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Western Washington University

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**IDENTITY POLITICS AT GRAND RONDE: TOWARD AN ETHNOHISTORY OF
THE TRIBES OF THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY, 1855-1901**

By

Nora K. Pederson

Accepted in Partial Completion
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Moheb A. Ghali, Dean of the Graduate School

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chair, Dr. Daniel L. Boxberger

Dr. Judith M.S. Pine

Dr. David G. Lewis

MASTER'S THESIS

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Nora Pederson

December 10, 2010

**IDENTITY POLITICS AT GRAND RONDE: TOWARD AN ETHNOHISTORY OF
THE TRIBES OF THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY, 1855-1901**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of

Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

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ABSTRACT

In the 19th century the federal government and local Indian agents began a series of policies aimed at breaking down tribal distinctions at the Grand Ronde reservation in northwestern Oregon. The 'successes' of these assimilation policies were well documented by contemporary federal officials, missionaries and anthropologists. Today many ethnohistorians continue to write about the history of Grand Ronde as if tribes had dissolved by the end of the 19th century. Over the last 20 years most scholars who have written on 19th century identity at Grand Ronde view identity as a social phenomenon and try to incorporate indigenous perspectives, but they rely on ethnohistorical data consisting mainly of materials written by European and European American missionaries, federal officials and anthropologists, and the people who created most of this ethnohistorical data tended to systematically exclude descriptions of seemingly ambiguous tribal adaptations in favor of descriptions of compliance or noncompliance with standardized rules or theories made according to their own essentialist administrative categories. Some of the biases inherent in this data make it into today's narratives of tribal identity at Grand Ronde.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is about the Indians of the Willamette Valley who were removed to the Grand Ronde Reservation after the signing of the Willamette Valley Treaty in 1855. It provides an ethnohistorical account of an important period in the history of an indigenous population that is underrepresented in current academic discourse. Specifically, it will explore the complexities of Willamette Valley tribal identity at the Grand Ronde reservation between the negotiation of treaties in 1855 and the implementation of the General Allotment Act in 1901.

During this period, Indian agents at Grand Ronde implemented a series of policies aimed at eradicating tribal identity on the reservation. In 1879 Patrick Sinnott, the Indian agent at Grand Ronde, reported his success to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

I have now succeeded in entirely dissolving the tribal relations among these Indians...and it is now often difficult to ascertain to what tribe some of the younger Indians belong, so completely have they ignored their former chiefs. The Indians having constantly lost respect for their old chiefs are now acquiring a more general respect for the yearly elected Indian justice of the peace and sheriff. (ARCIA 1879: 124-5)

Since Sinnott announced the successful eradication of tribes at Grand Ronde in the 1870s, scholars and administrators have created historical narratives based on the assimilationist assumptions implicit in Sinnott's understanding of identity at Grand Ronde. Recent scholarship (Beckham 1977, Leavelle 1998, Merrill and Hajda 2007, Reddick 2000, Spores 1993) continues to assume that tribal distinctions dissolved at Grand Ronde during the first three decades of reservation life. Yet, today's members of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (CTGR) continue to identify with the tribes of their ancestors and are in the process of reasserting their own narratives of their tribes' histories (e.g. Giffen 2006, Cheryle

Kennedy, personal communication, October 26, 2010). This is a history that Indian agents and scholars have overlooked since the 1870s. As a move toward an explanation of these contested perspectives, this thesis provides a critical ethnohistory of tribal identity at Grand Ronde in the 19th century and a reinterpretation of the assimilationist assumptions inherent in the 19th century historical and ethnographic data.

The fifteen tribes represented in the 1855 Willamette Valley Treaty [10 stat. 1143] traditionally resided in and around the Willamette Valley of western Oregon. Situated between the rolling Coast Mountains and the Cascade Range, this valley is bisected by the Willamette River, which joins the Columbia River near Portland, Oregon. The signatory tribes that traditionally lived in the valley are the Tualatin, Yamhill, Luckiamute, Chepenapho or Marysville, Chemapho or Maddy, Chelamela or Long Tom, Calapooia, Santiam, Molalla, Mohawk, Winnefelly, Chafan, Wahlalla, Clackamas and Clowwewalla or Willamette Tumwater. The Clackamas traditionally resided along the Columbia River near where it is joined by the Willamette River, and the Wahlalla came from the Cascades Falls, just upriver from the Clackamas (Figure 1). These tribes constitute portions of the Kalapuya, Molala and Chinook. Although the Grand Ronde reservation was created primarily for the Indians of the Willamette Valley, Indians recognized by the U. S. government under six other treaties were removed from across western Oregon to Grand Ronde (Table 1). With these treaties twenty-seven sovereign tribes moved to the Grand Ronde reservation near the headwaters of the Yamhill River.

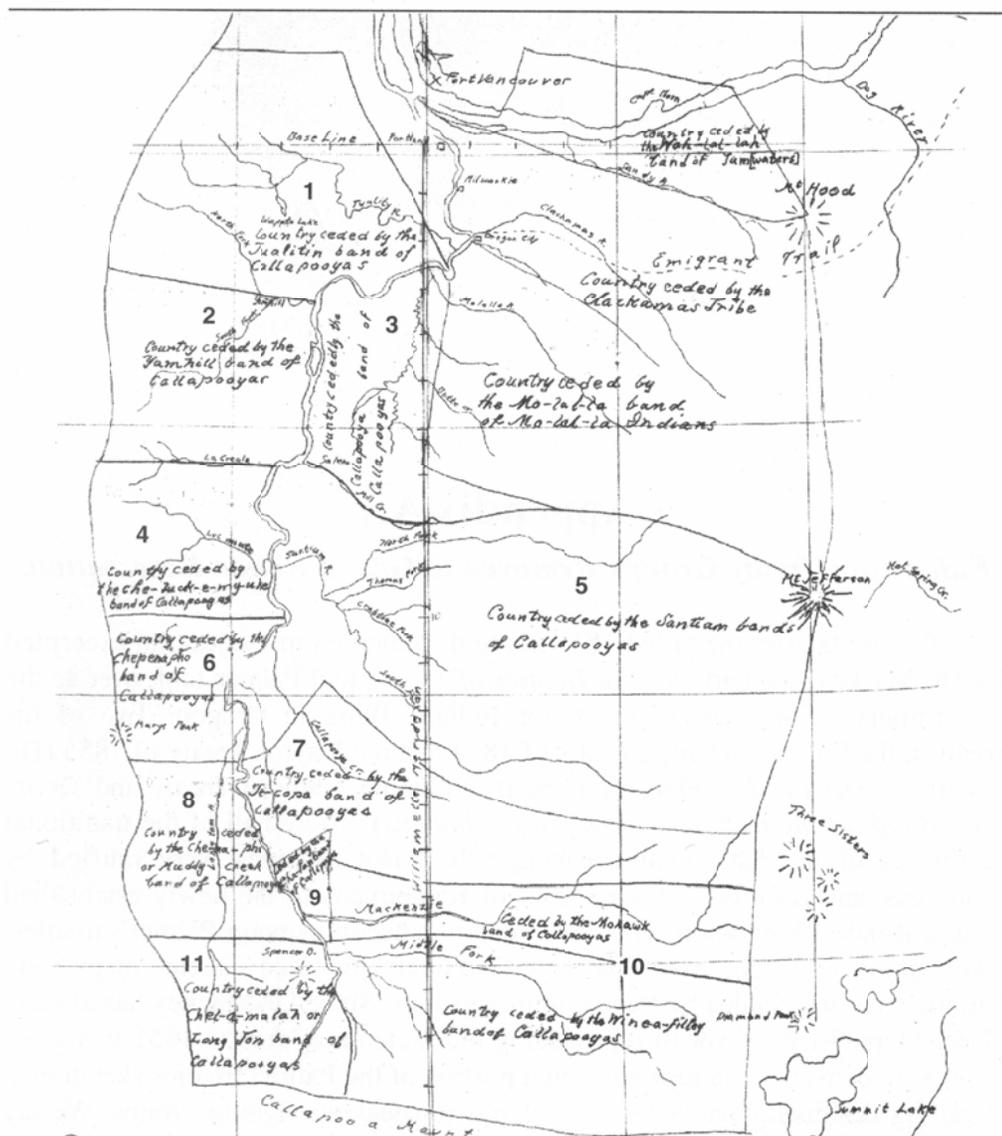


Figure 1. Sketch Map of Land Ceded by Willamette Valley Indians in 1855 Treaty
(Mackey 2005: Map 7)

Table 1. Treaties Negotiated with Tribes later Removed to Grand Ronde (Boxberger 2008:229-30).

Ratified	Unratified
Treaty with the Rogue River September 10, 1853	Treaty with the Santiam band of Kalapuya April 16, 1851
Treaty with the Umpqua-Cow Creek Band September 19, 1853	Treaty with the Twalaty band of Kalapuya April 19, 1851
Treaty with the Rogue River November 15, 1854	Treaty with the Luck-a-mi-ute band of Kalapuya May 2, 1851
Treaty with the Umpqua and Kalapuya November 29, 1854	Treaty with the Yamhill band of Kalapuya May 2, 1851
Treaty with the Chasta etc. November 18, 1854	Treaty with the Principal Band of Molale May 6, 1851
Treaty with the Kalapuya etc. January 22, 1855	Treaty with the Santiam band of Molale May 7, 1851
Treaty With the Molala , 1855 December 21, 1855	Treaty with the Rogue River Indians July 14, 1851
	Treaty with the Clackamas November 6, 1851
	Treaty with the Rogue River Indians September 8, 1853
	Treaty with the Tualatin band of Kalapuya March 25, 1854

The following discussion relies on Lewis' definition of tribe as "a sovereign unit that is synonymous with 'nation' or 'country' and usually consists of a network of familial relationships of many people" (Lewis 2009:25). The continuing importance of familial relationships both before and after removal has been discussed most recently by Teverbaugh (2000). I focus on a different aspect of tribal identity, that Lewis refers to as, "...[a] legal and political definition that relates to the reservation community and its relationship with the federal and state governments. For Grand Ronde, this relationship is originally cast in the signing and ratification of seven treaties between many tribes and the federal government" (Lewis 2009:26). Thus, when I talk about the tribes of the Willamette Valley I mean the heirs

of succession to the Willamette Valley treaty¹, just one of seven treaties currently claimed by CTGR.

This is a specific definition that focuses on tribes as political units that solidified out of relationships with the federal government. These tribal units were well established by the time the Willamette Valley Indians were removed to Grand Ronde. When the treaties were first negotiated, tribal representatives were chosen to negotiate with government officials and sign treaties. As chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen of tribes, these individuals agreed to cede land belonging to the group and to receive in exchange payments in supplies and services such as medical care, education, safety and a permanent land base. The Indians of the Willamette Valley have not lost their tribal identity and the heirs of these signatory groups continue to exist and exercise their sovereignty today. According to Cheryle Kennedy, the current chairwoman of CTGR, most adult members of the confederated tribes know their tribal identity, including the chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen who signed their treaties, and can trace their heritage back to treaty times (Personal communication, October 26, 2010).

Despite the persistence of tribes most scholars writing on 19th century identity at Grand Ronde have not approached the continuation and adaptation of individual tribes brought to the reservation in 1850s. A review of the literature on this topic published in the last 20 years reveals narratives of tribal extinction and Grand Ronde ethnogenesis, and claims that tribes never existed (e.g. Beckham 1977, Merrill and Hajda 2007, Leavelle 1998, Reddick

¹ 'Heirs of succession' is a legal term used here to denote the current individual signatory tribes who inherited the rights and privileges of the treaties.

2000, Spores 1993, and Teverbaugh 2000). These narratives are based on historical and ethnographic documents which often contain descriptions of the destruction of tribes that are rooted in synchronic, monolithic perspectives of identity (e.g. ARABE 1923:21; ARCIA 1879:124-125; ARCIA 1858:361, 363; Jacobs, et al. 1945; Gatschet 1877; Summers 1997). These documents form the corpus of ethnohistorical data, and many of the scholars who have recently written about the history of the Grand Ronde reservation appear to have accepted the status quo set by their 19th century sources (Beckham 1977, Leavelle 1998, Reddick 2000, Spores 1993). Identity at Grand Ronde during the early reservation period was more persistent than most modern scholarship recognizes and it is difficult for modern scholars to triangulate the complexities of adaptation, resilience and resistance that took place, but it is possible. This thesis provides an in depth analysis of ethnohistorical sources which reveals a more nuanced and complex history.

Willamette Valley Tribal Identity at Grand Ronde, 1855-1901

In this thesis I argue that in the last 20 years most scholars who have written on 19th century identity at Grand Ronde view identity as a social phenomenon and try to incorporate indigenous perspectives, but they rely on ethnohistorical data consisting mainly of materials written by European and European American missionaries, federal officials and anthropologists, and the people who created most of this ethnohistorical data tended to systematically exclude descriptions of seemingly ambiguous tribal adaptations in favor of descriptions of compliance or noncompliance with standardized rules or theories made

according to their own essentialist administrative categories. Some of the biases inherent in this data make it into today's narratives of tribal identity at Grand Ronde.

