin invites missionaries Fr. Chirouse and Fr. Pandosy who establish St. Joseph’s Mission on Simcoe Creek
1850	Congress passes Donation Land Law for Oregon Territory; Ft. Dalles established by US Army
1850s	Tomeo, Tesh Palouse, T’siyiyak, and Lukash born to the Kamiakins
1852	St. Joseph’s Mission relocated to Ahtanum Creek adjacent to Kamiakin’s camp
1853	Washington Territory organized with Isaac Stevens appointed governor
1853-54	Northern Pacific railroad surveys conducted under Stevens, George McClellan, Rufus Saxton, et.al. Wright confers with Kamiakin who furnishes guides
1854	Grande Ronde Indian council
1855	Walla Walla Treaty Council, May-June Miners and Agent A. J. Bolan slain on Yakama lands, August and September Battle of Two Buttes (Union Gap), October Army and volunteer raids in Yakima and Walla Walla valleys, November-December
1856	Battle of Seattle, January; and The Cascades, March Wright expedition to Yakima Valley; Kamiakin withdraws to the east, May
1856	General Wool closes interior to White settlement Kamiakin visits Spokane, Nez Perce, Walla Walla and other Indian leaders

- 1857 Stevens elected Washington Territorial delegate to Congress; General Wool replaced by Newman S. Clarke; Kamiakin remains north of Snake River
- 1858 Col. Edward Steptoe defeat at Battle of Pine Creek (Tohotonimme), May
Col. George Wright campaign, August-September; Kamiakin escapes to northern Rockies
- 1858-61 Northern Overland (Mullan) Road surveys and construction
- 1859 Father Pierre DeSmet peace mission and Kamiakin's journey to Walla Walla, February-April
- c. 1860-65 Kamiakin lives on Palouse River at Kamiak's Crossing
- c. 1860s Ka-you-to-nay, Petescot, Skolumkee, Tomomolow born to the Kamiakins
- c. 1865 Colestah dies at Palouse River camp; Kamiakin relocates to Rock Lake
- 1870 Peopeo-kow-not (Cleveland) born to the Kamiakins
- 1872 Colville Indian Reservation established
- 1877 Kamiakin dies at Rock Lake camp, April
Nez Perce Indian War
- 1878 Sternberg fossil expedition to Pine Creek, Kamiakin's grave desecrated
- c. 1882 Lukash Kamiakin marries Sinsinq't, daughter of Chief Moses
- 1884 Major J. W. MacMurray and others prepare Indian homestead entries for members of non-reservation bands including Kamiakins
- 1885 Moses-Columbia band moves to Colville Indian Reservation
Chief Joseph and Chief Húsis Kute return with Nez Perce and Palouse exiles from Indian Territory to the Northwest, May-June
Tesh Palouse, Tomeo, Skolumkee, and Peopeo-kow-not and families relocate to Colville Reservation
- 1887 General Allotment (Dawes) Act
- 1906 Burke Act
- 1917 A. J. Splawn publishes *Ka-Mi-Akin, Last Hero of the Yakimas*
- 1933-42 Construction of Grand Coulee Dam
- 1934 Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act
- 1937-41 WSU Nespelem Art Colony
- 1938 Mitchell Act
Colvilles adopt IRA and establish elected Tribal Council
- 1944 National Congress of American Indians formed in Denver
Yakamas adopt IRA and establish elected Tribal Council
- 1946 Indian Claims Commission Act
- 1947 Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians organizational meeting in Nespelem
- 1950 Cleveland Kamiakin, et. al., present "Truman Scroll"
- 1951-53 Frank George serves as NCAI executive director
- 1955 NCAI convention held in Spokane
Stevens Treaties centennial commemorations held on Northwest reservations
- 1957 The Dalles Dam completed
- 1959 Chief Cleveland Kamiakin dies at Nespelem, September
- 1961 W. C. Brown's *The Indian Side of the Story* published
- 1965 Indian Claims Commission final judgment on Yakama and Colville Tribal consolidated Palouse claims cases
- 1969 Chief Charley Williams dies at Nespelem, June
- 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Act
- 1989 Andrew George named Washington Centennial Commission's first "Living Treasure"

Prologue

In the time of the Animal People there was a big village down along Pikúunen (Snake River) where Salmon Man lived. Because of his strength and courage, many maidens wished for him to be their husband. But Salmon Man only had eyes for the beautiful sister of the Wolf Brothers.

When he arose at dawn that morning, Skolumkee told Pemalks this would finally be the day. After washing themselves in the waters of nearby *Elatsaywitsun* (Sprague Lake), the old couple returned to their canvas-covered wagon and finished dressing. Pemalks put on a loose fitting, tan gingham shift with orange flower print and fastened her leather *dalpas* money pouch around her ample waist. She combed her long black hair while her husband put on a dark evergreen shirt with ruffled sleeves. Even around their Johnson Lake place on the reservation, Skolumkee often wore such fancy shirts. He was a proud, aloof man and how peculiar that this was the one luxury he allowed himself.

Accommodations in the wagon were not much different from their one-room shack back home. The unpainted frame structure where they had lived for years featured a single square four-paned window and was devoid inside of even a single piece of furniture—no table, no chairs, not so much as a footstool. They needed only a steamer trunk for Skolumkee's shirts, an apple box of pine slats to hold an extra blanket, bottle of his liniment, and a small corner closet to hang her things. The same wool blankets they were using on the trip covered a straw mattress on the floorboards for a bed back home. What more was really needed there? Skolumkee could hang his wide-brimmed felt hat from a nail next to the roots she dried every spring.

The trip from Nespelem to Rock Lake, 175 miles to the southeast, was only a few hours' quiet drive by automobile through gently rolling hills south of the Columbia River. But the old couple had been on their peculiar pilgrimage for over two weeks now by horse and wagon and the last stretch from Edwall to Sprague had incited more roadway chaos than usual. Seeing a decrepit vehicle crawling along the blacktop in June 1941 was enough to slow most drivers down and Skolumkee's wife was not eager to head back to the highway past Sprague's two downtown blocks of stately brick buildings. For a few moments Pemalks thought about how proud she was of Skolumkee. He was still handsome now in his seventy-fourth year and Pemalks was not much younger. She had not seen him wear this particular shirt during the trip, but she liked the smart look of the narrow lines connecting tiny red spangles that ran the length of the sleeves.

As she finished combing her hair, Skolumkee fastened the brass buttons on his red-brown leather vest that fit tightly against the slight hump of his back. His shoulder-length braids of gray-streaked black hair dangled onto the two orange and purple stars Pemalks had deftly beaded on the vest. She risked commenting on her husband's fine looks that morning as she gazed upon his lean face. "So *Khwe'sat* (Old Man)," she said raising both eyebrows. "Your grandfather's waters have restored your youth." Skolumkee slightly smiled and shook his head. "*Sma'wic!* (Old Woman!), I still feel like a grandfather," he said with a slight slur in his speech. Skolumkee left the tent and gathered their cooking gear from the fire pit while Pemalks neatly folded their blankets. They then worked together to take down the canvas tent in a familiar routine and loaded their belongings into the box wagon.

The previous evening Skolumkee had built a fire from wood and dry tules scavenged along the water's edge and they had consumed the last morsels of tasty camas cakes she had hoarded in recent days. They still had plenty of dried salmon stored in large cedar root baskets in the wagon but the camas flour was almost gone. She had not expected the trip to take so long and now their supplies were running low. Pemalks knew that her husband kept a small bag of bitterroots in a pine box with some dried berries and a steel-strike and matches that he had packed with his things. She also remembered his curt response when asking him about using the roots for their next meal. "You may have all that is left when we are finished!" he scolded. "You brought the money. You can buy White man's flour at the Ewan store tomorrow."

Pemalks was hoping they could move along and she wanted to avoid driving back through the middle of town. She watched as Skolumkee threw some hay from a broken bale in the back of the wagon

to their two sway-backed mares whose patient labor had somehow brought them this far. They looked tired even in the morning and she wondered how they would fare the rest of the trip. As the horses munched on the tender stalks in the brisk morning air, Skolumkee threw the black leather harness across their backs and soon had connected them to the trace chains.

The old couple could see the town folk beginning to stir and worried that their presence might become something of a spectacle. A band of low gray clouds brushed against the horizon to the north, but the early morning sunlight brilliantly shone off the white steeple of Mary, Queen of Heaven Catholic Church that towered even higher than the town's grain elevators. Shortly after they started moving through town, Skolumkee turned the team left to avoid Main Street and passed by the imposing brick edifice. "The windows are beautiful," Pemalks whispered, just as a young boy rushing from an alley stopped in front of them. A look of wonder filled his eyes and he hesitated to cross until Skolumkee jerked the reins with a "*Hup-hey!*" and waved the startled lad by with a smile. In a few moments they reached the gravel road leading east toward open prairie and the horses settled into their familiar plodding tempo.

Nearly an hour later they came to a railroad crossing located five miles beyond town. Skolumkee drew the lines to one side and led the team along a dirt trail that followed the track for a mile to the northeast. At the end of the trail he pulled back on the iron lever brake and handed the lines to Pemalks. "We need to make the lake by nightfall so I will not be long," he said. "Stay here with the horses." He then reached behind to the pine box he stored near his feet and took out two small bags. He slowly crawled down the side of the wagon and walked ahead toward a small aspen grove. In a couple of minutes he disappeared beyond the trees. Pemalks pulled out a large canvas bag she kept behind the seat and brought out a tangled pile of steel knitting needles and thick gray thread she was using to repair a large wool stocking. In twenty minutes Skolumkee returned to the wagon and pulled himself up into the seat. He returned the bags to the box and grabbed the reins without saying a word.

Soon they were back on the way headed southeast and in another hour they approached a rise in the road. A meadowlark perched precariously on a barbed wire fence sang its familiar song of springtime welcome. The jolting cadence of the iron-rimmed wheels slowed and the horses began to breathe more heavily, but Skolumkee snapped the lines as he exclaimed, "*Akailu!*" Pemalks felt a stiff breeze hit her face and was surprised that the ancient creatures seemed to take on new life. In a moment the grade leveled and a broad expanse of green and yellow pasturelands bisected by deep basaltic coulees, appeared before them. Far to the east the pyramidal shape of Steptoe Butte rose prominently from the surrounding hills. Skolumkee knew he was finally home. "*Yáamuštas*, my power mountain! The Wolf Brothers will not get us now," he said with obvious delight, pointing so she would know. "Yes, I see it" she said, "and I shall have a special meal for us tonight." She clutched her money pouch. "I have saved more than you think," Pemalks continued, "and you said we will find a store by the lake." Skolumkee raised his eyebrows and nodded with a smile just as a pickup truck passed them and honked which flushed a white-tail jack rabbit from the fenceline brush.

"How long has it been since you were here?" Pemalks asked. "Only last night," Skolumkee replied matter-of-factly. "I came in a dream and met an old boyhood friend I had long forgotten." Then he explained to Pemalks what he had seen. Skolumkee had been wandering along the trail where a cluster of willows grew near his family's Rock Lake camp of long ago. He turned a corner and saw a bald-headed man clad in ragged buckskin staggering along a short distance ahead. Skolumkee hollered something and the man turned and hobbled back a few steps. Then Skolumkee noticed he had no feet. The man grinned a great toothless smile of recognition and began shouting and waving his arms. Skolumkee saw one hand was also missing but ran to embrace his old friend. Then the dream had ended. "So who was this pitiful creature?" Pemalks asked. "Atween," sighed Skolumkee as if she should have known. "He lived with us here in the old days; helped our mothers tend the children." Without thinking, Pemalks said, "Well, at least he had a head." But she no sooner had spoken the words than pursed her lips with regret, and they rode the rest of the way in silence.

Chapter 1

Rocks That Glisten

One day when the Wolf Brothers were away gathering firewood for taking sweatbaths, Salmon Man decided to approach their sister's lodge. He wore a fancy headdress of green and red feathers but even as he stood outside the mat door, the Wolf Sister could tell who had come by the sound of his walk and pleasing scent.

Much talk during that Moon of Falling Needles in villages clustered along the Yakima River concerned the amazing encounter of some residents with the stranger who had come from lands beyond buffalo country. Their Palouse relatives farther to the southeast reported that he had rejoined a party of others who plied the treacherous currents of *Nch'i-Wana*—"Big Water," the mighty Columbia, in dugout canoes headed toward the ocean. The man with peculiar clothes and alien tongue had ventured up the Yakima (*Tapteel*) which he found "remarkably Clear and Crouded with Salmon" and in customary fashion had feasted inside a tule-mat lodge on "boiled fish which was delicious" courteously offered to newcomers. William Clark had left the main exploring party on October 17, 1805 and was among the first European-Americans to witness one of nature's mysteries—the return of immense numbers of fall salmon to the precise place of their origin. Having evaded a host of ocean predators, jumped towering cataracts, and escaping Indian spears and nets, these majestic creatures now ended one of nature's epic quests by scattering their eggs and milt to birth a new generation.

For the native peoples of the Columbia Plateau, the return of *sinux* (silver) and *kálux* (sockeye) salmon during the moons of Salmon Coming (August) and Salmon Spawning (October) was an experience to marvel and honor with sacred feasting; to the English-speaking pathfinder the phenomenon was to be observed and recorded as he had done for solar and lunar positions earlier that morning. For similar reasons, he had bagged an enormous sage grouse—"Size of a Small turkey" with a wingspan of three and a half feet to describe yet another species new to Eastern scientists. Clark thanked his hosts for their hospitality and noted they were fashionably clad with beads and shells, lived "in a State of comparative happiness," and "respect the aged with veneration" (G. Moulton [5], 1988). Now in the spring of 1806 the reappearance of the inquisitive hat-wearing strangers was greatly anticipated by some who eagerly sought to learn more about the visitors' ways and intentions. But when word reached the Yakama in April 1806 that the travelers were returning upriver and then moving overland through the lands of their Walla Walla neighbors, the news was hardly a distraction for another bunch of explorers. The child of a Palouse father and a Yakama mother ran with his playmates along the banks of the *Ahatah-num* (Ahtanum), the placid "Stream by Long Mountain." They shouted while watching canoes they had fashioned from willow branches float downstream on currents glinting with the golden lambency of sunny afternoons.

The valley landscapes Kamiakin shared as a boy with his elders, younger brothers, and wide circle of friends were a vibrant wonderland of stirring adventure. Older family members commented on his vitality and intelligence as the boy directed his playful, inquisitive ways into games of *kalilásh* racing with willow wheels and poles and enriching childhood discoveries. The isolated bluebunch wheatgrass bottomlands in the Ahtanum-Naches area hosted a diverse flora with clumps of ponderosa pine, towering cottonwood, and majestic white oak brightened by the seasonal blossoms of golden currant bushes and tangled honeysuckle vines with rows of fiery tubular flowers. Meadows throughout the area burst redolent with an imminence of wildflowers beginning in the Moon of Buttercup Blooming (February) that continued into summer with bluebells, sunflowers, purple iris, and yellow asters while sugar bowl clematis grew with riverbank conifers on southern exposures. Sometimes Kamiakin helped his mother gather fuzzy purple heads of lupine in stony places to decorate and purify the nearby graves of their ancestors. The appearance of the colorful blossoms occasioned lessons from the elders including the sorrowful tale of delicate Yellow Bell. The flower did not heed the warnings of Lily, Violet, and others

who pleaded with her to get ready for spring. When Chinook Wind suddenly appeared, these others were prepared in all their colorful finery; but Yellow Bell was left to wear a hastily fashioned costume of faded and drooping yellow.

Kamiakin's people also shared the land with the winged and four-legged tribes and other creatures. The riparian habitat offered sanctuary to migratory fowl like geese, canvasbacks, and redhead ducks as well as jackrabbits, marmots, and sometimes the troublesome *wáxpúš*—rattlesnake. Mourning doves, crows, and mergansers were common along the flatland brambles where badgers sometimes lumbered along trails to their hillside burrows among copses of serviceberry and clusters of scraggly hackberry. Incomprehensible numbers of wraithlike mayflies, midges, and damselflies appeared in the spring and summer to feed neotropical creatures of larger wing that nested in the Yakima Valley during seasonal journeys and fascinated the children including bluebirds, goldfinches, and the shimmering calliope and Rufous hummingbird—known to the Yakama as *q'mamsa-lí*. Low trees along streambeds hosted the spherical twig and mudded mansions of magpies draped in their distinctive feathered robes of iridescent black, ever anxious to ridicule the children who raced about their homes. Kamiakin and his young hunting companions sometimes wished to shoot these annoying disputers who swooped close to them whenever the boys approached their nests in spring. Just as he wanted to master his shooting skills, the young birds were tending to flying lessons and their parents would brook no interference. One of the boys once took aim at a hapless juvenile and struck him with an arrow only to be sternly disciplined by his grandmother for violating a sacred fellowship. Like many birds known to Kamiakin, magpies' distinctive cackles were voiced as their name—*ach'ay*. But his friend's grandmother informed them that the bird's peculiar call came from the time of the Animal People when ancestral Magpie lost an important race to Coyote.

Spilyáy and Xaslú

Kamiakin sought to learn from *Spilyáy*—Coyote, as his elders did. When traveling with his grandfather in the shadow of sacred *Páhto*—"Standing High" (Mt. Adams), they would sometimes encounter a coyote in the distance and the boy would observe the two stare intently at each other in that moment when the animal inevitably turned to watch them. "We will have good luck hunting today," or "Someone needs us back home," his grandfather would then report, and so it would come to pass. The boy wanted to know how to acquire these understandings and slowly did so by learning from the elders' stories, carefully observing the animal and plant nations, and listening to *wesl'yawau*, the cries of the wind that bore news from distant places. But Kamiakin also wanted to know these places directly, and growing into adolescence he continued to impress those around him. No youth his own age could best him at wrestling nor could many who were older. Yet Kamiakin's ready wit and cheerful presence balanced his competitive spirit and won him a wide circle of friends. "Young Kamiakin" took special pride in his father's fabled horseracing exploits among his native Palouse people. He heard the story of how the intrepid T'siyiyak had faced capture and death in battle and by enemies and men jealous of his skills (T. Kamiakin, oral history, n.d., LMC, WSU; A. Splawn, 1917:1-6).

T'siyiyak's cunning in a celebrated Snake River horse race of champion riders was legendary. The young man from the village of *Hasúutin*, an eel fishery near present Asotin, had entered a heavily wagered contest that was held near *Samuya* upstream from today's Pasco where two great rocks formed the ends of the course. T'siyiyak rode a spirited mount entered by a different owner but claimed it as his own as part of the substantial stakes that piled up where the horsemen lined up to begin the race. T'siyiyak pulled ahead of the field but, fearing the horse's owner would not part with the animal, turned away at the far turn of the course and left his other earnings unclaimed. This unexpected episode led to his foray westward to the land of the Yakama where he fell in love with Com-mus-ni, daughter of legendary Chief Wiyáwiikt (Weowicht) and a wife possibly of Wenatchi background. The brash young Palouse eventually earned the respect of the Yakama leader who allowed the two to marry. According to some family accounts, the couple soon journeyed east to dwell among T'siyiyak's people (W. Brown, 1961:67-74; G. Fisher, oral history, 2006; A. Tomeo, oral history, 1972).

Kamiakin, born about 1800, was the couple's first born child followed by sons Showaway and Skloom. But at a very early age, Kamiakin and his brothers apparently relocated with Com-mus-ni to Yakama country (T. Kamiakin, oral history, 1928, WBC, WSU; E. Peone, oral history, 1989). From his mother's people, Kamiakin learned why the Wiyáwiikt clan was treated with a deference that bespoke their unique Star Brother ancestry. The clear night skies held an incredibly sequined universe of wonder all along the magnificent *Lschhit* (White Path) that was explained to the boy in terms of mystical beings. Above the Milky Way shone the three bright stars of Orion's Belt which were the Cold Wind Brothers. Their canoe descended from the northeast toward faint Salmon Star, located near blue-white Alnitak. But the bright stars of Orion's Bow were the Chinook Wind Brothers who moved from the southwest in an attempt to thwart the movement of the Cold Winds. The five stars of the Big Dipper's Handle were the five Wolves (*Xaliishyama*). They were led by Coyote along a trail of arrows that Chickadee had shot to pierce the sky in order to hunt the Two Grizzlies, the Dipper's two side stars. On the other side of the pole star from The Wolves were the five white and pink stars of Elk Hide. These and the other principal stars of Cassiopeia appeared where light shone through holes made when a legendary Yakama hunter used wooden stakes to dry the skin before casting it into the sky for all to admire.

Wherever Kamiakin's family roamed on their travels throughout the region, he could often see *Xaslú*, the bright evening star. He heard the elders tell of a young Yakama woman named Yas-lum-mas who had been mystically transposed the celestial world where *Xaslú* lived with his older brother star while she and a sister, Tah-pal-lauw, were on a root digging expedition with her grandparents. The boy learned how Yas-lam-mas later escaped back to earth on a rope fashioned of hazel with. Stone remnants of the rope could be seen piled on Rattlesnake Mountain west of the Cascades near the confluence of the north and middle forks of the Snoqualmie River. The woman later gave birth to Kamiakin's ancestor in the vicinity of Chief Mountain, *Miyáwax* (Cowiche Mountain), in the Yakima Valley. The baby's father was one of the Star Brothers and an outcropping of resinous black rock in the area where he had been born still glistened as evidence of his remarkable parentage. The evil Frog Women came from the coast to kidnap the child but the boy was rescued by Blue Jay and restored to his mother (L. McWhorter to H. Taylor, January 13, 1919, LMC, WSU; E. Peone, oral history, 1981. In another version of the story both women returned and gave birth to sons [L. Mann to L. McWhorter, January 24, 1918, LMC, WSU].).

The important fishing camp of *Miyáwax* near present Rimrock may have derived its name from this story. It was the easternmost Yakama village on the Tieton River on the ancient Cascade trail that forked above *Miyáwax* to routes across Cowlitz, White, and Tieton passes. Wiyáwiikt's people sometimes frequented the rugged environs of White Pass and Goat Rocks in the fall where huckleberries grew in abundance and camps were established from which the young men hunted mountain goat and other large game. The snowy wool of the elusive *wáaw* was highly prized for weaving into blankets of heavy twine. The Star Brothers tale may also relate to Chief Wiyáwiikt's preference to reside seasonally at *Wapatukš* on the northern periphery of Chief Mountain. The village served as an important tribal council ground in historic times. On a monumental gallery of lichen-enrusted basalt rockfaces above Cowiche Creek along the Ahtanum-Wenas trail were some of the region's most striking panoramas of colorful *puh-tuh-num*, or pictographic "markings." Multicolored human figures of ancient origin and crowned with concentric rayed arcs in red, black, and white inhabit the columnar panels beneath stylized four-point stars that may have reminded young Kamiakin of his family's stellar ancestry.

Wiyáwiikt sought to marry his sons to the daughters of headmen from such villages. These alliances among the region's *miyawaxpamáma*, or "chiefly people," involved elaborate exchanges of many horses and valuable trade items, and gave special prominence to Wiyáwiikt clan among the Yakamas (A. Splawn, 1917:11-12; A. Saluskin, 1955). As Kamiakin grew older he helped older relatives tend the Wiyáwiikt clan's rapidly expanding herds that foraged on the prairie tablelands of the Yakima and Kittitas valleys amidst scattered stands of pine, aspen, and white oak. The highly nutritious root of the blue-flowered camas (*Camas quamash*) and the wild onion (*Allium acuminatum*) are members of the lily family that blossomed in prodigious resurrection in early spring on open ground and meadows among the pines. Camas was gathered for cooking while fresh or dried for use throughout the year. Other roots vital to the Yakama diet were bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*) and the lomatiums, a genus of "Indian celery"

including yellow-flowered *kouse* (*L. cous*) and *sk'okl* (*L. canbyi*), two very important of some forty that are native to the Yakima Valley and Columbia Plateau. Availability of these food resources was seasonal which caused Plateau families to follow a semi-nomadic annual cycle of fishing, hunting, and gathering.