In chapter two I discuss the two theoretical issues central to this argument. First I approach a major paradigmatic development in mainstream cultural anthropological discourse. This is a developmental shift from defining ethnic groups as essentialized categories or ideal types to viewing ethnic groups as socially constructed with identities defined through intra- and inter-ethnic interaction. This shift in world view has affected the relationship between current ethnohistorical discourse on identity and the ethnohistorical sources available to today's scholars. Building on Kuper (1988) I suggest that, whereas the mindset behind essentialist discourses of ethnicity in 19th century cultural anthropology coincided with that of contemporary government policy makers, this is no longer the case. The worldview that currently frames mainstream cultural anthropological research on ethnic identity has shifted over the last fifty years towards relational models of ethnic groups and self-defined ethnicity. It is difficult for current ethnohistorians working within this more recently accepted world view to uncover past ethnic identities because the identities they study no longer exist as they did in the past and most of the data on past identities available to current ethnohistorians was created within a very different and increasingly contested essentialist paradigm.

Second, I employ a theory developed by James Scott (1998) to examine how this paradigmatic difference between current ethnohistorical interpretations and those inherent to ethnohistorical data affects 21st Century narratives of tribal identity at Grand Ronde. Scott

discusses the relationship between localized practices of resistance and large scale state policies based on his concept of *mētis*². His theory helps explain why evidence of tribal identity at Grand Ronde as it was practiced by the Indians of the Willamette Valley in the 19th century is hard to find. *Mētis* represents the local informal practices that make large scale state policies possible but are formally forbidden by those same policies. Scott suggests that administrative cultures reject *mētis* because it is incompatible with the paradigm within which formal policies are designed. This paradigm is one shared by 19th century mainstream anthropological discourses of tribal identity and the United States Government.

The following three chapters present an analysis of ethnohistorical data on Willamette Valley tribal identity produced out of administrative contexts of church, state and academy during the 19th century. Chapter three focuses on the first fifteen years after removal to the Grand Ronde reservation. It reveals a history of tribal identities adapted to dramatically changing contexts. I begin by illustrating the link between religious and governmental institutions and their joint effort to Christianize and civilize the Indians of the Willamette Valley with two of examples of early views of tribal identity firmly rooted in the essentialist paradigm discussed in chapter two. As Scott's model predicts, *mētis* appears less often in ethnohistorical data than formalized views that support the paradigm of the administrations within which the data was produced. I contrast the essentialized views of tribal identity held

² Scott's term *mētis* comes from the Greek Μητις and is not related to the ethnonym Métis which comes from the Latin *mixticius*

by missionaries and federal officials with an example of the local adaptations in social organization practiced by tribes to accommodate life after removal.

One area where signs of adaptive practices of tribal identity are more apparent is in the difference between the records of the federal government and those of the Catholic Church. The Catholic missionary at Grand Ronde, Father Adrien Croquet, had a long term relationship with his parishioners. His records are of particular interest because he spent more time on the reservation than any Indian agent serving in the 19th century and recorded tribal identities from 1860 to 1880 out of interest rather than administrative need. His records show that people continued to identify by tribe at least until 1880, resisting the assimilation expected of them by Indian agents. I conclude the chapter with examples of official adoptions to illustrate one of many practices the Indians of the Willamette Valley utilized in order to maintain the exogamous marriage patterns common to Willamette Valley tribes before and after removal.

In chapter four I discuss further changes and adaptations of tribal identity between 1869 and 1887. This period saw the introduction of new policies aimed at eradicating tribal identity through assimilation. The chapter begins with a brief introduction to President Grant's peace policy, which represented a major change in the relationship between the U.S. government, religious organizations and Indian tribes. For the tribes of the Willamette Valley living at Grand Ronde this change meant increased opportunities to communicate directly to the federal government and significant adaptations in tribal governance. For ethnohistorians the records of these interactions provide valuable insight into tribal perspectives on identity

and assimilation. From the essentialist perspective of federal officials, for whom tribal identity and good citizenship were incompatible, the new policy meant increased pressure to assimilate the Indians of the United States. As agents of assimilation they believed they must destroy tribes in order to replace them with a society based on an idealized model of Christian citizenship and democratically elected government.

As the tribes of the Willamette Valley adapted to the changing contexts of tribal identity and leadership their success in resisting assimilation was interpreted by Indian agents as the breaking down of the tribes. In the 1870s the Indian agent reported to his superiors that he had eradicated tribal identity at Grand Ronde. His perspective was supported by the work of an ethnologist working for the U.S. geological survey who visited the reservation in 1877. This assimilationist perspective on tribal identity is challenged by the words of Willamette Valley Indians and the actions of Willamette Valley tribes. Thus narratives of tribal extinction at Grand Ronde entered the linked discourses of anthropology and federal policy.

Chapter five traces the divergence of local practices and administrative views of tribal identity through the end of the 19th century. Beginning with the introduction of the General Allotment Act in 1887 I continue my analysis of Grand Ronde agency records and the notes of visiting anthropologists working within the administration of the federal government. These sources are augmented by the testimony of several Willamette Valley Indians on their own tribal identity and the tribal identity of others.

As the Indians of the Willamette Valley prepared for the General Allotment Act to come into effect at Grand Ronde, they worked towards clarifying the tribal identity, and

therefore treaty status, of many potential allottees. This often resulted in official changes in tribal identity that appear in ethnohistorical data. Two examples of tribal identity change discussed in chapter three build on previous examples of the power of tribes to determine tribal enrollment. The first example highlights the limits of that power in certain cases while the second example demonstrates the limits of the data available to today's researchers. The final section of this chapter discusses the similarities between federal and ethnological perspectives on tribal identity at the turn of the 20th century.

Historical Background

It is impossible to understand the early reservation period without considering the historical context of the removal of the Indians of Oregon to reservations. The 19th century was a time of local social upheaval caused by a massively destructive series of epidemics, followed by an influx of European American immigrants to the area and the subsequent arrival of the U. S. government. Boyd (1990, 1999) argues that these epidemics were initially caused by viruses introduced to the lower Columbia by the Hezeta y Quadra Expedition in 1775. European diseases, notably smallpox and malaria, became endemic in the interior valleys over the next two decades, killing more than 90 percent of the indigenous population (Boyd 1990:146-147). The annual malaria epidemics which began in the summer of 1830 changed the demography of the Willamette Valley more than any other factor in the 19th century (Boyd 1999).

By 1850 the overall population of the Willamette Valley had rebounded due to increased numbers of European American settlers despite a sharp decrease in population

among the Kalapuyan and Chinookan peoples between 1805 and 1841. Tensions heightened after the Oregon Land Donation Act [9 Stat. 496], when the federal government began to give land to settlers that tribes had not yet ceded to the United States. Thus local indigenous peoples were affected by a succession of social, political and economic changes in the region resulting from contact with Europeans, later European American settlement, and the encroachment of U.S. political power into Oregon Territory. These problems were further aggravated by a severe loss of population and resulted in the breakdown of social, political and economic systems. They were unable to continue their traditional means of subsistence and were soon forced to rely on the U.S. government for food, supplies and security.

The tribes of the Willamette Valley were experienced intercultural negotiators long before they successfully negotiated a treaty in 1855. They had negotiated land use rights with other tribes for centuries, and European traders, European American settlers and the Oregon Provisional Government for forty years prior to the negotiation of the Willamette Valley treaty. Native representatives, concerned about the effects of European American settlement, approached the first federal representatives as soon as the U. S. government arrived in Oregon in 1849 (Coan 1921). Willamette Valley tribes negotiated more than 10 treaties with the federal government between the establishment of the Oregon Territory in 1849 and the official establishment of the reservation in 1857 (Beckham 1990, Boxberger 2008). Most of these treaties were not supported in Washington D. C. (Table 1) and, as Congress repeatedly failed to ratify the treaties, conditions worsened in the Willamette Valley (Merrill and Hajda 2007).

On July 31, 1854 Congress appropriated funds to move forward with a new policy proposed by Joel Palmer, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon. Upon arrival in Oregon, Palmer immediately began to successfully make treaties. In January 1855 the Indians of the Willamette Valley agreed to cede their land to the United States. Spores (1993) notes that the federal government never intended to pay the Indians for their land but decided instead to set aside enough funds to support and contain the Indian population on the reservation. According to the treaty of 1855, the Indians of the Willamette Valley could stay on their ceded lands only until the federal government chose a location for their permanent reservation and prepared it for settlement. The treaty also includes provisions for dividing the future reservation into individual plots, or allotments, and taking away allotments if they were not constantly inhabited and cultivated.

An account of the treaty negotiations between Joel Palmer and the Confederated Bands of the Willamette Valley from the perspective of one of the Native negotiators was recorded by ethnologist Albert Gatschet in 1877 (Jacobs, et al. 1945:167-169). The history was recounted by Peter Kinai and Yatchkawa, two Tualatin Indians who were living at Grand Ronde. Yatchkawa, or Wapato Dave, had signed the treaty for the Tualatin tribe. The text provides a unique perspective on the negotiations as understood by the Indians. The general message of the Superintendent during treaty negotiations was quite straightforward. "General Palmer spoke thus, 'You are to remain on your land here for three (more) years, and then I will take you to tcelu (to Grand Ronde). That will be your land for all time. For twenty years I will give you cattle, horses, money, rifles, blankets, overcoats, everything (all the personal

property) you may desire” (Jacobs, et al. 1945:168). The goal of assimilation achieved through supplies and services provided by the U.S. government is clearly identifiable.

“Twenty acres (will be given to) each person (Indian), and as long as you remain on the place, then it will be your own place...After twenty years the (last)payment for your place will cease...That is how you will be (then) just like an American” (Jacobs, et al. 1945:167). After ratifying the treaty the U. S. government did not follow through on Superintendent Palmer’s promises, however.

Most of the indigenous people in Willamette Valley were removed from their traditional homeland to temporary encampments in 1855 and to the Grand Ronde reservation in 1856. During this time, the U. S. Army escorted each of the 15 tribes to an encampment nestled in the western slopes of the Coast Mountains in northwestern Oregon. On January 12, 1856, Joel Palmer wrote to General G. J. Rains, requesting troops to escort the Indians of the Willamette Valley on the last part of their journey to the encampment (Beckham 2000). Soon the diversity of the encampment increased. In March, an Indian agent brought indigenous people from the Table Rock reservation, in southern Oregon, to Grand Ronde. The tribes relocated to Grand Ronde came from as far away as California, and some had recently been in conflict with the Willamette Valley tribes. John Miller became the first Indian agent appointed for the encampment at Grand Ronde in November 1856, after all of the tribes had arrived (ARCIA 1858). On June 30, 1857 President Buchanan issued an Executive Order creating the Grand Ronde Reservation.

Chapter 2: The Anthropology and Administration of Social Identity

After removal to Grand Ronde, the Willamette Valley tribes were subject to harsh policies aimed at breaking down tribes and assimilating individuals into mainstream American life (see Merrill and Hajda 2007, Lewis 2009). Much of this history is beyond the scope of this thesis but continues to impact scholarship on tribal identity to this day. One of the most significant periods of the history of Grand Ronde to current historiography of the Willamette Valley tribes is the period of termination from 1954 to 1983. The history of termination is discussed in depth in Lewis (2009). During this period the federal government, believing the Indians of western Oregon to be fully assimilated, ended its government to government relationship with the tribes of Grand Ronde, denying the continuing existence of the Willamette Valley tribes and other tribes removed to the reservation. In 1983 the tribes of the Willamette Valley gained federal recognition once again, not as individual heirs of succession to the Willamette Valley treaty, but rather as part of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde.

The effects of termination and later restoration are apparent in post-restoration scholarship on 19th century identity at Grand Ronde. The history of continuation and adaptation of tribal identity among the tribes of the Willamette Valley is hidden in modern narratives of tribal extinction or Grand Ronde ethnogenesis. The authors of such narratives often implicitly attribute changes in tribal identity to changes in federal policy. Additionally,

the theories of identity that underlie accounts of the first fifty years at Grand Ronde, like most American anthropological theory, have historically been closely linked to changes in federal Indian policy. This is in part because theory and policy come out of the same intellectual traditions and historical contexts.

In this discussion of 19th century tribal identity it is important to examine the continually developing and transforming worldview that underlies both anthropological theory and federal Indian policy, highlighting the relationship between theory, policy and ethnic identity. Ethnohistorians who study this period in the history of the northwest coast rely largely on documents created for the federal government which they use to build narratives that often mirror the biases inherent in the data. These narratives are then used by the federal government to determine Native American status, either as an Indian or as a federally recognized tribe. This can become a vicious cycle.

As David Hurst Thomas pointed out, the role of anthropologists in the formulation of assimilationist federal policy prompted Franz Boas to warn future generations against applying the results of their research to contemporary political problems (Boas 1928:210-211; Thomas 2000:65-70). American anthropologists did not immediately heed the warnings of their most celebrated teacher; the next generation continued to apply the assimilationist model utilized by the U.S. government. Influenced by the methods developed in Alfred Kroeber's Culture Element Distribution lists but designed to take into account change over time, Linton's 1940 book, *Acculturation in Seven American Tribes*, included formulaic essays written by his students at Columbia University on the extent to which indigenous

groups had changed from their pre-contact “Aboriginal Community” through assimilation to “The Modern Individual” (Linton 1963: ix-x). Linton’s aim in presenting this research and theory of acculturation was to collect a pool of data out of which new techniques could be developed to effectively maintain white dominance in America (Linton 1963:vii). His theory of indigenous identity was oriented towards U.S. administrative goals rather than towards Indian communities themselves. The federal government went on to use Linton’s research and similar research based on essentialist theories of identity to justify the assimilation policies of the 20th century. The direct link between federal Indian policies of assimilation and anthropological theories began to weaken as the federal government implemented termination policies in the mid 1950s (Easton 1959:262), but as Deloria pointed out, no anthropologists came forward in defense of tribes against termination policies that were so obviously destructive (Deloria 1988:94). This is because anthropologists were still working within the same paradigm as federal officials. For the tribes of the Willamette Valley, this work is exemplified by the Culture Element Distribution of Kalapuya tribes collected in the mid 20th century by Jacobs (n.d.). Recently however, the paradigm within which most cultural and social anthropologists frame their research has moved away from that of federal policy. This results in a disconnect between the way many anthropologists view ethnicity and the way the federal government administers ethnic groups including Indian tribes.

The next section of this chapter discusses and briefly outlines a gradual paradigm shift in mainstream cultural and social anthropology identified by Kuper (1988). It is a shift which continues to this day, and informs both mainstream anthropological discourse on

ethnic identity and federal Indian policy. Though far from unilinear, it can be broadly understood as a developmental change from focusing on indigenous identities as immutable ideal types defined by traits and practices to a more flexible view of ethnicity as a constantly reconstructed social identity that begins with self identification of the group and moves from that to defining the practices of that group. Kuper (1988) focused on the history of anthropology until the mid 20th century, a period in anthropology he characterizes as almost obsessed with defining and elaborating on the concept of the primitive society through frameworks of cultural evolution. He pointed out that many 19th century American anthropologists were lawyers by profession. The paradigm out of which theories of assimilation were developed was thus shared by American anthropologists and legal professionals. Indeed, the first anthropologists studied identity as a way to understand colonized peoples. The link between identity theory and U.S. government policy goes back to the work of Lewis Henry Morgan (1877). This continued through the mid 20th century and is exemplified above by the work of Linton and Jacobs. Since then a major paradigm shift in American anthropological discourse has begun. For the purposes of this discussion I will refer to paradigms that broadly frame understandings of ethnicity in terms of ideal types, often based on the concept of primitive society, as essentialist and relational paradigms within which ethnicity is viewed as a constantly reconstructed social phenomenon. The aim of this section is to highlight a few key developments that have taken place over the last fifty years of this shift from essentialist to relational models of identity in the context of the

relationship between mainstream anthropological theory and federal Indian policy in the United States.

Paradigmatic Transformations and Developments

The shift from essentialist to relational views of identity within the discourse of the discipline of anthropology has been developmental, to use Sahlins' (2004) term, but neither smooth nor comprehensive. Some of the issues surrounding this shift have been discussed by Earlandson et al. (1998), Haley and Wilcoxon (1997, 2005), and Miller and Boxberger (1997). The difficulty of this change is due in part to the resilience of the established paradigm of the primitive society within which theories of assimilation are constructed. Kuper (1988) discussed the failure of anthropologists to move away from this paradigm despite their repeated efforts to move forward in the development of theories of ethnicity. His work focused on theoretical transformations in mainstream anthropological discourse between the 1850s and the 1960s. Since then the paradigm informing what Kuper calls "mainstream cultural and social anthropology" has changed much more rapidly.

In the 1960s anthropologists began to challenge essentialist views of ethnicity, eventually bringing about a major developmental shift in the way anthropologists and policy makers thought about ethnic and tribal identity. Early developments in this shift are exemplified by the work of Fredric Barth (1969). His approach focused on the way the boundaries of ethnic groups are created and maintained through contact and interaction with other groups instead of the cultural contents of ethnic groups and ideal types of so-called primitive societies. He noted that the boundaries and cultural contents of ethnic groups can

change through time and space, and that ethnic identities are not weakened by the movement of people across boundaries.

Although Barth acknowledged changes in group identity, he did not provide an explanation comparable to previous acculturation theories. For American anthropologists at the time, his theoretical innovation must have seemed impractical in light of the obvious changes taking place in the communities they studied. The emerging relational framework Barth worked within was not adopted by mainstream American cultural anthropologists until the 1980s, perhaps in part because of the political context of identity in the mid 20th century. The federal government's assimilation policies did not make sense within a paradigm that viewed ethnicity based on boundary-maintenance theory, and tribal governments were asserting their identity within the paradigm of cultural contents and ideal types that fit the federal government's concept of tribal identity, typically with the help of anthropologists. Despite these practical difficulties this emerging paradigm eventually allowed future anthropologists to move away from previous acculturation theories which focused on cultural contents and relied on ideal types.

Many Indians responded to the inhumane and unrealistic termination policies of the 1950s, which were maintained through the 1960s, with a series of successful attempts to raise awareness of indigenous rights. Some of the organizations behind this movement were criticized by conservative tribal leaders. These organizations, including the National Congress of American Indians, the National Indian Youth Council and the American Indian Movement, were led by young people who had lived off of reservations and held ideas about

leadership and conflict resolution which were very different from those of their elders (see Warrior 1995:26-41).

Some, like Vine Deloria Jr., had served in the military and took advantage of the G. I. Bill [58 Stat. 284] after returning from service overseas. Equipped with a university education and fluency in mainstream American culture, Deloria wrote for a popular and academic audience that included Natives and non-Natives. His ideas challenged essentialist views of ethnicity based on the idea of the primitive society, and criticized the role of anthropologists in the Indian communities they studied (Deloria 1988). In response to the civil rights movement and in particular the harsh criticism from their Indian colleagues, some anthropologists began to reorient their theories of identity change towards the difficulties experienced by tribes. This did not, however, lead immediately to developments in the dominant paradigm but rather to what Kuper (1988) called “transformations”, that is, changes in perspective within a dominant paradigm. Many anthropologists were given the opportunity to recast their position as mediators between federal, state and tribal governments. They had begun to back up Indian claims to tradition despite apparent modernity in their work with law firms representing Indian tribes filing cases against the federal government.

Thus, with a somewhat different role in Indian communities, and an increased indigenous voice in the field, many anthropologists turned towards a more critical historical approach to the study of identity and acculturation that maintained essentialist models of identity (see, e.g., Jorgensen 1978:2). Influenced by dependency theory these anthropologists emphasized political and economic causes of identity change but still placed agency almost

entirely in the hands of mainstream American culture. This effectively excluded indigenous views of their own history and heritage, and ignored the fact that indigenous people are active participants in the processes of culture change.

Through the 1980s, Native American social scientists continued to publish emic accounts of indigenous culture. Many, like Gail Guthrie Valaskakis (1988), worked within the essentialist paradigm and emphasized cultural continuity from treaty times through the civil rights movement. As long as the framework within which most anthropologists and government policy makers worked remained focused on essentialist categories of cultural contents rather than the social construction of identity there was considerable political pressure on indigenous peoples to maintain the status quo and assert their rights within the dominant paradigm.

Eventually developmental shifts in the way anthropologists framed their research led to a different perspective on the emergence of identity markers. Eugene Roosen (1989) provides one early example of this relational view of ethnicity that is now widely accepted in mainstream cultural anthropology. Like Barth, he noted that increased contact between identity groups did not necessarily lead to a decrease in the differences between the two communities. Instead, Roosen argued, new contact situations cause ethnic groups to adapt the markers used to maintain group boundaries. This process is called ethnogenesis. For Roosen, ethnogenesis occurs when groups find themselves in different social contexts and therefore must adapt their boundary markers to maintain difference. This understanding of ethnicity fit with the kinds of situations American anthropologists were facing at the time.

Indian peoples themselves were asserting identity markers they linked to their own traditions. Thus the production of new ethnic markers began to be recognized as part of a legitimate process of ethnogenesis instead of a sign of assimilation. In this relational view of identity, new contact situations naturally call for new markers of identity which include reinterpretations of the past.

In the late 1990s this new paradigm became dominant in mainstream cultural anthropology and theories of ethnogenesis became popular as some anthropologists began to recognize Indian agency in the creation of ethnic identity and heritage. On the Northwest Coast this new paradigm has been exemplified by Alexandra Harmon (1998) and Paige Raibmon (2005). Their work emphasized the validity of a group's ability to continually reinvent its ethnicity and focused on the exercise of this power as a response to political economic limitations imposed by European American hegemony. In Harmon's view, a binary of Indian-white relations developed as Indigenous peoples and settlers attempted to create orderly cross-cultural relationships, thereby creating two mutually exclusive identities and eliminating the differences within each (Harmon 1998:11). Raibmon (2005) further elaborated this binary view of Indian ethnogenesis by showing how indigenous peoples manipulated the dominant society's perceptions of Indian authenticity in response to political and economic dominance. She interprets these actions as resistance to the hegemony which arose out of colonial relations, but notes that this resistance comes at a cost to indigenous communities themselves by reinforcing the dominant society's stereotypes.

The shift described above presents a unique challenge to ethnohistorians who must continue to rely on ethnohistorical data that was produced within an essentialist paradigm that is increasingly contested. Patricia Galloway (2006) recommended examining the context within which a text was created before using it as ethnohistorical data, and many ethnohistorians now take this paradigm shift into account in their writing but few have fully integrated this strategy into their data analysis. There is a need for a detailed analysis of the relationship between ethnic identities as they are experienced by ethnic groups, and ethnic identities as they are represented in most ethnohistorical data.

The following section suggests a move toward understanding this relationship by utilizing a theoretical framework adapted from James Scott (1998; Scott, et al. 2002). Scott (1998) provides a framework for understanding large scale government projects, like the “civilization” of the indigenous population of the United States, and their relationship with local practice and the problems inherent to such projects. His model is useful for understanding the conditions within which much of the available data on tribal identity at Grand Ronde was created. Scott, et al. (2002) further elaborated on this model. Their insight is particularly useful for understanding the nature of the identities preserved in historical records as tribal names and reveals much about the relationship between federal Indian policy and anthropological theory.

State Administration and Mētis

Current theories of ethnic identity as a continually reconstructed and multi-faceted phenomenon stand in stark contrast to the way nation-states traditionally handled ethnic

groups. One example of this is how, in the United States, Indian tribes were forced to conform to externally imposed standards for federal recognition. In the 19th and 20th centuries, federal officials appropriated tribal names for their administrative purposes and then implemented nation-wide programs of assimilation aimed at eliminating tribal identity and civilizing the indigenous people of the United States. These policies, which continue today, arose out of a paradigm that is increasingly contested in mainstream cultural anthropology. Scott pointed out a few of the problems that can arise out of such government projects intended to improve the human condition, and some of the ways local practices can prevent complete disaster in such situations.

Scott (1998) argued that state initiated social engineering projects end in disaster under certain circumstances. First, the state must attempt “the administrative ordering of nature and society”. By this Scott means the extraction and organization of simplified information on governed landscapes and populations by state officials for state purposes. Second, the state must ascribe to what Scott calls high modernism. By this Scott means an ideology in which design and large-scale planning rationally based on science and technology are championed as ways to achieve a better society. The first two conditions are not destructive on their own, because the policies they produce can simply be ignored at a local level. But when the first two factors are combined with a government willing and able to use force and coercion to implement such policies, and combined with what Scott calls a prostrate civil society, the results are tragic.

Often such state initiated improvement projects do not fail completely. Scott argued that this is a result of *mētis*, which he defines as the informal processes that operate on a local level to reduce the destructive impact of the formal order imposed by the state without which all large scale impositions of formal order would fail. For Scott, *mētis* is the kind of situated, practical knowledge that comes from extensive experience within a localized natural and social context, albeit one that is constantly changing. It is irreducible to a set of rules and guidelines, and is therefore incomprehensible within the dominant scientific paradigm and illegible to state policy makers. Scott argued that as long as *mētis* continues alongside state imposed improvement projects, the destructive power of the formal order is mitigated on a local level, but because state policies are based on universalist scientific paradigms within which only essentialized categories of nature and society are legible, they ultimately function to reduce *mētis* over time (Scott 1998:309-341).