For Kamiakin's family, this "seasonal round" typically involved wintering in tule mat lodges at the family's camps in the Kittitas and Ahtanum valleys, spring root gathering on the surrounding prairies to the west, salmon fishing along the Columbia River and among the Spokanes in the summer, and fall hunting and berrying in the higher elevations of the Cascades. Less predictable were the specific gathering sites visited by Kamiakin's parents each year since *Náami Piap* had blessed the middle Columbia tribes with so many favored gathering areas. The people were profoundly grateful. They had been taught since time immemorial by "great prophets" of "laws that had been established" to know of the Creator's existence: "first, the water; second, the salmon; third, the big game; fourth, the roots; and fifth, the berries." Each gift contributed to the sustenance of Kamiakin's people and their consumption "when first taken" was a communal act of thanksgiving. The Yakamas further reckoned time during the year based on the lunar calendar with names of the thirteen moons reflecting the Native Peoples' intimacy with the natural world. Like other Plateau women, Com-mus-ni may have recorded special events in the life of her family by fashioning a calendar ("counting") ball of hemp string, or *itatamat*, on which knots, beads, shells, and other talismans were carefully spaced as valuable memory devices to recall family marriages, births, and other significant events (H. Schuster, 1998:330-34; M. Hannigan to K. Simmons, August 9, 1949; YNL).

Horse Herds and Fisheries

The Yakama and Kittitas prairie lands were ideal for supporting horses as the earth was cloaked in a dense growth of pinegrass, elk sedge, and ubiquitous Poaceae including members of the wheatgrass and ryegrass genera that had fed creatures of horn and hoof for ages. These formed a hidden universe of *waskú* forage grasses with slender stalks, emerging petioles, and curling leaves inhabited by herbivorous armies of crickets, beetles, and grasshoppers. Equipped with tiny serrated sickle jaws, these creatures were integral to the region's ecological renewal. Their ingestion of vegetative growth and its deposition into forms essential to plant nutrition eventually fed the horses of the Yakama and neighboring tribes. Kamiakin family legend and wealth has long been associated with horses, and they distinguished members of the herds by a host of descriptive names in addition to the principal colors of black, bay, brown, sorrel, buckskin, gray, and white. There was also the popular spotted rump appaloosa (*máamin*), chestnut sorrel (*siwíw-siwíw*), orange buckskin (*páatk'wiki*), strawberry roan (*qaas-qáas*), huckleberry roan (*wíwlu*), pinto, and palamino. Even slightly different shadings warranted distinctive names including faded white, pure white, blue-gray, faded blue-gray, and dun (M. Chapman, oral history, 1979; E. Hunn, 1990:330-31).

Family tradition held that the region's first appaloosa horse, a spotted colt, was brought from the Plains in the middle 1700s by the Palouse chief Khalotas, a close relative of the Kamiakins. Since his people were without horses at the time, Khalotas crafted a clever plan to obtain the beautiful and powerful creatures. He procured the services of an expert bone and stick game player and gambler. The two men journeyed across the Rockies to the Missouri River where they met a group of Plains Indians with horses and eager to gamble for Northwest furs and other trade items brought by Khalotas. The Palouses purposely lost the first round of the game and then significantly raised their stakes the second time. Among the participants was a White trader from the Plains whose bet rose to six horses and then to eight, including the appaloosa female. The visiting gambler's strategy prevailed and Khalotas returned with his prize to Palouse country. The animal became the matriarch of the tribe's herd and Khalotas became a prominent horse breeder. The Palouse called the creature *tamsilpiin*, for its spotted appearance. To neighboring tribes the appaloosa was known as *máamin*, likely derived from the word "Mormon," since other Indians may have obtained them from Shoshone, Utes, or other Great Basin peoples far to the southeast in areas inhabited by the Latter Day Saints (G. Fisher, oral history, 2006. The Sahaptin word *máamin* may be related to *maron*, a French-Canadian term for "mustang." For additional information on the breed, see Frank Roe, 1968, and F. Haines, 1963.).

As had been the case on the Great Plains, the introduction of the horse transformed Indian life throughout the Pacific Northwest as travel was facilitated both within the region and across the Rocky Mountains. Members of the Wiyáwiikt clan sometimes would “go to buffalo” for extended visits sometimes lasting more than a year in the lands of the Blackfoot and other sometimes hostile Plains tribes (M. Moses, oral history, 1918, WBC, WSU). Through such contacts, Yakama, Nez Perce, and other tribes adopted aspects of Plains Indian culture including the use of tipis, feathered headdresses, and concepts of more formal tribal organization. The horse enabled Plateau tribes to deal in more bulky but valued items on the coast such as buffalo robes, root-cakes and flour, and smaller items like stone pipes, tobacco, and Indian hemp in return for white dentalium, iridescent abalone jewelry, and other objects. Horses themselves became a measure of wealth and the Wiyáwiikt clan maintained some of the largest horse herds in the Yakima Valley. Men and women alike cared for the animals and bred horses that were strong, fast, and smart. Although it is unlikely that they bred horses for color alone, some Indians prized the beautifully spotted appaloosa horses, named in pioneer days for T’siyiyak and Khalotas’s homeland, and recognized their value as a medium of trade. A likely descendant of Khalotas and prominent Palouse chief bearing this legendary name (Simon McGillivray’s “Talatouche”) appeared at the gates of Ft. Nez Percés in September 1831 to make restitution for a *máamin* and company horse taken the previous year by a member of his band. As a goodwill gesture, Khalotas was rewarded with thirty musket balls and powder, a yard of tobacco, large knife, and a measure of red cloth strouds (T. Stern [I], 1993:184-65).

Travel by horse also led to larger intertribal gatherings at the great Columbia River fisheries of The Dalles and a Kamiakin family-favored location on the upper Columbia, Kettle Falls. Located far up the river, Kamiakin and others gathered beneath the foaming, tumbling waters at Kettle Falls to take spring Chinooks weighing well over one hundred pounds from the channeled fury. Here the family also met their Salish relatives in grand gatherings to share news, race horses, and gamble against the mystical backdrop of rainbowed spume and pine forests. Yakama families also frequently gathered at the Wenatchi Fishery, the most popular salmon fishing site in the middle Columbia region where as many as 3,000 Indians would gather in historic times above the forks of the Wenatchee and Icicle rivers. Indian camps regularly dotted the area around the fishery along Tumwater Canyon during spring and fall runs since miles of precipitous ledges provided ideal positions for spearing and netting fish. Five members of the genus *Oncorhynchus* (“Hooked Snout”) migrated profusely throughout the Columbia River system and along tributaries like the Yakima River, Toppenish Creek, and Ahtanum Creek. Salmon were known collectively to the Sahaptin-speaking Yakama as *núsux*, but Yakama nomenclature included names for the four Columbia species (Chinook, silver, chum, and sockeye) as well as seasonal variations like the annually migrating Chinook and blueback jack. Valley residents also named a sixth, the humpback or pink, though few individual ascended beyond the lower Columbia. Other fish commonly taken from the life-giving rivers included steelhead, rainbow, and brook trout (M. Chapman, 1979; E. Hunn, 1990:148-54).

While salmon was a principal staple of all the Plateau peoples and supplied at least a third of their nutritional needs, consumption of other foods was also essential. Numerous varieties of wild berries abounded along the Yakima River in fall while others were prevalent at higher elevations in the eastern slopes of the Cascades. Among the earliest to ripen was the serviceberry which burst forth its delicate white blossoms in spring. Two species of blackberries were also prized by the Yakama, the trailing blackberry and mountain blackberry, both commonly gathered in late summer and fall as were wild raspberries and elderberries. Many Indians traveled to the vicinity of present Easton to pick plump wild loganberries that grew there in abundance. Other mountain treats Kamiakin knew from his youth were sweetly tasting whipped foamberries and black pine moss pounded and dried into *k’unch*, hardtack-like pieces to resemble a nutty licorice. These provisions were often stored in baskets fashioned from coils of narrow cedar bark strips, willow fiber, and split tules, and in pouch-shaped bags of Indian hemp. Many of these articles bore exquisitely imbricated geometric designs in contrasting earth tones. Armed with double-curved or flat-type bows usually made of juniper and arrows of serviceberry or greasewood in deerskin quivers, skilled Yakama hunters took deer and bear on fall hunts, and sometimes larger high

country game like mountain goat and elk. Smaller animals hunted throughout the year included beaver, marmot, and rabbit as well as geese, ducks, grouse, and sage hens (A. George, oral history, 1980).

T'siyak's Palouse Homeland

Though Kamiakin was raised among his mother's people in the Kittitas and Yakima valleys, he also visited the Palouse country during his youth and became acquainted with his father's relatives and ancestral campsites. Kamiakin may have found in such journeys an outlet for his adventurous spirit and boyhood curiosity about his peregrinatory father's past. One camp was known to the family "T'siyak's Place," located near Doxon Ponds in the coulees just east of *Elatsaywitsun* (Sprague Lake) on the trail to *Tekam*, or the "Falls" at present Spokane. Another favored place, later known as "Kamiak's Flat," was on the southeastern shore of *Tax'liit* (present Rock Lake). Both bodies of water and the many pothole lakes in the western Palouse were also seasonal habitat to the now rare white pelican, trumpeter swan, whooping crane, and other migratory fowl. Narrow ledges tucked into the immense northern cliffs of mysterious *Tax'liit* provided one of the region's few nesting sites for turkey vultures. The bald and black *q'spali* could be seen for great distances circling above on vagrant currents of air where they were sometimes joined by the high gliding *khwama'* ("high above"), or golden eagle. Wild currants, serviceberries, and gooseberries abounded in the deep canyon north of the lake where travelers passed beneath circular basalt promontories, a natural stone bridge, and other peculiar formations fashioned in the time of the Animal People. T'siyak and his family also camped on the northernmost stretch of the broadly meandering *Mo-ho-li-šah* (Palouse River) between present St. John and Endicott. Known later to pioneers at "Kamiak's Crossing," the vicinity abounded in native trout, whitetail deer, great blue herons, and other wildlife (E. Peone, oral history, 1981; T. Kamiakin, oral history, 1928, WBC, WSU).

From their Palouse River camp, the family could range in any direction during spring to dig the nine "winged seed" species of the nutritious *Lomatium* family native to the Palouse which favored shallow lithosoils among rocky outcroppings along the river and its tributaries. Over twenty major camas and bitterroot grounds were located in vernal meadows throughout the Palouse country. Edible roots also grew at *Mox-mox* near the base of a revered place of spirit quests, mystical *Yáamuštas* ("Elk's Abode"). Frontier explorers later called the peculiar formation "Pyramid Peak," a strange island in an oceanic maelstrom of earthen waves cresting with wind-pulsed native grasses that served like a mariner's landmark for travelers across the region. With its top at 3,600 feet often shrouded in purling clouds, Steptoe Butte is composed of billion-year-old sandpaper orange quartzite geologically related to the peak located twenty-five miles to the southwest, Kamiak Butte, which pioneers would name in honor of Chief Kamiakin. Steptoe and Kamiak buttes are surrounded by a titanic fingerprint of earthen whorls and swirls with mystical origins. Stories passed down in the Kamiakin family told how Coyote had struggled to arrange the incredible labyrinth of swales, ridges, and slopes unique to Palouse topography in a vain effort to prevent other Animal People from winning a great race in ancient times. The course ran from the mouth of the Palouse River to Spokane Falls and the land had been flat until Coyote went out the night before the contest to scoop it into a series of barriers that he could easily leap over. But the six clever Turtle Brothers learned of his scheme and placed themselves along the route before the race began and were able to claim the victory. The story was used to instruct young listeners about the consequences of false pretense and explain the appearance of the remarkable landscape known to the Palouse people as *Mukwnísha* (A. George, oral history, 1980; G. Lucas, oral history, 1930, MJC, UW).

Areas to the northeast of the Palouse River camp were also utilized by T'siyak's people to dig camas where Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes, and Palouses gathered in springtime at places like *Ni'lukhwaqw* ("Cut in the Woods"), east of present Desmet, Idaho, and at *T'celiyutum* ("Woodpecker Place"), located at the confluence of Latah and Rock creeks. T'siyak's other family camp among the Palouse was at the Snake River village of Penawawa *Pinawáwih* (Penawawa), an important fishing area at the mouth of Penawawa Creek that also abounded in serviceberries, blackberries, and prairie elderberry. Many varieties of fish were taken from the life-giving waters of *Pik'úunen*, the "Great Water," including trout, steelhead, whitefish, and eels. Penawawa was also known for its white sturgeon which when mature could reach twelve feet in length and weigh a half-ton—making them virtually impossible to catch. Three genera of

the Salmonidae family were native to the Snake River including the genus *Oncorhynchus* with the five species of Pacific salmon. The Palouse people's principal fishing site on the Snake River was their ancient and largest village of *Palus*, located at the mouth of the Palouse River where young Kamiakin would have resided among dozens of tule mat lodges on his periodic visits to his father's people (E. Peone, oral history, 1981).

Located just beyond the river's sandy shoreline at *Palus* was the village's namesake of *Ehpelutpa*—the massive petrified heart of legendary Beaver, *Wishpushya*. (The Palouse people called themselves *Naha'úumpíu*, or "People of the River.") In the time of the Animal People, the four Wolf Brothers armed with spears attacked Beaver who peacefully resided near his lodge at present Hole-in-the-Ground above Rock Lake. A terrific fight ensued during which Beaver clawed and chewed out Rock Lake channel, one of the deepest lakes in the region with areas reaching depths of 325 feet. Beaver tore his way toward the Snake River and where he beat down his tail along the route, small falls were formed in the Palouse River. He was struck again at *Apútaput* ("Falling Water") where in his pain Beaver cut the castellated formations and sheer cliffs that formed Palouse Falls. The massive creature finally fell from his wounds at the confluence of the rivers and his heart was turned to stone. Beaver's remains were transformed into the ancestors of all the area's tribes and the Palouses were said to have sprung from his heart (Sam Fisher [1936], in E. Clark, 1960:117-18; G. Fisher, oral history, 2006).

Through his travels as a boy with T'siyiyak to these places, Kamiakin came to know his Palouse relatives and others among the Wallas Wallas, Nez Perce, and Spokanes. He was about five years old when word reached his village of the peculiar appearance of strange people who entered their lands from the east in the fall of 1805. Their Nez Perce kindred had rescued Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery and helped them continue down the Snake and Columbia rivers to the ocean. Because of the newcomers' attire and that of the French-Canadian traders who soon followed them, Kamiakin's people came to call Whites *Shuyapo*, from *chapeau*, French for hat. The actions of many who came later led to their designation as *Wasichu*, "Greedy Ones."

Sacred Landscapes

Kamiakin acquired his *tah*, or tutelary spirit, in adolescence from the power of Buffalo seen in a dream while taking his quest on the majestic but treacherous icy heights of *Takhuma*—the "Mighty One," Mount Rainier. Divulging specific details of such a personal matter risked losing one's power, but when once pressed about his experience did say that the ordeal was the "severest feat of his life." In later years Kamiakin would lift up the song imparted in his dream to summon strength needed in battles of a life that witnessed nearly a century of unprecedented and cataclysmic cultural change. One of Kamiakin's sons described the elaborate and solemn preparations necessary for one to successfully participate in a spirit quest. The ancient tribal ritual usually was undertaken by boys and girls in early adolescence and often during fall when families moved to the high country to hunt large game and gather berries. The seeker needed to draw on uncommon strength of character and endurance. For this reason, prolonged preparations would precede the quest which consisted of austere physical conditioning each day followed by a purifying sweat bath. This regimen was followed by a time of spiritual counseling with a deeply spiritual tribal elder who would admonish the youth with instructions in the humility and judgment necessary to receive a spirit guardian. After this training was completed, the youth was sent to a remote high place to fast, be cleansed in the sacred steam of the sweat bath, and offer pleasant incense from sage and braided sweetgrass. Amidst the sounds of mountain winds moving cloud mosaics in mythical shapes, the fluttering of wings, and animal sounds, the seeker would keep lonely vigil under a lodge of starlight while fighting against the numbing effects of fatigue and hunger (W. Lewis, 1922:108; C. Kamiakin, 1957).

The native peoples understood that all of nature, both terrestrial and beyond, was mysteriously imbued by *Náami Piap* with spiritual force—stars and moon, rocks and weather, animals and plants. The Plateau Indian world view of reverential animism extended high moral obligation to these life powers in recognition of their creation and sacrifice for human benefit. The cutting of fir boughs for bedding and drinking of fresh mountain water were preceded by respectful words of thanks to the tree and stream for

their benevolence just as the elders gave thanks in proper season through the First Root, First Salmon, and First Berry ceremonies. But not everyone who sought to abide by the stringent expectations of the vision quest could abide by these demands. Success was by no means certain, but in the case of young Kamiakin's five-day ordeal and for others of his time, the search could be rewarded with a profoundly life-changing vision of the imparted power. The Yakama warrior Sluskin, possibly Kamiakin's relative, guided a portion of the first recorded ascent of Mt. Rainier in the 1870s. The August expedition reached the upper slopes of "lofy walls and precipices whence avalanches of snow and vast masses of rock were continually falling" and where "a furious tempest continually swept the crown of the mountain." Sluskin told the explorers of "a great chief and warrior, and a mighty hunter"—perhaps Wiyáwiikt or Kamiakin, who "had ascended part way up the mountain" farther up than anyone had been known to venture (H. Stevens [1876] 1915:418-19).

Poetic expression of awesome encounters seen and heard in dream-like flashes of high place winds and creature calls are suggested in the names of Kamiakin's contemporaries—Eagle of the Dawn, Red Star, Whistling Swan, Yellow Grizzly Bear. The sounds of many such names are onomonapoetic suggestions of their meaning as with Pahkatos Qoh Qoh, or Five Crows, and Chief Joseph's Nez Perce name, Hin-mah-too Yah-lat-kekt, or Thunder Rolling in the Mountains. The designation of some names may have been associated with atavistic powers, while others were bestowed uniquely through the sacred quest. The origins of Kamiakin's adult name are obscure, but the word is linguistically related to *k'amáyaqən*, the Columbia Salish term for "skull." Over time, its pronunciation was reshaped in conformity with Yakama Sahaptin phonetics, but the name likely further distinguished him among his young Yakama peers (E. Peone, oral history, 1981; B. Rigsby, 2007).

The spirit quest manifested a profound appreciation for the sanctity of all life and following this experience, young Kamiakin could participate in the tribe's Winter Spirit Dance (*Wanpt*), called by a shaman for the sacred singing and dancing of *tah* songs by all the *tánish*. These vigils may strike modern minds as spectral experience through stress-induced trances blurring the border of imagination and reality. But relationships between the Plateau peoples and nature fashioned a world view that communed with the land and and steeled the virtues of fortitude and restraint. In some ways this was known to the cultural forebearers of the European-American newcomers. Numerous classical accounts relate stories like the Athenian Phidippides whose encounter with Pan on Mt. Parthenium led to his shrine at the Acropolis. The American Northwest two millennia later was akin to the mystical realms of Pasternak's taiga—"settled so sparsely that nature was not eclipsed by man;" a place where the elemental forces of water, wind, and earth still struck mortals "fiercely and tangibly."

The Maritime Fur Trade

As the sons of Chief Wiyáwiikt grew to establish their family camps along the principal streams of the Kittitas and Yakima valleys in the 1820s and 1830s, important decisions affecting their futures had been the focus of deliberation for many years in the smoke-filled offices of Eastern businessmen. Early in the century, the Pacific Northwest had attracted the attention of several companies for its fur trade potential and various entrepreneurs, traders, and trappers were planning its exploitation. Wealthy New York financier John Jacob Astor had incorporated his American Fur Company in 1808 in order to gain a foothold for his own ambitions and the national interest in an enterprise that was then controlled by foreign interests. The oldest and most firmly established company in the maritime fur trade was the Hudson's Bay Company, a British owned concern with interests throughout eastern Canada. Montreal merchants of Scottish ancestry organized a rival enterprise, the North West Company, in 1783.

Astor organized a subsidiary of his company in 1809, the Pacific Fur Company, and under his guidance two expeditions were outfitted for the Northwest. The first contingent, led by Duncan McDougall, included such frontier notables as David Stuart, Robert Stuart, and Alexander Ross who founded Ft. Astoria in the spring 1811 following their voyage around the Horn to the mouth of the Columbia. The following summer a contingent including Stuart, Ross, and seven other Astorians journeyed up the Columbia to establish trading relations with the Plateau tribes. The group passed by the mouth of the Yakima River and continued upriver to establish Ft. Okanogan in September near the mouth

of the Okanogan River. They build a crude post from driftwood and raised the Stars and Stripes here for the first time within the present boundaries of present Washington. Ross assumed responsibilities as the fort's chief trader and during the first year of operation, commerce with Yakama, Wenatchi, Okanogan, and other tribes yielded 1,550 beaver hides "plus other peltries, worth in the Canton market 2,250 pounds sterling" (A. Ross, 1826:138-41).

Although Astor relinquished control of his Northwest operations to the Nor'Westers in 1812 due to economic and wartime threats from the British, many Astorians like Ross were allowed to enter the employ of the new owners. Trade continued with the Yakama and other interior tribes but in 1813 events took place elsewhere in the region to disaffect their amiable relations with the American traders. Word reached the Yakamas in the spring of a fatal incident involving Kamiakin's Palouse relatives to the east, and the Astorian John Clarke. Enroute to Astoria from Spokane country, Clarke had camped at *Palus* on the Snake River. Finding a goblet missing from his belongings in the morning, the ill-tempered trader demanded its return. The offender meekly returned the item, but was promptly hung by Clarke from a gallows crudely fashioned out of the man's own tipi poles. News of this episode quickly spread and fired resentment among many Indians who began viewing the Whites more as intruders than as friends.

The following spring a squad of Nor'Westers in fourteen boats departed the lower Columbia on an overland express to their Canadian headquarters, Ft. William. Veteran trader Alexander Ross accompanied them as far as Ft. Okanogan where he joined others in continuing the work among the neighboring tribes. Finding no packhorses available for transporting trade goods, he decided to obtain a supply from the Indians of the Yakima Valley who were known to be "rich in horses." Moreover, Ross knew the time of year to be that of "the great national rendezvous" of Indians throughout the region "when thousands meet and on such occasions horses can be got in almost any numbers." He took two French Canadian companions and their Indian wives and a young clerk, Thomas McKay. After four days of travel, they were met by two couriers sent by Chief Sopa of the Wenatchi, a friend of Ross's, who warned, "White men, turn back, turn back, you are all dead men!" Tribes to the south had expressed hostile intentions against the Whites since the Palouse killing, and Sopa wanted the traders to avoid a tragedy. But Ross was undeterred and continued on alone. Two days later he descended into the Kittitas Valley and came upon an immense camp several miles long at *Ch'iláxan*, ten miles northwest of present Ellensburg, where plumes of smoke trailed from tipis while the dreamy susurrus of wind rustled through the aspen and cottonwood. Ross estimated that the gathering "could not have contained less than 3,000 men, exclusive of women and children, and treble that number of horses. It was a grand and imposing sight in the wilderness which featured horse races, foot races, gambling, hunting, councils, singing, dancing, drumming and a thousand other things...."

But Ross received a cool reception from his Yakama hosts and was lectured by a sullen chief, possibly Wiyáwiikt himself or a relative. Unaware of Ross's company affiliation, the Indian leader accused him of being among those "who killed our relations, the people who have caused us to mourn." The trader became the object of other accusations and found his restive hosts reluctant to engage in exchange for steel knives, glass beads, fishhooks, or goods of any kind. Ross remarked that his patience "was put to the test a thousand times," though he finally wrangled twenty-five horses through skillful diplomacy. Perhaps still wary of intentions, Ross then sped northward to join his companions who had remained with Sopa's people. Pathfinder Ross later described the ordeal as "the most trying and hazardous of trips I ever experienced in that country" (A. Ross, 1826:212-13).

During these years, Kamiakin's captivating presence and wisdom continued to distinguish him as a young man. Fur trader Angus McDonald described the Yakama-Palouse leader as standing "five feet eleven in his moccasins" and weighing "about two hundred pounds, muscular and sinewy" with black hair bearing streaks of auburn "twisted down over his shoulders." The wiry Scot had come to know Kamiakin well as chief trader at Ft. Colville, founded near Kettle Falls in 1825, four years after the Nor'Westers merged with the Hudson's Bay Company to extend British monopolistic control and Catholic influence across the region. Like his father, Kamiakin became a skilled competitor in feats of agility and at horseracing and came to acquire considerable wealth measured in horseflesh. His physical strength was expressed in odyssean terms by one contemporary who observed, "In his prime, none of his people could

bend his bow.” As early as 1840 the greater portion of the Yakamas recognized him as their head man and “the young men flocked to Kamiakin, with his power extending from Nah-cheez to Tap-tat (Prosser).” The young leader took his first wife, Sunk-hay-ee, at the age of about twenty-five. The daughter of Chief Teias, she was Kamiakin’s cousin and also a grandchild of venerable Chief Wiyáwiikt. Marriage between relatives was not uncommon among Plateau peoples and took place in order to consolidate political and economic power (A. McDonald, 1917:228-29; A. Splawn, 1917:17).