Scott's model has several obvious flaws, mostly dealing with two issues. First, his concept of the state as a monolithic actor exerting power with intention overly personifies state administration. Governments are made up of individual administrators. Each has their own goals and abilities shaped by idiosyncratic cultural context. Often these individuals are members of the communities they administer. Second, he envisions victims of high modernism as prostrate societies, helpless populations unable to sustain resistance to the hegemonic power of the state. Despite these difficulties, his model, as far as it goes, is useful in attempts to understand federal Indian policy as it relates to ethnic identity at Grand Ronde, particularly in regards to the relationship between federal administration and tribal identity.

Three of Scott's conditions were met even before the federal government expanded into Oregon. In the first half of the 19th century the U. S. government initiated assimilation policies aimed at civilizing and Christianizing what they saw as remnants of savage tribes. Confident that their policies were based on hard science, the federal officials had already shown that they were willing and able to use the full force and coercion of the state as a means of achieving development and progress. Meanwhile, the indigenous population was decimated by waves of epidemic disease that killed more than 90 percent of the population. As the indigenous population of Oregon decreased dramatically, European Americans, in the spirit of manifest destiny, began to emigrate by the thousands. As the new immigrants built homesteads on Indian land, tribes could no longer continue traditional lifeways. These changes severely damaged the complex society that had developed in the region over thousands of years, but the survivors quickly adapted to the situation. These adaptations often don't appear in historical or modern accounts of tribal identity and governance on the Grand Ronde reservation.

The federal government encountered an increased need to administer and control the Indians at Grand Ronde, as pressure from American settlers increased. A series of federal Indian agents and missionaries were employed to carry out federal policy on the reservation, and in their role as administrators, these individuals attempted to meet the final condition of Scott's model: the administration of nature and society. This involved continually negotiating and delineating administrative categories of tribal identity. To the extent that Indian agents fulfilled this task they did so with the help of tribal governments and it is in this type of local

practice that *mētis* is found. Like most activities that rely on *mētis*, this highly localized negotiation of tribal identity was illegible on the large scale of federal administration and did not appear in official reports. Indian agents' annual reports to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon are a main source for many of today's scholars. These agents, like their counterparts across the United States, continually tried to eradicate tribal identity in their efforts to force the Indians toward "civilization", and wrote about their "successes" to their superiors. Their perspectives are often incorporated uncritically into narratives of ethnogenesis at Grand Ronde, but the Indian agents weren't as successful as their reports suggest: a close analysis of a wider variety of texts reveals a continuation and adaptation of tribal identity through the early reservation period.

Chapter 3: Adapting Tribal Identity to Reservation Life:

1855-1869

As the U.S. government expanded into Oregon, the social context affecting the creation and recreation of tribal identity in the Willamette Valley began to include tribal relationships with the federal government and its administrators. By the time they were removed to the Grand Ronde reservation, these tribes were practiced intercultural negotiators and had existed as ethno-political entities for decades. On the side of the federal government and local Indian agents, perceptions of cultural difference and tribal identity were based on what Scott calls “high modernism”, assumptions about civilization which were, in this case, closely linked to a distinctively American Christianity. In the Willamette Valley, these ideas were represented and perpetuated primarily through the actions of Methodist missionaries.

Linked closely to federal acknowledgement of distinct tribal polities were the early missionaries who brought the first permanent American settlers to Oregon. The first Indian agent in Oregon was a Methodist missionary and the Methodist Church in Oregon had been supported by the federal government from the beginning. In fact, the first permanent American settlement in the area was made up of Methodist missionaries and people who had come to support the mission.

Reverend Josiah L. Parrish was one of the American missionaries brought to Oregon with the assistance of the federal government. He later served as a missionary to the Indians

of Grand Ronde. In an 1878 interview with historian and ethnologist Hubert Howe Bancroft he explained the relationship between the Methodist Mission and the American government,

We were the third reinforcement after the establishment of the mission that was sent out by the missionary board in which I came. There is a fact connected with that, the government had a little hand in...The government discovered that the missionary family, as it was called in New York, was almost sufficient to establish a permanent colony, that is, a small one. The government had an eye to the settlement of the Oregon question; and I understood afterwards by a member of the missionary board that the government paid Fry Faranhan and Co. [who brought the missionaries to Oregon via their ship the Lausanne] \$50 dollars on each one of our heads. I have no doubt that that reinforcement was the settlement of the question really. (Parrish 1878)

After arriving in Oregon, Parrish worked as a missionary to the Indians of Oregon Country and later played a role in the provisional government of Oregon in 1843, which helped secure the United States' claim to the region below the 49th parallel (Parrish 1878). In 1849 he became an Indian agent in southwestern Oregon where he aided the Superintendent of Indian affairs in treaty negotiations (Lang 1885). After the removal of the Indians of his agency to reservations, Parrish was a missionary at Grand Ronde in 1856-1857 (Lewis 2009b; Crawley 1985). Although his actions as a federal agent and subsequent missionary activity were in line with federal policy at the time, his attitude toward tribal sovereignty was more in line with later policies. Just over 20 years after his time as missionary to Grand Ronde, he explained his ideas about federal Indian policy.

Our Indian policy from Plymouth Rock up to the present day has been wrong in the main. My idea is that having a nation within our nation is wrong. If a policy had been established with the Indians in the outset that the whites had in the Providence of God become the inhabitants of the United States, the inhabitants of the same soil with the Indians and that we had just as good a right to the soil as the Indians because there was a time when they did not occupy it, and in as much as we were thrown together the land belonged to all of us, things would have worked better. I think as far as possible we should have ceased to acknowledge the power of the chiefs – which we have always kept up by treaty with them as a distinct nation. We should have tried to

succeed in destroying the power of the chiefs to a great extent, and held out to the Indians a merciful practice as we came in contact with them, and endeavored to instruct them in the arts of husbandry. (Parrish 1878)

Parrish's suggestion that nations, as political entities, within a nation is categorically wrong and that God's will had determined that European emigrants are the political and moral leaders of the geographical area circumscribed by the United States exemplifies the foundational beliefs behind the essentialist paradigm of 19th century federal Indian policy as did his assertion that chiefs should not be recognized and that by "destroying the power of the chiefs", the Indians of North America would naturally cease to exist as a distinct nations, and that this would facilitate Indian progress toward civilization.

Traces of the concepts and judgments outlined by Parrish can be seen in the annual reports of John Miller, one of the first federal Indian agents appointed to Grand Ronde, as well as those of subsequent agents. The path toward assimilation assumed in those reports did not accurately reflect the resilience of tribal identity at Grand Ronde. John Miller began administering the reservation in November 1856 and served for five years. His annual reports demonstrate a view of tribal identity constructed out of European American concepts of race and unilinear cultural evolution common to the essentialist paradigm of 19th century academics and government officials. In his first report to Colonel Nesmith, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Miller notes distinct "tribes and bands" and provides a crude caricature of each one. He describes the Rogue River and Shasta Indians as "a warlike race, proud and haughty, but treacherous and very degraded in their moral nature...", and the Umpqua and Calapooias of the Umpqua Valley as, "by far the most intelligent and industrious, taken as a race, of any tribe on the reservation" (ARCIA

1858:361, 363). His description of the Willamette Valley Indians is also framed as a characterization of a race of people.

The Calapooias have always been represented as a poor, cowardly and thievish race, so much so that their very name has become a byword and term of reproach with the braver and more warlike Indians of the country; this is true of them as a body, (yet there are a great many good Indians among them,) and will apply also in a great degree to all the bands of the Willamette Indians. (ARCIA 1858:364)

Miller did not recognize these confederations as political entities but rather described them as races or bodies defined by innate and immutable habits, manners and customs. By conflating the concept of sovereign tribes with a 19th century concept of race, the Indian agent blurred the distinction between nature and society. He refused to recognize the legitimacy of tribal chiefs' positions and viewed tribal identities as simply a source of administrative complication. Although Miller demonstrated a basic knowledge of Oregon history he was more concerned with the history of tribes in relation to white settlers than the intricacies of the events leading up to removal and the long standing significance of tribal identity to the social organization of the reservation. Because his reports reflect these attitudes, they contain very little evidence of Willamette Valley tribal identity as it was practiced at Grand Ronde during Miller's time as Indian agent.

Susan and William Baker

Despite the problems described above, there are records that indicate the resilience and flexibility of Willamette Valley tribal identity soon after removal to the Grand Ronde. They describe localized practices aimed at reconciling federal policies with tribal realities in line with Scott's concept of *mētis*. The case of Susan and William Baker, two Pit River

slaves, exemplifies the diversity of practice and flexibility of tribal identity within the tribes removed from the Willamette Valley during the first fifteen years after removal as they adapted to life on the Grand Ronde Reservation.

Indian slavery was common among the tribes of the Northwest Coast before contact with Europeans (Donald 1997). Hajda (2005) discusses some of the defining characteristics of slavery in the greater lower Columbia region, an area which includes the Clackamas, Tualatin tribes and parts of the Molalla tribe. Although slaves often lived with their owners and were treated like part of the family, their status meant that they were required to do the heaviest work and could be killed by their owners. Slavery was a hereditary status, but slaves were occasionally adopted by their owner's families. Most slaves in the greater lower Columbia region were acquired through trade, often with Klamaths who seasonally raided southern tribes, like the Pit River, to trade north along the Columbia and Willamette Rivers (Hajda 2005:574-575, Ruby and Brown 1993:253-262). Hajda notes that Klamath slave traders began to use horses to bring slaves to The Dalles to trade in the 1830s (Hajda 2005:575), an innovation which turned The Dalles into a center for the slave trade along the Columbia River.

When tribes were removed to Grand Ronde many individuals affiliated with other tribes were also removed simply because they were, at the time, living in the vicinity of a treaty tribe. This included several Klamaths and also five slaves from Pit River, California, who were brought to the reservation with the Willamette Valley Indians when they were first removed. The Klamaths left the reservation shortly after removal, but the Pit River Indians

remained at Grand Ronde, were adopted by tribes and eventually claimed treaty rights. The Pit River Indians had been brought to The Dalles and then traded down the Columbia River to the Clackamas area by Klamath slave traders, and removed to the reservation with their Clackamas owners.

One of these slaves was Susan Baker, who was removed to Grand Ronde with the Clackamas tribe and lived the rest of her life on the reservation. Shortly after removal she was sold to Louis Shelkeah, a Tualatin chief. Her son, William, was born in Louis Shelkeah's house on the reservation in 1863. In 1905 John Wacheno, Chief of the Clackamas, explained Susan and William's status.

I think they were brought from their own country when they were children and so were lost to their own people. They did not know anywhere else to go and lived and died here. I think they should have had all their rights here... I heard the Indians wanted to buy him from Mary Ann but slavery had been abolished and she would not sell him. The Agent declared that they were all free and I thought that was the same as adopting them all under the treaties. (Applegate 1905)

Nobody seems to have known who William Baker's father was, but many assumed that he was white, maybe a soldier. After his mother's death William Baker did not spend all of his time on the reservation. Although he came and went, he was considered an adopted member of the Clackamas tribe and received an informal allotment as a Clackamas Indian in 1872 (Applegate 1905). According to Frank Quinelle, a leader of the Umpqua tribe, "Willie was taken away from here and lived among the white people for several years, for a part of the time he was at Oregon City. After allotments were made he came back and has lived here ever since" (Applegate 1905).

When the official allotting agent, Colonel Edward Collins, came to make allotments in 1889, William Baker and another Indian from Grand Ronde, Edward Tebeau, were off of the reservation fishing on the Columbia River. Norris Apperson was charged with going to the Columbia River to inform the two men that Collins was making allotments. Apperson failed to contact the two men and had their informal allotments assigned to himself instead. John Wacheno informed the two men of what had happened, but by the time they got back the allotting agent had already gone and no more allotments were being assigned (Applegate 1905).

Susan and William Baker's story demonstrates the openness and inclusiveness of some tribes at Grand Ronde. It also shows that tribes were able to determine their own membership from the time of removal. By determining tribal membership tribes controlled which individuals were entitled to rights under their treaty to a certain extent. The assimilationist view of tribal identity held by federal administrators, rooted in an essentialist paradigm, was vastly different from the lived experience of tribal identity for the Native American residents of Grand Ronde.

Father Adrien Croquet and Catholic Administration

Federal Indian agents were not the only administrators on the Grand Ronde reservation. In October, 1859 Father Adrien Croquet, arrived in Oregon from Belgium. As the Catholic missionary at Grand Ronde from 1860 to 1898, he had more time than any federal Indian agent to become familiar with the Indians of the Willamette Valley. The development of his views on the tribal identity of his parishioners and the nature of tribal identity in general are

important for two reasons. First, he recorded the tribal affiliation of his parishioners for the first 20 years of his mission, and his records provide a valuable resource for ethnohistorians interested in tribal identity at Grand Ronde during this time (Munnick and Beckham 1987). Second, his ideas about tribal identity were significantly different from those of federal officials and the records he left often counter the assimilationist claims of Indian agents. Although he expressed his desire to see the Indians of Grand Ronde adopt the ways of the Catholic Church, he did not see tribes as antithetical to Catholicism and there is no evidence that he wanted to eradicate tribal identity. In a letter to his brother written soon after his arrival Croquet describes his first impressions of Oregon and its inhabitants.

However, we pass happily through the bars or banks of sand which are found at the mouth of the Columbia River and which leave a passage way just sufficiently wide for the ships...We continue on our way and in the evening we arrive at Oregon City, the residence of the Archbishop. It is a pleasantly situated place on the Willamette River and might have 1000 to 1500 inhabitants. The whole population of Oregon, without counting several Indian tribes spread around, is nearly 60,000. The number of Catholics is not yet considerable. We live here in the midst of infidels and others of every sect and every belief. We need the grace of Heaven to persevere in the faith, and increase in number, the little flock of the faithful dispersed in this vast territory. (Codd 2007:416)

Before beginning his mission at Grand Ronde, Croquet spent a year living with the archbishop of Oregon City, Father Norbert Blanchet (Codd 2007:111). His time with Blanchet helped ease Croquet's transition to Oregon life. The archbishop had been the first Catholic missionary in the area, arriving in 1838 when his parish was predominantly made up of Hudson's Bay Company employees, their bi-cultural families, and the Indians of the area that later became Oregon Territory. Blanchet must have shared with Croquet some of his significant experience with the tribes now residing at Grand Ronde. It is clear that during this

first year of residence in Oregon, Croquet's conception of tribal identity changed dramatically. The priest had come to Oregon from Belgium with preconceptions about the area as a wild wilderness, closer to nature than to Belgian society. He was surprised to find some signs of civilization in Oregon and the people he met quickly changed his opinion of his adopted home.

From the beginning, Croquet had expressed interest in working with Indians who to him seemed much more receptive to conversion than the European American population. As Codd points out, Croquet had left the largely Catholic society of Belgium for Oregon where he was surrounded by Protestants, unbelievers and "lapsed Catholics" who weren't concerned about his message (Codd 2007:415). He suddenly found himself a minority, preaching a religion that wasn't supported by the American government. On January 2, 1860, less than four months after his arrival, Croquet wrote to his family with news about the people of Oregon.

You see, Oregon is not a country as savage as you might have thought, perhaps. There is already a population of about 40,000 whites (to distinguish them from the savages) who have come from different civilized states of America and from different European countries. But my preference is more for the savages, because I think that there is more good to be done among them than among the whites... Thus, according to my desires, His Excellency intends to send me to a mission among the savage tribes which inhabit the shore of the Pacific Ocean... Don't worry about me; the savages even those not yet converted, love and respect the Catholic missionaries... While waiting to take up this post, I spend my time studying English and the language which the savages speak.³ (Codd 2007:112)

³ In this translation the 19th century French term *sauvage* is translated as savage, however, in anthropological and historical translations the customary English translation is "indigenous".

As he became more familiar with the people of Oregon, Croquet gained a more complex view of tribal identity, recognizing distinct tribes led by chiefs. In a letter to a friend and fellow priest in Belgium after an “apostolic expedition” around northwestern Oregon Croquet described his experience meeting chiefs and evangelizing tribes. In it he mentions individual tribes by name and asks his fellow priest to pray for them. At this time he was starting to get to know the Indians of Oregon well enough to differentiate between the various tribes removed to Grand Ronde.

Even before his arrival at Grand Ronde, Father Croquet understood the difficulty of his position as a Catholic missionary working with Indians on reservations controlled by Protestant agents. “...[D]espite the good intentions of the American Government in the establishment of these reservations for the Redskins, the missionaries not unfrequently meet with obstacles in the exercise of their ministry, not so much on the part of the Indians as on the part of the agents and the employés sent out from Washington” (Van der Hayden 1905:137).

In his early years on the reservation, Croquet expressed concern about Protestant ministers’ influence on the Indians of Oregon. Indeed few of the people he encountered in Oregon before he began his mission had been raised in the Catholic Church. Nevertheless he was welcomed by at Grand Ronde by Chief Louis Nepissank, and Agent Miller.

On the 9th [of June, 1860] we reached the Grandronde, where we were most cordially welcomed by the Captain and the officers of Fort Yam Hill, which borders on the Reservation. We celebrated Mass at the Fort, preached, and admitted to the sacraments the soldiers, and the members of a few Catholic Families occupying land in the neighborhood. The Indians were not forgotten; the Agent, Mr. Miller, giving U.S. full scope to do all the good we could. He is a most estimable official, who takes

the poor Redmen's interest to heart, and whose sympathies are all with the Catholic missionaries...Louis Nequim, an Umpquas chief, who is absolutely devoted to us, placed his home at our disposal, to use as a rallying place for the Indians. Father Mesplié preached to them, and we poured the soul-purifying waters of holy Baptism on twenty-three children, and on one adult in danger of death, (Van der Hayden 1905:139)

The following autumn he began his mission on the Grand Ronde reservation.

It was on September 25, 1860, that I arrived at the Grand Rond reservation to take up residence. The Grand Rond is situated at about seven leagues from the Pacific Ocean, thirteen leagues from the mission of St Paul and twenty leagues to the southwest of Oregon City. The reservation is made up of about 900 Indians belonging to different tribes, the majority of them being unbelievers. There are, moreover, other savages living along the sea coast that I have not been able to visit so far, the roads being impassable during the winter. The Indians of Grand Ronde are spread about in a space of about five or six leagues in circumference, surrounded by forests and by the mountain range which runs along the Pacific coast. At the entrance to the reservation there is a military post made up of about a hundred soldiers the great majority of whom are Catholics, mostly Irish. (Codd 2007:118)

His first entry in the parish Register of St Michael's church is on September 30, 1860. The entry shows that by this time he was familiar with tribal identity at Grand Ronde. For the first twenty years of his mission in Oregon Croquet continued to keep track of the tribal affiliation of his parishioners out of personal interest. The tribal identities recorded by Croquet provide a contrast to those described by Indian agents. Instead of focusing on tribes as administrative categories defined by treaty rights, Croquet focused on individual tribal identities based on where a person was born. It is probable that the tribal identities he recorded came out of conversations between Father Croquet and the Indians about whom he was writing. In addition to his native French and the Church's Latin the priest spoke both English and Chinuk Wawa, two languages used by the Indians of Grand Ronde. He was therefore able to communicate fairly easily with a large number of his parishioners (Crawley:1985). It is very

likely that, for the first generation of residents at Grand Ronde who spoke English or Chinuk Wawa, Croquet's tribal designations reflect parishioners' tribal self-identification.

In a letter to his brother June 20, 1863, Croquet wrote of his purpose at Grand Ronde. "Our main hope lies with the young generation; to raise them in the principles of the faith and in the practice of Christian virtues, that is what lies above all the future of the missions" (Codd 2007:122). The priest was concerned about the children of his parish who went to the agency schools controlled by the predominantly Protestant Indian agents and their appointed teachers. From Croquet's perspective, the majority of these teachers were not teaching the true faith, and sending his parish children to school was "...to often to the peril of their faith or at least to the detriment of their piety." He felt that a Catholic education was essential in order "to rear these poor savage children in the principles and practice of our holy religion." He arranged with Archbishop Blanchet to have the Catholic Church take over the agency school. Shortly after the mission was established, a group of nuns from the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary visited Grand Ronde as a potential location for a convent and school. They were not impressed, and declined the offer to open a school at Grand Ronde until conditions on the reservation improved to their satisfaction (Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary 1909:99-100).

Federal Officials and Tribal Chiefs Adjust to Reservation Life

Less than a year after Father Croquet's arrival, Miller resigned as Indian agent and was replaced by James Condon. Unlike his predecessor, Condon seems to have been completely unfamiliar with the history of the tribes at Grand Ronde, and when he arrived at the

reservation in August 1861 he found that the previous agent had taken all of the agency records (ARCIA 1861:170). Condon was only employed at the agency for three years and he had little time or interest to gain familiarity with social organization on the reservation or tribal identity, but maintained strong opinions on how the federal government should behave towards tribes based on an essentialist view of tribal and racial categories. In his first annual report, written only a month after his appointment, he contrasted the tribal organization with the ideal of the yeoman farmer providing for his family. He implied that these two types of social organization were incompatible and the hierarchy assumed in his statement reveals his assimilationist perspective.

From the attention I have been able to give the subject, I am of opinion that it is for the interest of these Indians to have their tribal organization broken up as soon as practicable; to have the greater part of the land apportioned out to the heads of families, and each individual taught to rely upon his own exertions, and be secured in the full enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. (ARCIA 1861:172)

This opinion did not change throughout his time as agent. He recognized that different tribes had different rights under different treaties, but not the benefits of the political or social function of tribes on the reservation. To Condon tribes were simply irritating and ineffective administrative categories. This attitude was adopted by Condon's successor, Amos Harvey, who began working at the Grand Ronde Agency in 1864.

In Harvey's first annual report to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he used "the Indians" to refer to residents of Grand Ronde in general and only noted the existence of tribes as was necessary to describe the two schools on the reservation. To Harvey, the word "Indian" denoted a race of people, but his idea of race, like Condon's, carried connotations of moral agency lacking in Agent Miller's view of racial characteristics as completely

immutable. Although all three agents worked under the same essentialist paradigm, their reports reveal slightly different ideas on the nature of racial distinctions. Harvey characterized the “Indian race” as having peculiar roaming habits. He saw this Indianness as something that could be “broken up” by giving families their own sections of land upon which they could build and improve homes and farms (ARCIA 1866). Like many federal officials of his time he saw Indians as a race of people defined by specific practices. To Harvey, providing Indians with the opportunity to replace their way of living with what he saw as a more civilized life, an opportunity he assumed they would prefer to take, meant a move up the racial ladder. As he spent more time at Grand Ronde however, he adjusted his view of tribal identity.

In 1867, after American troops had left Fort Yamhill, Harvey began to recognize the role of tribal chiefs as leaders on the reservation and their authority as spokesmen for their tribes to the federal government. Previously the agent had relied on the troops stationed at Fort Yamhill, a military post on the reservation, to prevent the Indians of Grand Ronde from leaving the reservation and enforce other Agency rules. After the troops left, the tribal chiefs officially stepped in to fill their place. Harvey wrote to the Superintendent of Indian affairs explaining the situation.

I would therefore ask that I be instructed to employ, at a moderate salary, two or three of the chiefs as a police force, to assist me in pursuing and bringing back any who may leave the agency without permission...I have talked with the chiefs, and they all wish that something of the kind may be adopted, and are willing that a portion of the annuity funds of each tribe be used for the employment of such persons.
(ARCIA1868:80)

This is one of the few examples of *mētis* that appears in federal records. It is an instance where tribal identity and leadership was defined in response to a need to make formal federal policies, in this case preventing Indians from leaving the reservation, work at a local level. By approaching tribal leaders for help, Harvey acknowledged the existence of functioning social organization based on individual tribes. Thus, in his final years at Grand Ronde, Harvey was, out of necessity, able to recognize tribal identities as more than simply administrative categories.

In addition to calling on chiefs to maintain order on the reservation, he relied on them to ensure tribal rolls accurately reflected tribal membership and adoptions. The tribes of the Willamette Valley were exogamous prior to removal, and continued this practice at Grand Ronde. This meant that individuals from outside of the reservation sometimes came onto the reservation and became members of one of the tribes. While adoption wasn't common it certainly happened, particularly when a chief's daughter married outside her tribe. This was the case for Frank Quenel, whose father was French Canadian and mother Chinook and Chehalis. He was adopted into the Umpqua tribe in 1869. In 1905 he related his experience with the official adoption process of the late 1860s, during Condon's time as Indian agent.

I came first in 1866 and was off and on for about three years. In 1869 I came on, hoping to remain. Louis Nepissank was, by adoption, head chief of the Umpqua tribe and I married his daughter and he was anxious to have me adopted. He, with chiefs Wapito Dave, Peter McKay, Chasta Tom, Joseph Hudson and Oregon City John went with me to the Agent, Amos Harvey, and asked to have me adopted as a treaty Indian. The agent asked me what tribe I wished to join and I told him the Umpquas. He explained the rules to me and especially charged me not to bring any liquor onto the Reservation and give it to the Indians. To these things I promised and it was agreed that I should be enrolled with the Umpqua band, and as long as there were annuities I drew my share with them. (Applegate 1905)

Individuals were also occasionally adopted into Willamette Valley tribes. Peter Menard, whose father was French Canadian and whose mother was Paiute, grew up on French Prairie and was adopted into the Clackamas tribe when he moved to Grand Ronde with his wife, the daughter of Joseph Shangaretta. His adoption was similar to that of Frank Quenel.