“Every Inch a King”

Kamiakin also married the oldest daughter of the Klickitat Chief Tenax, Kem-ee-yowah, and, in accordance with the custom of Plateau sororal polygyny, also inherited as wives her three younger sisters—Why-luts-pum, Hos-ke-la-pum, and Colestah. The youngest, Colestah, became a revered *twati* and confidant to her husband. Her spirit power would be used to restore health to children and others when disease threatened. She could also change huckleberries into red glass beads and bitterroots into lustrous shells. Kamiakin’s marriages brought more children into the Wiyáwiikt clan and, in about 1840 a son was born to the chief, one of a dozen children, by Kem-ee-yowah, named We-yet-que-wit (Talking Hunter) and known also as “Young Kamiakin.” A special power of protection was imparted in adolescence to the boy through his spirit quest. He ventured into the mountains and found an abandoned hunter’s camp where deer bones had been left scattered about. A great storm later arose and he sought refuge in the crude shelter. During the tempest of rain and hail, he heard a voice cry out, “You do as I tell you, and I will give you my power. You see that I am all old and weather-checked, but this hail does not enter me or hurt me. I resist the beating hailstones which beat upon me without harm. Do as I tell you, and with my power, although the bullet of the enemy strike you like a hailstone, you will not be harmed” (T. Kamiakin, oral history, 1928, WBC, WSU; S. Kamiakin, oral history, 1951, CWC, WSU; L. McWhorter, “Yakima Tahmahawis Power; Kamiakin’s Son,” LMC, WSU).

Possibly because of a special friendship between Kamiakin and his uncle, Chief Showaway, the Yakama leader established his home on Ahtanum Creek where Showaway had long resided (A. Splawn, 1917:18; S. Kamiakin-Williams, oral history, 1951, CRC, YVL). The stream abounded in trout and seasonal runs of coho and Kamiakin located his home along a bend in the stream about four miles east of present Tampico where his camp was sheltered by stands of aspen, Oregon white oak, and isolated pines. The place was known as *Yi-küp-yí-küp-pam*, or Salmonberry Place, for this delicate species which grew near other stands of hardy elderberry and chokecherry. In historic times an enormous grave mound, likely of a notable family member, was located on the west side of the camp (A. Saluskin, oral history, 1967, BRC, UQ; H. White, oral history, 2006). Kamiakin first appears in the historical record in an 1841 travel account by American military explorer Lt. Robert E. Johnson. The group had been dispatched to Ft. Colville from Puget Sound by Charles Wilkes, commander of the four-year United States Exploring Expedition commissioned by naval officials in 1838 on a cartographic world tour. Johnson’s party had departed the Hudson’s Bay post of Ft. Nisqually on May 17 and reached the Kittitas Valley by the first of June via Naches Pass. On June 2, the men found a camp of twenty Indians near present Ellensburg. “The chief, Kamaiyah, was the son-in-law of old Tidias [Teias], and one of the most handsome and perfectly-formed Indians they had met with.” The officers found Kamiakin “gruff and surly” in his manners and were impressed with the band’s fine horses but the Indians “could not be induced to part with any of them” (C. Wilkes [V], 1844:426-28).

Explorers and traders of the country who penned descriptions of Kamiakin often commented on his dignified manner, cordiality, and attire. He is seen in fine buckskin clothing with a fisher pelt cap. Elsewhere he dressed in a Hudson’s Bay broadcloth coat with red trimming and buttons of brass, and sometimes wore a single eagle feather in his hair. Territorial pioneer Francis Chenoweth and three friends encountered Kamiakin in the late June 1851 while on an excursion from The Dalles to the Simcoe Valley where he noted the Indians were raising bountiful fields of ripening wheat and flax. Chenoweth judged the area’s climate “perhaps as near perfect as any in the world,” and marveled at the “large bands of fat horses and cattle that rove unmolested upon the rich pastures.” The party chose a different return route to the Columbia River and first ventured west to the “splendid country” of Camas Lake (present Conboy

Lake) in the shadow of Mt. Adams' "dazzling whiteness." Here Chenowith found Kamiakin, the "principal chief" among the "lords of creation," overseeing the horseraces and gathering of roots on the vast camas prairie of *Taht*. Kamiakin treated his guests with "politeness and hospitality" and served him tea with sugar while pointing out "the pile of blankets and other articles he had won at the races." Frontiersman Theodore Winthrop described Kamiakin in regal terms after meeting him in the Yakima Valley in 1852. The adventurer was introduced to Kamiakin by the missionary Father Pandosy after the Yakama chief rode up to the men on a "white pacer" wearing a long green "robe of ceremony" with fine cloth patches "of all shapes and sizes.... He had an imposing presence and bearing, and above all a good face, a well-lighted Pharos at the top of colossal frame." He was, Winthrop concluded, "every inch a king" (W. Lewis, 1922:108; F. Chenowith, *The Oregonian*, July 12 and 15, 1851; T. Winthrop, 1863:178).

As Kamiakin matured, he became more prominent among the Yakamas, and leaders of both Sahaptin and Salish tribes often sought his counsel. Through personal abilities as well as his family ties, Kamiakin emerged as one of the region's most influential leaders. But growing authority also invited family jealousies. His principal rivals were his uncles—Teais, who was also his father-in-law, and Owhi, the highly respected leader of the Yakamas living upstream in the Kittitas Valley. Over the years Kamiakin and his brothers traveled widely and acquired cattle and horses from the Willamette Valley and journeyed as far as California. The black, long-horned "Spanish" beef cattle and milk cows he brought home from his travels are believed to have been the first in the valley (A. Splawn, 1917:17-18; W. Brown, 1961:76-77). In some cases the privileges accorded to men of his time and standing are repugnant to modern sensibilities. Kamiakin might acquire a slave from other tribes on these faraway excursions to the south and wielded power over life and death in cases when shamans summoned to heal family members could not bring recovery. Accounts about Kamiakin's life by priests who knew him well make no reference to such practices but other reliable contemporaries do. Perhaps on one of his journeys to the south, Kamiakin obtained a slave named Attween whom the chief later punished for recurrent thieving by forcing him to sleep outside in bitter weather. The unfortunate man lost both feet and a hand to frostbite and was known afterward as Askolumkee, or "Cut-Off." In spite of his condition Askolumkee, also known as Atween, became an able horseman and valued family member (T. Kamiakin, in L. McWhorter, 1940:52-53). Visits by Owhi to Ft. Nisqually at present DuPont were noted in the post journal as early as June 1833, and it is likely that the chief's nephew would have accompanied him on such journeys to visit their Coastal Salish relatives and acquaint himself more fully with the interesting ways of the *Shuyapu*.

Perhaps indicative of an abiding identity with his father's people, Kamiakin is known to have often traveled substantial distances to the northeast. He was a frequent guest of trader McDonald at Ft. Colville where he impressed the affable Scotchman as "a well-formed and powerful Indian" possessing a "sagacious intellect" (A. McDonald, 1917:228-29). Ft. Colville replaced Ft. Spokane in 1825 as the center of trading activity on the middle Columbia. Following a strategic tour of the region in 1824-25, Sir George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company recommended its location on a broad flat of fertile loam near scenic and strategic Kettle Falls, the largest Indian fishery on the upper Columbia, as a better place for trade and farming. After construction, another Canadian of Scottish descent, Andrew McDonald, was placed in charge of local operations. By 1840, Ft. Colville had grown to employ twenty men on a 400-acre farm and at the company store and gristmill. The first grain raised in the Inland Northwest, fifteen bushels of barley, was grown here in 1826 with seed from the company's eponymous regional headquarters at Ft. Vancouver. Wheat, oats, potatoes, and other vegetables also flourished on Big Prairie across from the fort where horses, cattle, and hogs from John McLoughlin and abandoned Spokane House were also raised. Kamiakin especially prized the spring Chinook taken at the falls as the choicest salmon on the entire river. The company also operated Ft. Nez Percés (later Ft. Walla Walla), founded in 1818 by Alexander Ross, near the mouth of the Walla Walla River on the lower Columbia where Chief Trader Pierre Pambrun supervised a substantial horseraising operation in the 1830s and the cultivation of small plots of vegetables (C. Kamiakin, oral history, 1957, CWC, WSU; J. Gibson, 1985:52).

In the Ahtanum country Kamiakin raised potatoes, squash, pumpkins, and corn in substantial garden plots irrigated by the waters of a spring below the principal fork in the stream. Building the half-

mile long canal, later dubbed “Kamiakin’s Ditch” by pioneers, that snaked along the contour just north of his camp from the spring to the gardens was a monumental undertaking given the rocky terrain and primitive tools available to the workers. Like some other Plateau Indian leaders, Kamiakin believed his people could benefit from the practical knowledge and spiritual power of the Whites. But Kamiakin refused to ever surrender his freedom and sacred commitments to safeguard his people and the natural world fashioned by *Náami Piap*. Kamiakin cautiously welcomed the White newcomers who traveled through the region and sought to learn aspects of their culture he considered advantageous. He befriended young Nathan Olney, who had overlanded in 1843 to the Willamette Valley at age nineteen only to return to The Dalles four years later and open a small store to provision the burgeoning number of Oregon Trail immigrants. His enterprise gave birth in 1847 to a settlement located at this important Indian fishery and strategic frontier outpost. Olney soon married Twawy (Annette Hallicola), daughter of local Wasco Chief Chalalee, and the relationship gained him the trust of area Indian leaders. In June 1851 the young enterprising frontiersman procured a trading license from Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Anson Dart. Chief Kamiakin traveled frequently to The Dalles to fish, trade, and to visit his in-laws, and came to regard the young Iowa native “as a son.”

The Olneys’ closest White neighbors later came to live downstream halfway to Ft. Vancouver where Francis Chenowith founded fledgling Cascades City near present Stevenson on the north side of the river in the spring of 1850. In May a small outpost was established by the Army at The Dalles named Camp Drum for a Mounted Rifle unit to maintain peace along the heavily used wagon road along the Columbia. A year earlier Astoria native William C. McKay built a trading post near the mouth of the Umatilla River that flourished until his prominence in subsequent treaty negotiations aroused the suspicions of Kamiakin and other area tribal leaders. Although these outposts were located along the lower Columbia, their locations near the periphery of Yakama territory led Kamiakin to view them warily. Since the Columbia’s hazardous rapids and falls at The Cascades made steamboat traffic further upstream impossible, Cascades City became known as the “head of navigation” but the enterprising Chenowith built a two and one-half mile long wooden portage tramway with cars pulled by oxen to facilitate eastward transportation. Cascades City soon boasted a store, blacksmith shop, and some half-dozen families whose men found employment at this strategic point. Kamiakin frequently traversed the area on trading and fishing excursions to nearby *Si’lailo* (Celilo Falls) at The Dalles, Great Cascades, and to Ft. Vancouver. He maintained cordial relations with local residents like Chenowith, who was elected to the Washington Territorial Legislature in 1853 and served at its first Speaker of the House.

St. Joseph’s Mission

Kamiakin also knew about the ministry of Presbyterian missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman at Waiilatpu, established in the Walla Walla Valley in 1836, and invited their colleague William Gray to establish a similar work among his people. When the Protestants declined, Kamiakin and Skloom turned to the Catholics, as Owhi and Chief Peopeo Moxmox recently had. After a disaffected group of Cayuses massacred the Whitmans and others at Waiilatpu in November 1847, Kamiakin spurned their overtures to join in a war against the Whites (A. Blanchet to E. Chirouse, July 16, 1848, CAA). In the summer of 1848, the Oblate missionary Fathers Eugene Casimir Chirouse and Charles Marie Pandosy answered Kamiakin’s invitation and established St. Joseph’s Mission on Simcoe Creek. Kamiakin pledged to “be responsible for everything.” In a short time the men developed strong bonds of mutual respect and cooperation and a simple wood steeple crowned with a cross soon arose over the glassy stream that wound its way through the vividly blooming Simcoe bottomlands.