I came here with my wife who was a Clackamas woman. She had relatives here. The soldiers were here and then a man could only stay ten days at a time, unless he could be accepted by the tribes. I saw three chiefs who belonged here, Wapato Dave, Louis Nepissank and Joseph Sangaretta. They came up here with me to see the agent, Mr Harvey, and it was agreed that I might remain here as one of the people. The next day they sent the Agency Farmer, Mr. Sands, to show me a piece of land on which I might go to work. There was no regular allotting yet. When Col. Collins, the allotting agent, came, I was given an allotment. My wife is the daughter of Joseph Sangaretta, Chief of the Marysville tribe. (Applegate 1905)

James Winslow told more of Peter Menard's story:

Peter's wife was a half-breed, but related to the treaty tribes, and when Amos Harvey was agent, chiefs Louis Nepissank, Wapato Dave and Oregon City John were willing to let Dave Menard come in with his wife and my understanding is that they went to Agent Harvey about the matter and that he consented to enroll Peter as a member of the tribe. After Peter Menard's first wife died, he married a daughter of Joseph Sangaretta, the Marysville chief. Chief Joseph told me one day that he found there was a misunderstanding some way about Peter's rights here and that he had to go to the agent to see the matter straight and that Peter was now all right and was fully adopted. (Applegate 1905)

There was variation between tribes when it came to adoption practices. For example, the Clackamas, Kalapuya, and Umpqua tribes were much more open to outsiders than the Rogue Rivers. Indeed, several chiefs who signed treaties for tribes at Grand Ronde were adopted, including Santiam Chief Joseph Shangaretta and Umpqua Chief Louis Nepissank. There were also different views on adoption within each tribe. Henry Wallace for example, who came to Grand Ronde with the Clackamas under the Willamette Valley Treaty, was not

inclined to welcome outsiders into his tribe. When asked if he approved of adoption he responded “No, I think the reservation was set apart by the Indians in place of land they gave up to the white people and I have never been in favor of taking in the outside people” (Applegate 1905).

For the tribes of the Willamette Valley, the first fifteen years of life on the reservation were characterized by adaptations in tribal identity that enabled them to accommodate the federal administration they were subject to at Grand Ronde. Social organization was defined largely in terms of tribal identity and tribal chiefs continued in their role as mediators between their tribes and the U. S. government. These practices, like most processes of *mētis*, are difficult to uncover in official records because they did not fit contemporary discourses of formalized policies. Federal administration focused on “tribes” defined by differences in treaty rights. Thus, the diversity of tribal identities brought to Grand Ronde under the Willamette Valley treaty was largely ignored by federal Indian agents in correspondence with their superiors. Although agents during this period may not have fully recognized the importance of tribal identity and organization to the implementation of federal policy, they did not consciously attempt to break down tribal groups. Conscious attempts to eradicate tribal identity did not begin until the introduction of new federal policy in 1869 aimed to expedite the Christianization and civilization of Indians across the United States.

Chapter 4: New Approaches to Leadership and Administration: 1869-1887

In 1869 President Ulysses Grant initiated a new federal Indian policy intended to reduce corruption in Indian agencies across the United States by assigning reservations to certain missionary groups (Prucha 2000:125-135). For the tribes of the Willamette Valley living at Grand Ronde the new policy provided them with increased opportunity to communicate directly with the federal government in Washington, D.C. Under this new policy, religious denominations were in charge of selecting Indian agents for the reservations under their control. The board of Indian Commissioners was created to administer the new policy. In a letter published in the New York Times Felix Brunot, one of the newly appointed Commissioners, explained Grant's Peace Policy.

Its purpose is to deal justly and mercifully with an unfortunate race of men, five-sixths of whom are thoroughly conquered, submissive and dependent, and to raise them in the scale of humanity through the appliances of Christian civilization; to protect the lives and property of our own people upon the frontiers; to render safe for their occupancy all the territory of the United states not already granted to the Indians, and to secure honesty in the expenditure of the Indian appropriations. (Brunot 1872)

This policy was implemented early but inconsistently at the Grand Ronde Agency. In 1869 Charles Lafollett was recommended for the position of Indian agent at Grand Ronde by Father Mesplie, who had first introduced Father Croquet to the area (ARCIA 1872:303). Lafollett was a Catholic Indian agent but Grand Ronde was, at the time, officially administered by the Methodist Church, despite the presence of a Catholic mission on the

reservation (ARCIA 1872:191, 303). Like many Indian agents, Lafollett was not at the Grand Ronde Agency long enough to develop more than a rudimentary understanding of tribal identity on the reservation. He left after just over one year in office due to conflicts over religious ideology and the implementation of federal Indian policy. Despite his lack of experience, however, Lafollett recognized the informal allotments assigned by Agent Harvey and noted that some tribes had collective farms. "My predecessor had allotted to each head of family a small parcel of tillable land, which they cultivated and in many instances fenced to themselves, while others of them, and some whole tribes, have their farming land all under the same fence" (ARCIA1870:166). There was no mention of which individuals were farming together as a tribe, but it is likely that some were from the Willamette Valley.

One of the newly appointed administrators under Grant's policy was Alfred B. Meacham, who began serving as the Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1869. Meacham visited Grand Ronde shortly after his appointment and heard speeches from tribal leaders about life on the reservation. Their speeches demonstrate the important role of chiefs as mediators between tribes and the federal government. Chiefs from Willamette Valley tribes spoke about how their people had started new lives on the reservation despite the fact that the federal government had not fulfilled its promises, and how they wanted to have the same opportunities as citizens of the United States. Wapato Dave, a Tualatin chief, discussed how the federal government hadn't held up its end of the treaty; his people were poor and had to work for immigrant American families off the reservation to buy the basic things they needed to start new lives at Grand Ronde (Meacham 1875:109-119).

Joseph Hutchins a chief of the Santiam tribe said the tribes at Grand Ronde wanted the school, blacksmith shop and farming supplies promised in their treaties. He explained some of the problems with collective tribal farming and requested deeds to individual land allotments for all residents. He had heard past superintendents make claims similar to Meacham's: promising to make things better for the Indians at Grand Ronde and fulfill the United States' treaty obligations, but nothing had changed. Hutchins complained that it was difficult to communicate these things to the President because Washington D.C. was so distant (Meacham 1875: 113-119).

Meacham's account demonstrates the role of Willamette Valley chiefs at Grand Ronde in 1869. As spokesmen for their tribes and intermediaries between tribes and federal policies they attempted to influence and mitigate the impact of formal federal policies. The needs of tribes were easily understood at a local level, but, as Chief Hutchins pointed out, the immense distance between the tribes at Grand Ronde and the policy makers in Washington D. C. made effective intergovernmental communication practically impossible. In order to protect their rights in the face of unpredictable and inconsistent U. S. policies, tribal leaders called for deeds for lands, public education, and supplies.

In a letter written to President Grant in September 1869, the chiefs reiterated requests that the land be surveyed and legal title given to individual Indians (Crawford 1869). They expressed their fear that they would be removed from Grand Ronde to another reservation, a fear that must have been at least implicitly supported by Meacham, Lafollett and United States Senator George H. Williams who were present when the letter was signed. The chiefs

at Grand Ronde knew from past experience the difficulties of communicating with the federal government in Washington, D.C. This was their third letter to the president and they had not yet received a reply from the federal government in Washington, D.C. From the perspective of federal policy makers the reports of tribal chiefs were less useful for formulating policy than the standardized information collected by federal officials across the United States.

The Board of Indian Commissioners

Just days after Lafollett's resignation, Felix Brunot, of the Board of Indian Commissioners visited Grand Ronde, escorted by Superintendent Meacham and Reverend Josiah L. Parrish, a Methodist missionary. According to the meeting minutes, most of the Indians on the reservation, about 870, attended the meeting (ARCIA 1872:148-153, ARCIA 1872b:64). The meeting provided a chance for several Indians, not just tribal chiefs, to voice their opinions about the political situation at Grand Ronde directly to federal representatives from Washington, D.C. The meeting minutes bring to light key perspectives from voices which do not commonly appear in the ethnohistorical record.

The issues mentioned focused on unfulfilled treaty promises including farming equipment, a flour mill and schools. Henry Kilke, a Molala man, demanded payment for ceded land. "We want to know about our lands. I have a wagon; I bought it. My house I got the same way. My clothes I bought; the Government never gave me any of them...Now we want to know what we will get for our lands. We need a grist-mill, harnesses and horses, and plows and wagons, and that is all we want" (ARCIA 1872:152). Peter Connoyer, a Tualatin

man, expressed his concern about religion and education on the reservation. “About religion – I am a Catholic; so are all my family. All the children are Catholics. We want the sisters to come and teach the girls...The priest lives here. He does not get any pay. He teaches us to pray night and morning. We must teach the little girls” (ARCIA 1872:149).

The position of non-Indians in reservation jobs was also a contentious issue for some of the residents. The Willamette Valley treaty had promised an agency farming supervisor and blacksmith for five years. After that time had passed, positions were paid out of tribes’ annuity funds. Many of the Indians who spoke at the meeting expressed their willingness to accept people of mixed descent on the reservation, but Chief Hutchins made it clear that he thought they should not hold agency jobs. “The people have hid in their hearts the truth about the half-breeds...We want our children to learn and be employed instead of the half-breeds and whites. We don’t want the half-breeds here to interfere with us” (ARCIA 1872:150).

Several people agreed with Hutchins that in order for the Indians to “be like white men” Indians must be taught trades by European Americans. The other speakers, however did not seem to share Hutchins’ particular desire to exclude people who had non-Indian ancestry. From the text it is apparent that most of the Indians constructed categories of race based on tribal membership (i.e. inclusion on tribal rolls by virtue of birth or adoption) rather than blood quantum. The ambiguous status of “half-breeds” was clearly becoming a point of contention in tribal politics, but Meacham, Brunot and Parrish ignored the issue. The category of “half-breed” discussed by the Indians at the council did not fit the assimilationist

paradigm of Meacham, Brunot and Parrish. It seemed to be based on tribal membership rather than simply a biologically determined trait.

In Brunot's final report to the Board of Indian Commissioners he expressed his approval of the work ethic and desire for education he saw at Grand Ronde but, despite his general impression of civilization, he was disappointed by the moral condition of the Indians, particularly the persistence of non-Christian beliefs which he attributed to a lack of 'civilized law'. He wrote, "Rapid as has been their march on the way to civilization, there is reason to believe that, under the new Christian policy, it will be greatly accelerated. They should be induced at once to abandon their tribal relations and adopt simple municipal laws, and be admitted to all the rights of citizenship" (ARCIA 1872:125). In practice this meant an elected tribal government and an agency controlled by the Catholic Church.

Adaptations in Tribal Leadership

In 1871, only sixteen years after removal, a confederated government was established to represent the tribes living on the reservation (Grand Ronde Indian Legislature 1873, 1876). At first, each tribe elected representatives to attend the annual meeting of the Grand Ronde Indian Legislature where they created laws intended to meet the needs of the community by respecting both traditional and Christian American values (Grand Ronde Indian Legislature 1873, 1876; Leavelle 1998). The Legislature also initiated public works projects, and organized work parties to build extensive road networks. A court was established to facilitate the implementation of laws. The Indian Legislature and Court helped bridge the gap between local and federal perspectives on reservation life. It made local issues comprehensible to the

federal government by framing them in a familiar pattern of administration. Although federal officials intended the introduction of representative government to further the assimilation of the Indians at Grand Ronde, the Legislature was adapted to the social organization of Grand Ronde to meet the needs of the voters. Residents consistently elected tribal chiefs to the Legislature, an act which only strengthened the legitimacy of their position in a wider variety of social contexts.

A new agent, Patrick B. Sinnott, was appointed the following year and Grand Ronde was reassigned to the Roman Catholic Church (ARCIA 1872b:73). As Indian agent, Sinnott understood his mission to be, “to promote the present policy of the Government for the advancement of the Indians in the habits and industries of civilized life” (ARCIA 1872b:367). To him, this meant eradicating tribal identity and social organization (ARCIA 1874:124-125). One of his first moves as Indian agent at Grand Ronde was to have the land surveyed for allotments. Sinnott was unaware that allotments had already been informally assigned to residents, having received no information about the work of his predecessor at the Agency or Superintendent Meacham. He redistributed the reservation land and assigned new allotments to the residents, forcing many people to abandon the homes they had built with their own funds and labor (ARCIA 1872b:360; 1873:688). That month the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, T. B. Odeneal, who had been present when Sinnott assigned the new allotments, described what had happened.