Twenty-three-year-old Father Pandosy, a native of Margerides in southern France, was a vigorous individual gifted with great intellect and amazing physical strength. His full black beard could not conceal a ready wit and likeable personality that shown through his large, deep-set eyes. The priest was a gifted musician and classical scholar who had also studied botany, medicine, and linguistics while a student at Arles’ College Bourbon and novitiate at Notre Dame de l’Osier at Grenoble. He aspired to the motto of the recently founded Oblate order, “...to preach the Gospel to the poor,” and received the order’s distinctive black and gold crucifix upon his vows in 1843. Four years later he ventured to North America

in response to pleas from Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet for missionaries to serve in the vast Walla Walla Diocese covering the inland Pacific Northwest. Life for the missionaries was far from idyllic on the Columbia Plateau frontier. Their letters mention long bouts of illness, bitter winter cold, and quarrels over the distribution of provisions among the Yakama mission outposts. But they also laugh and sing, discuss divine grace and the Last Judgment, raise melons and potatoes, and make bread and cheese (E. Kowrach, 1992:52-55).

The priests especially delighted in the children. Father Pandosy opened a mission school where Yakama youths could be heard reciting the catechism and Lord's Prayer in Sahaptin (Pandosy's *Náami Psht*, or "Our Father"), and singing Gregorian chants and a "Yakama Peace Song." Pandosy frolicked with the children and described Kamiakin's little girl, Catherine—probably his daughter Yamnaneek by Sunk-hay-ee, as "a playful, joyful, happy child, who likes to play tricks beyond all imagination and all sensible limits. Catherine, the true daughter of Kamiakin by her temper, pride, anger, and sulking, is a consolation to me." The priest found especially heartwarming his young assistant's celebration of Mass with other children and her baptism of a dying child. "I love them with a consuming heart," he wrote of the Yakamas, and saw the Indians on equal terms. "I am not better looking, nor am I more spiritual, than they are" (C. Pandosy to P. Ricard [1852], in E. Kowrach, 1992:59-61).

In 1851 St. Joseph's Mission was relocated to an area on Ahtanum Creek about two miles east of Kamiakin's streamside camp. Inside the clay-plastered walls of their log church and adjacent residence, also known as the Ahtanum Mission, the priests constructed Indian vocabularies, set their words to music, and prayed. Outside they built a corral for their horses and raised large gardens probably started with seeds provided by Kamiakin. The fathers surely knew that many of the vegetables grown by Kamiakin were introduced to Europeans by the First Peoples of the New World. Kamiakin explained the habits of the great elk herds that roamed adjacent mountain slopes and hunted them to provision the blackrobes. "We can get everything from him," Pandosy wrote appreciatively. The same brass spyglass they used to view the animals also revealed lunar craters and the moons of Jupiter to aid in demonstrations of planetary motion with the inquisitive blackrobe's hand and finger orrery. Pandosy shared information on topics ranging from astronomy to world affairs with Kamiakin whose inquiring mind was informed by such knowledge. He assisted the affable priest in the creation of the first Yakama dictionary and grammar while the Oblate shared the Gospel with Kamiakin and his family. Pandosy's mastery of kinship terms and organization of Yakama grammar according to rules of Greek and Latin fostered discussion of classical history and cardinal virtues. Father Pandosy and Kamiakin learned much from each other and developed a close personal friendship warmed through evening conversations in the mellow radiance of light from Adam candles.

Pandosy camped with Kamiakin's band during the brutal the winter of 1851-52. A succinct exposition on the basic tenets of the faith penned by Pandosy in a letter to Ricard at that time likely reflects the nature of his conversations with the chief and others. "Grace is the main point, fundamental, unique, because if it were lacking, everything would be missing. Even if grace was the only thing we had, we would have everything, and everything without it would be nothing. Man is human, earthly, and grace is invisible, that is why in man's eye it has not value. Take a man purely spiritual or who knows how to subdue his body to his spirit and this invisible grace will sustain him...." Pandosy's epistle was a plea to continue his work among the Yakamas after learning of his superiors' review of St. Joseph's viability. But his arguments prevailed and Ricard consented to extend the Ahtanum ministry.

Pandosy's passionate persistence soon bore fruit. Kamiakin, a proud man feared by others throughout the region, found the missionary's witness compelling. He and his family had profound personal reasons to identify with the biblical account of origins not of this world. "[They] know and acknowledge the existence of God," Pandosy wrote of his hosts, "This is a real fact.... They recognize the necessity of religion, but do we try to make it pleasing to them, and make it easier for them to practice it?" Pandosy evidently made it so. Soon Kamiakin's presence was noted at morning and evening prayers, which "he never misses," and "he always attends the instructions...." Kamiakin insisted that his band's milk cows be tended on Saturday evening in order "to keep the Sabbath clean," and forbade others to pick berries and even gather wood or water on Sunday. He also had his children baptized, but the missionaries

demanded monogamy as a condition for adults and Kamiakin refused to give up his other wives. He could point to the example of the ancient patriarchs in the Bible for justification of this Plateau tradition. When faced with the same choice, Kamiakin's friend Quetalican (Chief Moses) responded, "How can I choose just one from among them? I love them all." Still, Kamiakin remained a lifelong advocate of the Oblates and often hunted for the blackrobes and shared other provisions with them (G. Gibbs, [1854] 1972:28; C. Pandosy to P. Ricard [1852], L. D'Herbomez to P. Ricard, September 7, 1852, in E. Kowrach, 1992:58,134).

Wilkes and Winthrop were just two of many newcomers whom Kamiakin and Indians warily observed passing through their lands in the 1840s. Immigrants were attracted to the Pacific Northwest in unprecedented numbers during the next decade on a quest for land and gold. As early as 1850, dissatisfied miners who had come late and busted after the California strikes of 1848, were moving northward across Indian land in their search for the precious metal. In the summer of 1850, Henry Spalding, former missionary to the Nez Perce, wrote from the Willamette that, "Great nos. went from this country last June to explore the Spokane and Nez Perce countries for gold...." These prospectors were not like the other groups of Whites who had lived among the interior Indians for decades. They were a coarse lot who sought gold in the many streams often frequented by Indian bands for campsites. Many brought whiskey to appease any threats from the Indians while some Whites devoted their full energies to the profitable business of selling liquor to the tribe.

On September 29, 1850, Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Law in order to "provide for the survey, and make donations to settlers of the said public lands" of the territory. This law granted every eligible citizen who had settled prior to 1852 a half-section (320 acres) while those occupying lands before 1855 were able to obtain quarter-sections. News of these liberal provisions of settlement led to a pioneer onslaught across the Oregon Trail and in five years the territorial population rose from approximately 8,000 in 1850 to nearly 30,000 in 1855. Most immigrants settled in Oregon's fertile Willamette Valley. By 1853, however, enough Americans had settled north of the Columbia River to warrant the creation of a separate Washington Territory. In that year, a large wagon train deviated from the Oregon Trail route and went to Puget Sound over Naches Pass. This took them directly through Yakama country and some Indians considered their trespass an affront to their rights. Similar incidents between Indians and Whites led to an increasing number of violent incidents. Six Americans were reported killed by Indians in the region in both 1851 and 1852 while forty-seven were killed in 1853. Friends and relatives of the victims informed territorial authorities of the violence and pressed for intervention.

About 1853, Chief Kamiakin contacted military authorities at newly established Ft. Dalles, the army's fledgling frontier outpost on a grassy knoll overlooking a great Columbia River fishery, and asked for the removal of a settler who had established a claim on land about twenty miles north of the river. Over the objections of some officers as well as civilian residents in the tiny community, the camp commander decided against provoking an incident and complied with Kamiakin's request. Many Plateau Indian leaders, however, perceived an air of foreboding in a renewed pulse of White settlement and rumors of new arrangements for the Americans north of the Columbia River. Father Pandosy feared for his safety on a trip from the Ahtanum to Coeur d'Alene mission in April 1853 as he saw "the clouds are gathering on all lands. The winds begin to lower, the tempest is pent up. Ready to burst." He informed Father Mesplié, in a letter passed on to military officials at Ft. Dalles, "The cause of the war is that the Americans are going to seize their lands" (G. Haller, n.d., K. Richards, 1979:194; C. Pandosy to T. Mesplié, April 1853, RCA, NA).

APPENDICES: Kamiakin and Allied Family Lineages

A. The Kamiakin Family

B. The Sulkstalkscosum (Moses) Family

C. The Poyahkin (Billy), Hahtelekin, and Paween Families

D. The Tilcoax and Chowawatyet (Jim) Families

SOURCES, NAMES, AND ABBREVIATIONS

Nineteenth century dates of birth and death are based on federal census reports for the Colville, Yakama, Umatilla, and Nez Perce agencies (1885-194), enrollment documents, probate proceedings, and other public records and oral history transcripts found at the National Archives and Records Administration, Seattle, and in regional university archives. Many non-reservation families were not included in federal census reports during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries so vital statistics are limited for those who did not later relocate to reservations where agency records were maintained. (A notable exception was the 1914 Redfield census of families living along lower Columbia and Snake rivers). A question mark follows dates in cases where information provided in public records varies or is stated in general terms in oral histories. Because ages are listed in censuses and some probate documents rather than dates of birth and death, those dates followed by abbreviations for such documentation (see "Sources" below) may vary in accuracy by at least one year.

The spellings of Indian names vary considerably in both public records and in written transcriptions of oral histories due to the phonetic transliteration of juvenile and adult Indian names, and the appearance of given English names. Spellings used in this listing are as recorded in family oral histories and tribal records whenever available or else as they appear in census reports. Roman numerals following names indicate the common practice in many cultures in which the same name is used for different individuals in successive generations. Spouses are placed to the right; children are entered in birth order on indented lines beneath their parents.

AB: Agatha Bart (with M. Finley), Nespelem, 2007, OHA, CCT **AT:** Arthur Tomeo (Kamiakin) (with R. Scheuerman), Nespelem, 1972, OHA, CCT **CK:** Cleveland Kamiakin (with Cull White), 1957, MASC, WSU **CW:** Cull White Papers, MASC, WSU **EP:** Emily Peone (with R. Scheuerman), Nespelem, WA, 1981, OHA, CCT **FA:** Frank Andrews (with Michael Finley and Richard Scheuerman), Nespelem, WA, 2006, OHA, CCT **IP:** Isaac Patrick (with R. Scheuerman), Mission, OR, 1981, OHA, CCT **JD:** James L. Davis Collection, MAC, Spokane **MJ:** Mary Jim Chapman (with Richard Scheuerman), Parker, WA, 1979 **MK:** Matilda Kalyton, 1918, CWP, MASC, WSU **RR:** Robert Ruby Papers, MAC, Spokane **SHM:** Sacred Heart Mission (marriage and baptismal records, 1860-1900), Desmet, ID **SW:** Sophie Wak-wak Williams (with C. Relander), Yakima, WA, 1951, YVL **TA:** Tom Billy Andrews (with Bruce Rigsby), Nespelem, WA 1964, OHA, CCT **TK:** Tomeo Kamiakin (with W. C. Brown), Nespelem, WA, 1928, WBC, MASC, WSU **WBC:** William Brown Collection, MASC, WSU

A. The Chief Kamiakin Family

Chief Kamiakin (K'amáyaqan), 1800?-1877¹

Parents: T'siyiyak (I), *Palouse/Nez Perce-Spokane* and Com-mus-ni (TK) (Ka-mosh-nite [I], dau. of Chief Weowicht), *Yakama-Wenatchi* (AT)

Siblings: Showaway (Ice), Skloom, Ka-you-to-nay (I)

^{1st} wife: Sunk-hay-ee (dau. of Chief Teias), *Yakama*

1. Yamnaneek (Catherine), 1858?-1907

a. Hattie, b. 1896

2nd wife: Kem-ee-yowah (SW) (Timeoch [MK], dau. of Chief Tenax, *Klickitat*), d. 1901? (MK)

1. We-yet-que-wit (Talking Hunter, “Young Kamiakin”), 1840?-1886 m. (1st) Agatha? (SHM)(dau. of Chief Husishusis Moxmox), *Palouse* (2nd) Tallas (Theresa) Koltenshin³ (dau. of Gabriel Koltenshin), d. 1905?, *Coeur d’Alene*

a (1st m.). Joseph?, b. 1869 (SHM)

a (2nd m.). Ellen Chamayakan (Helen Kamiakin), b. 1874 m. Louis Pe-ell (Pierre), b. 1874, *Coeur d’Alene-Colville* (SHM)

children: Catherine, Raymond, Teresa, Mary, Samuel

2. Yumasepah (Chamesupum [SW], Mary), 1845?-1920 m. Peopeo-hy-yi-toman (Whistling Bird), d. 1898, *Palouse-Nez Perce*

a. Sophie Kamiakin (Atwice), b. 1889 m. (1st) Tipyahlahnah Elassanin (George Comedown, son of Charley Comedown²), b. 1882, *Nez Perce, Joseph Band*, (2nd) Isaac Wak-wak (son of Sam Wak-wak), b. 1895, *Umatilla* (UAC)

children (1st m): Ned Comedown, Kes-les-tum, (2nd m): Martha, Joseph, Nancy, Walter

b. Ta-lats Ton-my (Telestonmy) m. Ko-san-yum (Luke Wilson [SR], son of Koh-sauh [Wolfhead, JD]), b. 1870?, *Nez Perce*

children: Hattie, Henry, George, Helen

3. Tesh Palouse (Tespaloos), 1858-1933 m. (1st) Pas-as-pam (Annie Kentuck), d. 1890, *Palouse* (2nd) Me-a-tu-kin-ma, (Mary, dau. of Waughaskie, Charley “Chief” Bones), 1859-1931, *Cayuse*, (3rd) Elizabeth (Eliza), b. 1865

a (2nd m. [JD]). Mul-mul-kin⁴ (Kos-al-ich-kin, Sam Tespaloos), b. 1891 m. (1st) “a coast woman” (CW) (2nd) Annie (Yellow Wolf), 1886-1966

children (2nd m.): Jeanie (Jenny), Aleck

b. Kay-yee-wach (Peter [Bones] Gibson), 1895?-1954 (MF) m. O-in-ta-tot-mi (Lucy)

4. infant (MK)

3rd wife: Wal-luts-pum (MK)

1. T’siyyak (II) (Williams), 1854?-1901? m. Ni-ka-not, 1859-1937 (granddaughter of Chief Slowiarchy the Younger) *Palouse*

a. Charley Kamiakin Williams (Te-meh-yew-te-toot), 1879-1969 m. Alalumi (II) (Susie Chief, dau. of Little Man Chief⁵), 1888-1971, *Nez Perce* (AA)

children: Edward, Ida, Walter, Virginia, Abel, Clayton

b. William, b. 1881

c. Mary (Ka-mosh-nite [II]), b. 1888 m. Smith L. George (Hay-hay-tah), b. 1870?, *Nez Perce*⁶

children: Frank George (m. Annie, dau. of Cleveland Kamiakin), Winnie, Delia

d. Gilbert (Na-ta-quen-et), b. 1893 m. Sadie Paul (JD)

2. Lukash (EP) (Luke, Neu-Cass), 1858?-1886 m. Sinsinq’t (III), 1855?-1888 (dau. of Chief Moses, 1829-1899), *Columbia-Yakama*

a (2nd m.). Qu-qua-la-que ♂, drowned in infancy (CW)

b. Nellie Kamiakin Moses (Sinsinq’t [IV]), 1883-1958 m. (1st) Louis Friedlander (son of J. H. Friedlander), 1879-1912, (2nd?) Antoine Francis, 1888-1934

children (1st m.): Emily, George, Thomas, Lucy, Louis

3. Sk’ees (EP) (Petescot? [MK])

4. Skolumkee (“Snake River”), Nespelem m. Pemalx (Annie, sister to Sam Teshpaloos’s first wife), 1861?-1957

(no children)

4th wife: Hos-ke-la-pum, d. 1877? (CK)

1. Ka-you-to-nay (II) (SW) (Lucy), 1862?-1946, Nespelem m. (1st) ? *Palouse* (2nd) Ben Awhi (Owhi), 1854-1927 (son of Kluckni, d. 1861 and Sque-malks [Mary Hyockpal, dau. of Chief Owhi, (EP)]), *Yakama-Palouse*, (3rd) Que-em-le-ke (John Hayes), 1867-1941, *Nez Perce* a (2nd m.). Harry Awhi (Owhi), 1894-1955 m. (1st) Mary Mocton (dau. of Wa-non-no Ilpilp [Charlie Mocton]), 1896-1951, *Nez Perce, Joseph Band*, (2nd) Annie (Chuweah) (U-pa-pi Paween, dau. of Tom Paween), 1893-1989, *Palouse* children (1st m.): McKinley, (2nd m.): Rosville (Roscoe), Martha, Dora, Bertha, Harry, Jr.

2. Peopeo-kow-not (“Bird of the Morning,” Cleveland) 1870-1959 m. (1st) Yup-cha-sin (Annie Billy), 1867-1965, *Palouse*, (2nd) Wah-pah-tan-mi), *Nez Perce*, (3rd) Alalunt’i (III), 1885-1977 (dau. of Tom Paween), *Palouse*
a (1st m.). Henry, b. 1899
a (2nd m.?). Peo-peo-la-om-neet, b. 1907
a (3rd m.?). Clara, b/d. 1911
b. Annie (Cleveland), 1912-97 m. Frank George, 1912-68
c. Thomas, b. 1914
d. Ruth, b. 1920
e. Ned, 1922-1983 m. (1st) Naomi (Circle) (2nd) Inez (Andrews, dau. of Tom Billy Andrews), b. 1925
f. Alfred Abraham, 1928-1953

5th wife: Colestah, d. 1867? (TK)

1. Tomeo, 1862?-1936⁷ m. Ot-wes-on-my, 1877-1957 (sister of Tom Paween), *Palouse*
a. Theodore (Teddy Tomeo), 1896-1936 m. Mattie (dau. of Jim Dick, 1906-1953, *Columbia*) (TT)
b. Arthur, 1906-1991 m. Josephine (Lucei), 1916-1984, *Yakama*
c. Mamie, b/d. 1911
d. Mary, 1912-1920
e. Cato, 1916-1974 m. (1st) Helen (Jackson) (2nd) Ruby (Miller)

2. Tomomolow (Tomolio), 1865?-1871? (EP)

¹Order of birth among Kamiakin’s children given by Mary Kamiakin (1918) and Emily Peone (1981).

²Charley Comedown’s wife, Pe-me-que-nt (Mary Too-que-sin) was Looking Glass’s half-sister. She was about 11 years old during the 1877 war and buried the Nez Perce chief at the Bear’s Paw Battlefield. Her brothers were Red Thunder and legendary 1916 World Rodeo champion Jackson Sundown (We-yat-ta-nat-tseets-kon).

³Theresa Koltzenshin Kamiakin’s second marriage was in 1890 to Andrew Saichan (SiJohn) of the Coeur d’Alene tribe. Andrew SiJohn’s paternal grandfather, Victor Lmena, was killed at the 1858 Steptoe Battle.

⁴Mul-mul-kin is variously listed as a son of We-at-que-wit and Tesh Palouse. But his age on the 1910 Colville census (19) indicates he was born several years after We-at-que-wit’s death (1886). His surname and family accounts (e.g. TT) explain how he remained for some time with his mother at *Palus* after his father relocated to the Colville Reservation. “Kamiakin” as a family surname was often dropped in the generation of his grandchildren; thus the family of Tespaloos Kamiakin perpetuated the surname “Tespaloos” (e.g., Sam Tespaloos), Tomeo Kamiakin the surname “Tomeo,” and Cleveland Kamiakin the surname “Cleveland.”

⁵Little Man Chief and his wife were veterans of the Nez Perce War and the parents of a son, Jessie Chief, who later married Hatats (1864-1964). Their son was Edward Chief (Chu-kumpts, 1907-1967), husband of Maggie Weipah (JD).

⁶Smith L. George was also the father of Andrew George and Ruby (Williams) by his first wife, Julia (Redheart) Johnson (Ip-now-sietsan-my, dau. of Palouse band exiles in Indian Territory Ip-na-mat-we-kin and Ah-na-ne-mart). Smith L. George’s date of birth is shown variously on censuses as 1867 and 1870 and in 1937 he is listed as being married to Emma Wilpocken with children Elsie Comedown and Frank George.

⁷Although most census records indicate Tomeo’s year of birth as about 1862, some oral histories give 1856.

B. The Chief Sulkstalkscosum (Moses) Family

Chief Sulk-stalk-scosum, d. 1848?, *Columbia-Sinkiusse*

1st wife¹: Kanitsa (Karneetsa), *Spokane-Columbia*

1. Patsk'stiway ♂, d. 1849?

2. Q'uetalican (Chief Moses), 1829-1899 m. (1st) Silpe (RR), *Flathead*, (2nd) Quo-mo-lah (dau. of Chief Owhi), d. 1864? (RR), (3rd) Sanclow² (Mary, dau. of Chief Owhi), 1830?-1938, *Yakama*, (4th) *Wanapum*, (5th) Peotsenmy, d. 1902?, *Nez Perce*

a (2nd m.). Qu-qua-la-que ♂ (CW)

b. Sinsinq't (III), 1855?-1888 m. Lukash Kamiakin (son of Chief Kamiakin) 1858?-1886, *Yakama-Palouse*

(1). Nellie Moses (Sinsinq't [IV]), 1883-1958 m. (1st) Louis Friedlander (son of J. H. Friedlander), 1855-1899, (2nd) Antoine Francis, 1888-1934

children (1st m.): Emily, George, Thomas, Lucy, Louis, Jr.

a-f. (3rd m.). 3 sons and 3 daughters by Sanclow died in infancy (EP)

a (4th m.). Tom-quin-wit (Lucy Moses [I]), b. 1863? m. (1st) Kol-kil-le-tsa-kas-nim (Johnson), *Nez Perce* (RR), (2nd) Tes-ka-sar-kow-kow (William Paul), 1867-1917, *Nez Perce*, (3rd) Ben Awhi (Owhi), 1854-1927, *Yakama-Palouse* (CW), (4th) Henry Wilson, *Nez Perce* (son of Peopeo-hy-yi-toman and Mary Kamiakin)

(1, 2nd m.). Sadie Moses (Williams), 1895-1977

(2). Edward Moses, b. 1911?

(1, 4th m.). Thomas Moses, b. 1914

a (5th m.). Quiltlay, d. age 10 (EP)

3. Sinsinq't (I), b. 1840s? (RR) m. (1st?) Qualchan (son of Chief Owhi), d. 1858, *Yakama*

a. Chillileetsa³, 1842-1885 m. Ku-nullix (Nettie, dau. of John C. "Virginia Bill" Covington [RR])

b. Charley Qualchan (Socula [CW]), 1845?-1916? m. Mary (Com-yuan-lal-ix ?), b. 1850

(1). Sah-ku-lah (WBC) (Sam Sokula), 1862-1950³ m. (1st) Chu-chu-walx (Cho-cho-wahlikcs [RR], Lizzie), (2nd) Kist (Kitsq), 1870-1954 (dau. of Nahanoomed, *Wanapum*)

children: (1st m.). Harry, Sit-sim-te-tock, (2nd m.). Christine, Madeline

2nd wife: Sipitsa, *Columbia-Sinkiusse*

1. Quilteneock (I), d. 1858 m. (1st) *Wenatchi* (dau. of Chief Tecolekun [RR]) (2nd) *Blackfoot*

a. Quanspeetsah m. Wee-ash-i-wit (son of Chief Tilcoax, *Palouse* [SM])

(1). Peter Dan Moses (Weashuit), 1861-1962 m. (1st) Catherine (Si-la-kia-mont), (2nd) Margaret Nellie (Pakotas, his sister-in-law after Joe Moses' death [SM])

children: Charlie Moses, Wapati, Annie (Circle), Lucy Moses (II)

(2). Joe Moses (Quilteneock [II]), 1876-1935 m. (1st) Quin-ho-peetsa (Mary Ann), 1879-1966, (2nd) Margaret Nellie (Pakotas) (SM)], b. 1889

children: Albert, Mary, William, Addie, Edward

2. Kwayitsa (Kwee-ja, Quietsah, Crasam) ♂, 1839?-1913 m. We-tu-we, b. 1845?

a. George Haines m. Christine

3. Shimtil (See-um-tat-quat) ♀, d. 1893

a. Sam

b. Yos-o-soken (Jack O'Socken) m. Minnie (Yellow Wolf), 1870-1955, *Nez Perce* (RR)

(1). Jim Jack m. Nancy (dau. of Joe James [RR]), *San Poil*

3rd wife: Nkiyapitsa, *Spokane-Columbia*

1. Paq'uin ♂ (Keelpucken), d. 1858 (WBC)

a. Ceepetsa⁴ m. Chief Skolaskin, *San Poil* (RR)

2. Panekstitsa (Louis), 1821-1896 (WBC) m. (1st) ?, (2nd) Q'ue-matk

a (1st m.). Joe Moses, 1866-1925 m. Mo-yet-at, 1872?-1941 (AB)

(1). Madeline (Moses), 1898-1969 m. Harry Jim, 1894-1968 (AB),

Palouse

(2). Peter, b. 1901

(3). Nancy, b. 1903

a (2nd m.). Madeline (Kekimetsa), 1884-1930 m. Robert Covington (son of John C.