At least one-half, and perhaps two-thirds, of the lots of land which will be assigned in accordance with the survey have no buildings upon them. Most of the houses, which have been built in clusters, will have to be moved, and in order to do so, many of them will have to be torn down and rebuilt. Quite a large number will have to build

new houses, and all of them will have to do more or less fencing. This will, of course, cost them much labor and some money. (ARCIA 1872b:360)

Sinnott was under the impression that the treaties would expire in 1874 and was therefore eager to have the people on the reservation ready for life as civilized citizens. He formed his goal of citizenship based on an ideal type incompatible with tribal identity. Indeed he believed that the Indians of his agency were almost completely assimilated, having adopted both legislative government and Christianity (ARCIA 1874:317-318). He ignored the fact that the Indians of the Willamette Valley had continued to practice their own religion, often alongside Christianity. He also refused to recognize that tribes had maintained their own governments since before removal and that the current Indian Legislature was an adaptation of those governments. By this time Sinnott's view of tribal identity and leadership at Grand Ronde, which he passed on to federal officials in Washington D.C. through his annual reports, had begun to diverge completely from reality.

In the spring of 1876 Reverend Summers, an Episcopalian friend of Father Croquet, visited the reservation to purchase antiquities from the residents. In his journal he described his visits to the different tribes and it is clear that despite the land redistribution initiated by Sinnott the people on the reservation still lived in distinct tribal neighborhoods in 1876, probably similar to the ones they first settled in 1856 (Hazen 1856, Summers 1994). "Guided by the aged priest we glide rapidly along towards the quarter of some of the less civilized tribes, such as the Umpquas, Tualatins, Cow Creeks and Rogue Rivers" (Summers 1994:26). Here he met Captain John Smith, a spiritual leader and Chief of the Tualatin tribe. Summers also met other leaders at Grand Ronde, including Yamhill Chief Shelkeah, whose status as

tribal chief Summers did not recognize. The following year Summers returned to Grand Ronde to see a Fourth of July parade.

The first to arrive are the Umpqua Tribe, coming from distant parts of the reservation and making their way for some distance down the valley in festive procession, displaying the flags and evergreens that bedeck themselves, their horses and their neatly festooned and painted wagons. Not long after the flutter of their arrival has subsided, another procession winds slowly into sight, from a new direction, and pretty soon we recognize the warlike Rogue-Rivers, all in their most gorgeous garments, led by their redoubtable chief “John”. (Summers 1997:89)

Although he didn’t mention the Willamette Valley tribes by name he did write that the other tribes of the reservation followed the Rogue Rivers in the parade, coming from various other parts of the reservation. Clearly tribal leaders at Grand Ronde occupied ceremonial as well as traditional and elected political status.

Tribal leadership was also a topic of interest for Albert Gatschet, an ethnologist working for the U.S. Geological Survey, who visited Grand Ronde in 1877 to collect data on the tribes living on the reservation. In a manuscript comparing sun worship cross culturally, Gatschet recounted a practice in which young Kalapuyans hopeful of achieving chiefly status invoked the sun.

Young men among the Kalapuyans, who wished to gain success in life, or were about to become initiated into the sacred mysteries, underwent great bodily hardships at night by rambling through the woods, plunging into cold water, rolling heavy stones uphill; and when the dawn appeared on the eastern horizon, they scaled some high elevation to see the sun rise. Then, exhausted as they were they cried to the fiery orb, as he rose above the distant hills: ‘Ayuthlme-i! Make me rich! Make me a chief! Ayuthlme-i.’ (Gatschet 1877)

It is not safe to assume that because this anecdote was recorded in past tense the ritual described was no longer practiced in 1877. Gatschet, like many other 19th century anthropologists, assumed that the people he studied were on the verge of extinction. This

view was informed by an assimilationist paradigm that did not allow him to see the continuation of tribal identity through changes in lifeways.

A Tualatin chief, Yatchkawa or Wapato Dave, who Gatschet described as “an old conjurer of the tribe”, shared myths with the ethnologist.

This cycle consists of four successive generations of mankind in the form in which I have been able to obtain it from an old conjurer of the tribe, named Yatchkawa or Wapato Dave. In his Indian dialect he gave me the mythic cycle as it circulated among his tribe, the Wapatu, Tualati, or Atfalati Indians about forty years ago. His tribe was one of the more populous of the seven tribes of the Kalapuya stock and inhabited the shores of Wapatu Lake...All what remains of the Kalapuya people has been gathered on the Grand Ronde Reservation mostly after the year 1855, when the government concluded a treaty with these Indians.

Although Gatschet’s manuscript is helpful in that he recorded the people who identified with Willamette Valley tribes and continued to hold oral histories of their tribe, the language used demonstrates the anthropologists assimilationist assumptions based on essentialized categories of race and ethnicity, and foreshadows more recent scholarship such as that of Ronald Spores (1993) who likened the post-removal life of Willamette Valley tribes to a “slow spiritual death at Grand Ronde.”

Tribal Extinction or Federal Misrepresentation?

In 1878 Sinnott began enumerating individual tribes in the annual censuses he submitted with annual reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The following year he reported that the reservation was made up of “seventeen remnants of tribes” before making the ironic claim that,

I have now succeeded in entirely dissolving the tribal relations among these Indians, the existence of chiefs having the effect to materially retard their advancement, and it

is now often difficult to ascertain to what tribe some of the younger Indians belong, so completely have they ignored their former chiefs. The Indians having constantly lost respect for their old chiefs, are now acquiring a more general respect for the yearly elected Indian justice of the peace and sheriff. (ARCIA 1879:124-125)

At this point federal administration was completely disconnected from local discourses of tribal identity. Sinnott had already changed the way representatives were elected. Instead of tribal constituencies electing tribal representatives, the reservation was divided up geographically into precincts and voters elected precinct representatives. As a result, representatives could no longer claim to be the leaders of individual tribes on the reservation by virtue of their position in the elected government, at least in the eyes of the federal government. Sinnott's attempt at gerrymandering was unsuccessful however, and tribal chiefs continued to hold office in the Indian Legislature and perform traditional roles in the social organization of Grand Ronde (Grand Ronde Indian Legislature 1878, 1879).

This administrative move represents another stage in a major shift in federal Indian policy from the administration of tribes to the administration of individual Indians. By 1880 Indian agents had already collected detailed statistics on the residents of the reservation through yearly censuses. Tribal identity had become irrelevant to the federal administration and was no longer recorded during the annual census. However, this change in administration does not correspond to a loss of tribal identity. Tribal leaders and their families continued to take on governing responsibilities at Grand Ronde, and were often the ones elected to the Legislature. Almost all of the precinct representatives serving in 1878 had either signed a treaty, served as a tribal representative in previous legislatures or both. By voting in precinct elections the tribes of Grand Ronde were adapting tribal identity to changing contexts

In 1880 the federal government initiated a plan to establish a police force on each reservation across the United States. Sinnott responded to this request by explaining that there was no need for a police force at Grand Ronde because all disputes were settled by the Indian Sheriff, Attorney and Justice of the Peace (ARCIA 1880:138). Indeed the Indians of Grand Ronde were very reluctant to give up their elected government for an agency appointed police force and effectively resisted implementation of the new policy for five years, but, in 1885 Sinnott reported that he had finally convinced the Indians to give up their elected government, and adopt the judiciary and police system required by the federal government. Like previous administrative changes, this change in policy did not destroy tribal leadership. Instead, the judges Sinnott appointed, Frank Quenel, John Smith and John Wacheno, had all served in the elected government. They were the descendants, either by blood or by marriage, of treaty signers and had inherited the role of tribal leadership from traditional chiefs. This change was simply another adaptation of tribal leadership to better mediate between tribes and the federal Government. A photo taken of the Indian Police at Grand Ronde in 1890 shows remarkable continuity in tribal leadership up until that point (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Indian Police, Grand Ronde 1890 (l. to r.) Foster Wacheno, Robert Metcalf, James Foster, Joseph Shangaretta (the judge, seated), Isaac Stevens, David Leno, Frank Quenel (Munnick and Beckham 1987)

As tribal leadership transformed to fit federal regulations, the Willamette Valley tribes continued to adjust tribal membership through official adoption processes. The accuracy of tribal rolls became more important as tribes anticipated and prepared for changes in federal Indian policy. The Willamette Valley treaty included a section on breaking up the reservation into individual allotments and tribal leaders had been demanding allotments with legal title to back up Indian claims to ownership for years. For them this seemed to be the only way to ensure a permanent land base for their tribes (Crawford 1869). By 1880 Sinnott made it clear that he believed the Indians at Grand Ronde to be ready for this next stage in what he saw as a process of assimilation. In order to ensure that all tribal members were included in the upcoming allotment process, the Willamette Valley Indians sent out search

parties to find members of their tribes who lived off of the reservation. One of the families they searched for was that of Mary Anne Voutrin.

Mary Anne Voutrin's mother was Marysville Kalapuya and her father was Iroquois. Before the reservation was created she married a Hudson's Bay Company man named Brule who lived on French Prairie. The couple moved to Cowlitz Prairie and then to what is now British Columbia. The rest of her family stayed in Oregon and was removed to Grand Ronde with the Marysville Indians. In British Columbia, Mary Anne raised a family with Brule and after he died she married a French Canadian named John Baptiste Voutrin. Mary Anne had five children with John Baptiste and eventually moved her family back to French Prairie (Applegate 1905).

In 1881 her relatives at Grand Ronde, including her brother Louis Marchelle, found her on French Prairie and brought her to Grand Ronde. Chief Shangaretta took her to Agent Sinnott and asked to have her and her children added to the Marysville roll. At the time nobody objected to her or her children being recognized as part of the Marysville tribe. James Winslow, a Clackamas man by adoption, recalled the decision, made years after her arrival, to allot land to Mary Anne and the children she had brought to Grand Ronde with her.

After Mrs. Voutrin came in, Agent McClane and an inspector came into the government shop when I was at work and the question came up about whether Mrs. Voutrin could claim her rights with her tribe her and Mr. McClane asked me what I thought. The shop was full of Indians at the time. I said she had lots of relatives here and that the Indians seemed glad to have her back. In fact they had gathered up the teams and went after her and her family and I saw no reason why she should not be recognized by her tribe. No Indian present made any objection and Mr. McClane, who was the agent, said if the Indians did not object to her he saw no reason why he should. (Applegate 1905)

Although Mary Anne Voutrin was Marysville and her husband was French Canadian, their children were full members of the Marysville tribe. In 1888 when the Indian agent at Grand Ronde began recording tribal enrollment on his annual census in preparation for the implementation of the General Allotment Act, the Voutrin family was recorded as part of the Marysville tribe (McClane 1888). The family had maintained its relationship with Mary Anne Voutrin's tribe and was welcomed on the reservation by friends and relatives.

Mary Anne Voutrin's case exemplifies the informal practices of the Willamette Valley tribes that helped reconcile large scale formalized policies with local needs. These informal practices, which were often left unrecorded, involved adaptations in tribal identity that made it possible for tribes to resist assimilation and continue through policy changes. The period from 1869 to 1885 also saw important adaptations in tribal leadership for the Indians of the Willamette Valley. Chiefs expanded their role as mediators between tribes and the federal government and adopted a representative legislature that facilitated communication with federal officials in Oregon and Washington D.C. For the federal government this period was characterized by major changes in policy as it became more convenient to administer individuals as members of treaty tribes instead of tribes as inheritors of certain rights. The trend towards administration of discrete persons rather than discrete tribes continued through the end of the 19th century. In the following years this shift was driven by another change in policy, the General Allotment Act, which required standardized inheritance laws and family structures similar to those practiced by European Americans and theorized by state laws.

Chapter 5: Allotments, Inheritance and Tribal Membership

Sinnott was replaced by John McClane in 1886, on the eve of another major shift in federal Indian policy. By this time Grant's Peace Policy had been abandoned and replaced with a plan for what many believed to be the final stage in Indian assimilation. In 1887 the U.S. Government, believing most Indians to be ready for the next stage in the assimilation process, passed the General Allotment Act, which made the way for negotiations which would allow the U.S. government to break up reservations into individual allotments and to sell the remaining land to European American settlers [24 Stat. 388-91]. For the Willamette Valley tribes at Grand Ronde, the act clarified and reaffirmed the allotment policy included in their 1855 treaty [10 Stat. 1143]. Although allotments had been surveyed, assigned and reassigned several times at Grand Ronde, the reservation legally remained the property of the U.S. government, held in trust for the tribes of Grand Ronde and ownership of allotments was not legally binding (ARCIA 1860: 216; 1863:254; 1866:80; 1872b:147; 1873:688, 1879:124; 1891:369; 1895:259). Unlike previous allotments, those issued under the General Allotment Act were theoretically intended to lead to the transfer of legal title of reservation land to individual Indians.