“Virginia Bill” Covington), 1870-1961

(1). Eva, b. 1911

(2). William, b. 1914

(3). John, b. 1915

(4). Eddie, b. 1916

(5). Rose (Wakwak), b. 1920

4th wife: Pohamatku, *Columbia-Sinkiusse*

1. Shpowlak (Tsermentsut [EP]) m. (1st) Nahanoomed, *Yakama, Kittitas Band (MP)*, (2nd)

Sk'nwheulks (Elizabeth [IA])⁵

a. Kist, 1870-1954 m. (1st) Thompson, (2nd) Sam Socula, 1862-1950, (3rd)?

(1, 1st m.). Harry, b. 1885

(2). Sit-sim-te-tock, b. 1897

(3). Willie, b. 1906

(4). Margaret (Piatote), 1908-1987

(1, 2nd m.). Christine

(2). Matilda (Bearcub), 1917-2004

(1, 3rd m.). Mary (Semensky)

(2). Margaret (Jerred)

¹Order of marriages and children's birth given by Mary Moses to W. C. Brown, 1918, although Sque-malks is not listed.

²Although Mary Moses (Sanclow) was a half-sister to Qualchan and Quo-mo-lah, it is not certain which of Owhi's other two Kittitas wives was her mother. An agency reference to Mary Moses' mother lists E-im-a, a “Columbia” (MF). Mary Moses' age is listed as 65 in the 1910 Moses Band census. W. C. Brown, who interviewed Mary Moses in 1918, states that she was born “around 1826” while several other family accounts give 1830.

³As Qualchan had several wives, the affiliation of his son is not certain. Chillileetsa drowned while fording the Columbia River near Barry in 1885. His wife Nettie's father, John C. “Virginia Bill” Covington, came west from Virginia in 1849 and settled in the Willamette Valley. In 1854 he relocated to the San Poil area, married a local woman, Smil-keen (1840?-84), and operated the post store at Ft. Spokane.

⁴Madeline Covington stated that Ceep-peetsah's sisters, or half-sisters, included Gin-na-mon-teesah, Yat-peetsa, and Cheepat (Sally Whistocken) (RR, 1961).

⁵Following the death her husband, Elizabeth married frontier merchant J. Herman Friedlander who had established a trading post at Camp Chelan about 1879.

C. The Poyahkin (Billy) and Paween Families

1. Poyahkin (Five Times [TA]), 1830?-1894 (TA)¹ m. ♀, *Yakama* (TA)

a. Wiyukshenéet, (Jim Billy), b. 1846?, *Palouse-Nez Perce* m. Hiyómatway² (Old Lady Grizzly Bear, Eyomotwy), *Nez Perce-Palouse, Alpowa Band*

- (1). Annie Billy (Yup-cha-sin) 1867-1965 m. (1st) Cleveland Kamiakin (son of Chief Kamiakin), 1870-1959, (2nd) Wi-yu-kea Ilpilp (Red Elk), *Nez Perce* (FA)
children (2nd m.): At-wa-la-tak-it, Matilda (Tillie Bob)
 - (2). Alice Billy (Alpiato (Elpiato, Wash-e-tone-my), b. 1878 m. (1st)
Charlie Wilpocken, 1852?-1927 (Yat-ah-mo-set, son of Chief Showaway), *Yakama*, (2nd)
Tom (Joe) Waters (son of Tam-mop-sea-hia-kia), b. 1880, *Nez Perce*
children (1st m): Art Wilpocken Circle, Iva (2nd m.): Tom, Nancy
 - (3). Tom Billy Andrews (Wiyukshenéet [BR]), 1887-1964 m. Alice (Tamaawalí, dau. of
Little Wolf Moies, *Nez Perce*, *White Bird Band*), 1891-1975 (FA), *Nez Perce*
children (BR): Grant, Jasper, Omar, Thomas, Jr., Iva, Janice, Frank, Inez,
Almeda
 - (4) Frank Andrews, b. 1897
- b. Peopeo-hy-yi-toman (Whistling Bird), d. 1890s (WBC), *Palouse-Nez Perce* m.
Yumasepah (Mary Kamiakin), 1845?-1920
- (1). Sophie Kamiakin (Atwice), b. 1889 m. (1st) Tipyahlahnah Elasanin (Roaring Eagle,
George Comedown, son of Wa-ya-mas-ta-kekt [Charley Comedown]), b. 1882, *Nez
Perce*, *Joseph Band* (2nd) Isaac Wak-wak (son of Sam Wak-wak), b. 1895, *Umatilla*
children (1st m.): Ned Comedown, Kes-les-tum (2nd m.): Martha, Joseph,
Nancy, Walter
 - (2). Ta-lats Ton-my m. Ko-san-yum (Luke Wilson [SR], son of Heminish Húsis), b.
1855, *Nez Perce*
children: Henry, George, Helen

2. Pe-nock-kah-low-yun (The Player [WBC])³

- a. Chief Hahtalekin (Taktsoukt Ilpilp [Red Echo]), 1843?-1877
 - (1). Pahta Pahtahank (Five Fogs), 1847?-1877
 - (2). Wes-ins (Fisher), d. 1893? m. Nan-ne-me-nicht, d. 1916 (SF)
 - (a). Ich-yich-whel-ek (Sam Fisherman I), d. 1886 (SF)
 - (b). Pah-ot-wal-ak-is-it (Bill Fisherman), d. 1912 m. Wa-we-not (SF)
 - (c). Yoh-yoh Too-le-cas-sat (Jim Fisherman), d. 1898 (SF)
 - (d). Taneenmy, d. 1901 ♀ m. Meshac Sloutier *Yakama* (SF)
son: Carter Sloutier, 1900-1954
 - (e). Chuck-louse (Sam Fisher [Fisherman] [II]), 1866-1944 m. (1st) *Umatilla*,
(2nd) Not-ta-mo-le-kaset (Helen Waters, dau. of Yetocown [Omy Waters], *Nez
Perce*), 1881⁴-1945
- b. Alalumti (I) (APK/AO), 1849?-1934 m. Tenoo Paween, d. 1880?, *Palouse*
 - (1). Tom Paween, (Húsis Paween [II]), 1866-1940 m. (1st) Skispum (dau. of Lew-los-le-
wit, *Nez Perce-Umatilla*), 1860-1913, (2nd) Pe-yo-ots-on-my, (3rd) I-yu-to-tum (Minnie
Yellow Wolf, his widow], 1870-1955, *Nez Perce*
 - (2.) Ah-kis-kis (II), b. 1864? m. (1st) Helawish (Angry Woman), b. 1865, *Palouse*, (2nd)
Ana-chous, b. 1864?
 - (3). Ot-wes-on-my, 1877-1957 m. Tomeo Kamiakin (son of Chief Kamiakin), 1862?-
1935
 - (4). Metina (Milly [RR]), b. 1878 m. Robert Johnson (son of Lame John?), b.
1869?, *Nez Perce*
 - (5). We-ah-non-my, b. 1876 m. Hin-mot Ilpilp (Red Thunder), *Nez Perce*
children: Yo-huny-we-talick, Hal-ah-kala-keen, Joe Red Thunder

**1. Chief Húsis Paween⁵ (I) (Shot in the Head), d. 1890? (APK/AO) m. Teek-ton-nay, *Nez Perce*,
Timothy-Red Wolf Band (WBC)**

2. Tenoo Paween⁵, 1846-1880? m. Alalumti (I) (sister of Chief Hahtalekin), 1849?-1934, *Palouse*

- a. Tom Paween (Húsis Paween [II]), 1866-1940 m. (1st) Skispum (dau. of Lew-los-le-wit, *Nez Perce-Umatilla*), 1860-1913, (2nd) Pe-yo-ots-on-my, (3rd) I-yu-to-tum (Minnie Yellow Wolf, his widow), 1870-1955, *Nez Perce*
- (1, 1st m.). Youch-youch-pouch (Bertha Carter), 1881?-1918
- (2). Alalunt'i (III), 1885-1977 m. Cleveland Kamiakin (son of Chief Kamiakin), 1870-1959
- (1, 2nd m.). Tu-kar-sey-i-yet ♀, d. 1924
- (2). Hat-a-mo-whil-i-ken (Hattie Paween), 1891-1980 m. Willie (Red Star) Andrews⁶ (Cool-cool Smool-mool, adopted son of Chief Joseph), 1865-1948, *Nez Perce, Joseph's Band*
- children: Ruth, Albert (Sr.), Isaac, Agnes, Ida, Felix, Douglas, Rose Marie
- (3). U-pa-pi (Annie), 1893-1989 m. (1st) Percy Chuweah (son of Chuweah, 1865?-1912, *Umatilla-Palouse*), 1892-1956, (2nd) Harry Owhi (Sr.), 1894-1955, *Yakama-Palouse*
- children (1st m): Mary, Alfred, (2nd m.): Rosville (Roscoe, Martha (Judge), Dora (Francis), Bertha (Williams), Harry, Jr.
- b. Ah-kis-kis (II)⁷, b. 1864? m. (1st) Helawish (Angry Woman), b. 1865, *Palouse*, (2nd) Anachous, b. 1864?
- c. Ot-wes-on-my, 1877-1957 m. Tomeo Kamiakin (son of Chief Kamiakin), 1862?-1936
- d. Metina (Milly), b. 1878 m. Robert Johnson, b. 1869?, *Nez Perce*
- e. We-ah-non-my, b. 1876 m. Hin-mot Ilpilp (Red Thunder), b. 1870, *Nez Perce*
- (1). Yo-huny-we-talick ♀, b. 1896
- (2). Hal-ah-kala-keen ♂, b. 1902
- (3). Joe Red Thunder, 1907-1996 m. Lucy Weipah, 1915-1985

3. Atuskis (Ah-kis-kis I) (APK/AO), b. 1849 m. Mary, b. 1854

- a. Wayayentutpik ♂

¹Wiyukshenéet (Jim Billy Andrews) and Peopeo-hy-yi-toman as sons of Poyahkin based on interviews by Bruce Rigsby with Tom Billy Andrews (1964), and W. C. Brown with elderly Alalumti [I] at Nespelem (1930). Alalumti further stated that she was “the daughter of Pe-nock-kah-low-yun who was one of the brothers of Poy-ah-kin,” and was herself among the herders of the horses captured by Wright in 1858. Her date of birth is listed variously on agency records as 1846, 1849, and 1852.

²Hiyómatway's paternal grandmother, Sawíchi, lived at Palus. According to family tradition, she was said to have been a daughter of Sacajawea, the Shoshone woman who accompanied Lewis and Clark's party. Bruce Rigsby suggests that she may have been the daughter of a Shoshone captive. Hiyómatway's sister was Ic'ísayn who married (1st) Tom Beall, Sr. and (2nd) Charlie White, Sr. (TA).

³Pe-nock-kah-low-yun as father of Hahtalekin and Alalumti (I) is derived from Verne Ray's 1971 interview in Nespelem with Mrs. Cleveland (Alalunt'i Paween) Kamiakin and Mrs. Harry (Annie Paween) Owhi which recorded that “Italican was a chief of one of the villages. He was a brother of my grandmother Alilintai.”

⁴Helen Fisher's age in the 1930 census is listed as 58 indicating an earlier birth date of about 1872.

⁵Húsis Paween and Tenoo Paween as brothers recorded by Annie Paween Cleveland and Cull White. Húsis Paouyen's widow married Chief Wolf of the Palouse Tilcoax family.

⁶Willie Red Star Andrews was orphaned following the death of his father in Oklahoma while his mother died in 1885 at Ft. Spokane where the exiles awaited arrangements for their travel to the Colville Reservation (AD). He returned as a boy to the Colville where he was raised by Chief Joseph and eventually had four wives: (1st) Yowan-pum, *Nez Perce*, (2nd) Annie Billy, *Palouse*, (3rd) Annie (Ca-tal-pi), *Moses-Columbia*, and (4th) Hattie Paween, *Palouse*.

⁷Ah-kis-kis (II) as nephew of Ah-kis-kis (I) and brother to Tom Paween (Húsis Paween) is inferred from an 1891 letter from Ah-kis-kis to Húsis Paween and 1910 Colville tribal census.

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