Under the Act, a small portion of unallotted reservation land would continue to be held in trust by the U.S. government for the Grand Ronde in order to provide land for continued services intended to promote civilization among the Indians such as missions and schools. Indians were to be given the opportunity to choose their own allotments, but if one failed to do so an allotment would be chosen for him or her. Indians not living on

reservations also legally had the option to choose an allotment for themselves. The allotted lands were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time allottees would receive legal title their land. The act also promised citizenship to Indians who took up allotments, maintained them through the allotment process and were granted legal title to their land. The plan was for every Indian over 18 to be an assimilated, settled citizen within the next 25 years [24 Stat. 388-91].

At Grand Ronde allotments were assigned by a special allotting agent, Colonel Edward Collins, with the help of Agent McClane in the summer of 1889 (ARCIA 1889:18). In the process of assigning allotments, these two men decided who belonged to the Grand Ronde Agency and who did not. Although assigning allotments based on tribal membership should have been a straightforward exercise, there were several individuals who held ambiguous positions on the reservation and the agents sometimes made decisions that seemed arbitrary to the residents of Grand Ronde.

McClane was the first Indian agent at Grand Ronde to recognize the racial category of “half-breeds”. Throughout his time as Indian agent, 1886-1889, he rarely mentioned tribes in his annual reports, preferring to frame his report in terms of “half-breeds” as a group distinct from “Indians” (ARCIA 1886:209-212, 1887:184-185, 1888:203-206, 1889:269-270). Indeed he preferred to ignore tribal identity even going so far as to assert that “this tribe business should be done away with: as far as I am concerned I ignore it except in my reports. I do not recognize chiefs or tribes in my intercourse with them. I do not think it is the way to civilize them” (ARCIA 1889:269).

Blood quantum was becoming a widely used measure of Indian identity for the federal government, and legislation following the General Allotment Act defined individuals qualifying for allotments in terms of blood quantum (Gould 2001:720). Perhaps McClane was also aware of this issue because of his familiarity with the reservation previous to his appointment as Indian agent (ARCIA 1886:202). At the time there were many people of mixed descent on the tribal rolls who belonged to tribes by virtue of birth or adoption (McClane 1886, 1887; Sinnott 1885). This view of tribal identity did not fit neatly within McClane's assimilationist paradigm. In 1887, two years before the arrival of the allotting agent, he reported that "half-breeds claim to have joined the different tribes", implying that their status on tribal rolls might be questionable (ARCIA 1887:184). The race issue became increasingly important for Indian agents and residents as Grand Ronde prepared for the General Allotment Act to be implemented on the reservation.

Tribal Membership and Treaty Rights

For the residents of Grand Ronde in the 1880s, the issue of who would be assigned an allotment was contentious. All tribal members were entitled to have a portion of the reservation allotted to them. All of the land that was not allotted was sold and the payment was to be shared equally between all tribal members, adding to the weight of the decisions made by the agents. The Indians living at Grand Ronde understood it to be reserved to them based on their tribes' treaties with the federal government, a fact which seemed lost to the Indian agents working on the reservation at the time (Applegate 1905).

Mary Mercier's tribal identity and allotment status provides one example of the issues associated with Indian agents, instead of tribes, holding the final administrative power to determine inclusion on tribal rolls. In her case the Indian agent and special allotting agent added her name to the Clackamas tribal roll without the approval of the tribe. She was the daughter of Sophie Jondreau from the Oregon City tribe and Charley Petit who had been adopted into his wife's tribe in the 1860s. Mary grew up on the reservation and was still in school at Grand Ronde when she married Francis Mercier, Father Adrien Croquet's nephew and a naturalized U.S. citizen born in Belgium (Lewis 2009b). Mary and Francis lived just outside of the reservation boundary for several years before allotments were made. Mary's husband knew Agent McClane and went to talk to him when allotments were being assigned about getting land allotted to his wife and children. McClane and Collins, the allotting agent, recognized the family as belonging to the Clackamas tribe and allotted land to Mary and her children (Applegate 1905).

Many people claimed that after Mary married Francis Mercier she shunned her tribe and avoided associating with her Indian family while she was living off the reservation. They objected to her receiving an allotment because her husband was a citizen and had received land off of the reservation. She was not welcomed as a member of the Oregon City tribe and treaty rights were challenged by the residents of Grand Ronde, including the Clackamas tribe whose rights she now shared. This was not because of her blood quantum but because she had left the tribe and given up her status as an Oregon City Indian. Indeed her brother's status

as an Oregon City Indian went unchallenged. James Winslow explained the logic behind these peoples' objection to Mary Mercier's allotment, but not those of her brothers or sisters.

Chief Wacheno objected to people having land allotted to them that he thought had lost their rights by going outside but the allotting agent would not hear the complaints of Indians. Said he would have his own way about allotments and that he would lock up any people who objected and he threatened to lock Wacheno in the guard house. Mary's husband was a citizen and we thought she had lost her rights by leaving her people and living with him outside. (Applegate 1905)

Mary's case highlights the extent to which federal records had begun to misrepresent tribal identity at Grand Ronde by the end of the 19th century: She was raised by her Oregon City parents and neither her nor her children had been adopted into the Clackamas tribe. Yet, when the residents of Grand Ronde told federal agents that she was no longer a tribal member, they enrolled her as they would an adopted Clackamas.

The Mercier family's experience with tribal enrollment was unique, but changes in tribal identity were not uncommon. The Willamette Valley tribes were much more open to adoption and inclusive regarding people of mixed descent than other tribes on the reservation and these transformations and clarifications of tribal identity often appear in the ethnohistorical record as official adoptions when individuals came to the reservation that might not have otherwise been able to exercise rights at Grand Ronde. This was the case for many people who were officially adopted, including Susan and William Baker, and Mary Anne Voutrin. Indeed, as was the case for Charles Petit, when men married into a Willamette Valley tribe they were often officially adopted. There were however, individuals who moved from one tribe at Grand Ronde to another for whom changes in tribal identity don't appear so obviously in the ethnohistorical record. These are cases in which a person born on the

reservation as a member of one tribe later associated more strongly with another tribe at Grand Ronde, often as a result of marriage.

One example of this is the case of Andrew Smith, whose father was European American and whose mother was Rogue River. Andrew left the reservation several times before returning permanently to live with the granddaughter of Marysville chief, Joseph Shangaretta. Andrew told his story in 1905.

My mother's name was Betsy Smith. When I was a little boy, a brother to the Indian Agent took me away without my mother's knowledge and I remained away several years. I was too small to know or remember about my people then. Finally a white man named Ellis Walker told me where I belonged and that my mother was still alive and I came back to see her, but only stayed a little while. She had a husband to look out for her and did not need me. I stayed away a year or so and came back again but remained a little while...I heard that my mother's husband was dead and came back to look after her. I only stayed a few days, but the next spring I came back for good, married, and have ever since remained here on the reservation with my people. I went to Agent McClane with several of my friends who knew my people, claimed my rights and was given an allotment. While I was away I had not taken land, voted, or in any other way exercised the rights of a citizen. (Applegate 1905)

Frank Quinel pointed out that the reason Andrew Smith was taken away was because the Rogue Rivers thought he should be killed. Harriet Lindsay, Andrew's cousin, mentioned that Betsey Smith hid him every morning so that the Rogue River warriors could not find him and kill him. Bill Miller, the Indian agent's brother, agreed to keep the child safe and cared for him on the reservation for a short time before taking him away without his mother's permission. Despite his mother's letters demanding the return of her son, Miller never told Andrew Smith where he belonged. When Andrew found out that his mother was living on the Grand Ronde Reservation, he returned to see her four times before marrying into a Marysville family and permanently settling at Grand Ronde. Andrew Smith married Jane

Menard, Joseph Shangaretta's granddaughter, in 1886. The couple lived with Betsey Smith until her death around 1895. Clearly Andrew Smith did not reject his family, but there is little evidence for a continuing relationship with the Rogue River tribe through Andrew Smith's adult life.

Although agency records indicated that Andrew and Jane Smith's family was Rogue River, there is evidence that the family associated more with his wife's tribe after his return to the reservation. It is probable that the tribal designation recorded by the Indian agent reflected the agent's ideas about patrilineal descent rather than tribal self-identification. In his testimony Andrew Smith mentioned that Cow Creek Jake, and John Smith, a Shasta man, were the ones who helped identify him to the Indian agent upon his return to the reservation. It is interesting that there is no mention of Rogue River people helping him become a recognized member of the tribe. Andrew Smith's disassociation with the Rogue River tribe is further evidenced in Catholic Church records. His wife's tribe and other Willamette Valley people consistently appear as godparents to his children and in other Catholic ceremonies recorded by Father Croquet. If Andrew Smith was adopted into the Marysville tribe, this did not appear in any federal or Church records. There was no reason for the Indian agent or Father Croquet to take note of this change. By 1886, when Andrew Smith was first entered into Catholic Church records, Father Croquet no longer recorded the tribal identity of his parishioners. Federal officials were only concerned about adoptions that affected an individual's rights at Grand Ronde. Because Andrew Smith could claim rights by virtue of his Rogue River mother, he did not need to be officially adopted into the Marysville tribe.

Problems of Ethnology and Administration

The two examples described above are indicative of a growing disconnect between tribal identity as it was practiced in the late 1880s and tribal identity as it was recorded in tribal rolls prepared for allotments. As this disconnect grew, the residents of Grand Ronde continued to resist the assimilationist policies of the federal government that required them to give up their tribal identity and social organization. Their refusal to comply created confusion for federal administrators. In 1893 John Brentano was appointed Indian agent at Grand Ronde. During his time on the reservation Brentano consistently ignored tribal identity and focused instead on racial categories when making administrative decisions, even going so far as to assigning agency jobs based on blood quantum (ARCIA 1895:259). His refusal to recognize tribal identity and social organization created confusion for Brentano when he tried to enforce standardized family names and relationships.

One of the greatest causes of trouble in the future is the fact that they do not seem to attach any value to their relationship and names. In many cases there are several classes of persons living in the same house, yet belonging to different families. They are in no way related; but they all go under the same name. It is not the name of perhaps half of them, and in a few years no one will be able to tell what their real names are, or how they are related, if related at all. To all appearances in twenty years from now many will be living that have lands allotted to them and they will not know it. In twenty years from now there will be a rich harvest for lawyers on this reservation, unless I am greatly mistaken. It is all confusion now, and it is hard to tell how they are related. What will it be in twenty years from now, when the old inhabitants are gone? In many cases parents die and their children are absorbed in other families and have taken the names of the family that raises them. (ARCIA 1895:259)

This apparent lack of standardization was a problem for Brentano as he tried to enforce Oregon State inheritance laws and eradicate traditional inheritance practices.

A matter that is greatly misunderstood among these people is the right of inheritance. I have, as far as practicable, made them comply with the statutes of the State of Oregon. Many of them desire to follow their old customs and are by no means satisfied when they find that they must comply with the laws of the whites. Under the old custom everybody took what he could get, regardless of any claim of relationship and often ignoring wife and children. (ARCIA 1895:259)

That these two issues became problematic simultaneously, and at a time when land had been recently allotted with the possibility of legal title is directly in line with Scott's descriptive model of government policy and administration. It is clear from residents' testimony in 1905 that the residents of Grand Ronde did not lose track of their "real names", family relations or tribal identities, as assumed by Brentano. By the mid-1890s the identities and social organization at Grand Ronde was completely illegible to the federal government. The succession of Indian agents reported within their own paradigm on their success at assimilating the Indians at Grand Ronde. They omitted *mētis*, the intricacies of the constant negotiation and reconstruction of tribal identity and social organization, because these practices although essential to the implementation of federal policy on a local level were not legible in the context of formalized regulations. This resulted in a complete disconnect between tribal identity as it was practiced locally and tribal identity as it appeared in federal reports.

The loss of tribal identity among the Willamette Valley Indians at Grand Ronde described in federal and Catholic records appears in ethnographic accounts for some of the same reasons. One example of this is Leo Frachtenberg, an ethnologist and student of Franz Boas who made two brief visits to Grand Ronde in 1914. His primary task was to confirm and correct the Tualatin materials gathered at Grand Ronde in 1877 by ethnologist Albert

Gatschet (Jacobs, et al. 1945:145). Neither of the anthropologists spent enough time on the reservation to become familiar with the social organization or tribal identities at Grand Ronde. Like many anthropologists of their time, their primary aim was to collect data on as many tribes as possible before they became extinct. The Indians Frachtenberg talked to were living modern 20th century lives, a practice that was incompatible with the anthropologist's notion of tribal identity. The idea that the Willamette Valley tribes were endangered races came out of a view of tribal identity as an ideal type, a view that did not allow for adaptation or change.

In an interview with Frachtenberg, William Hartless, a Marysville Kalapuya man who had lived at Grand Ronde, discussed the Kalapuya tribes of the Willamette Valley, what their English and Marysville names were, and where they had resided before removal to Grand Ronde (Frachtenberg 1923). He also described the traditional role of the Kalapuya chiefs. Like the early Indian Legislature, traditional chiefs had been elected by the people on the basis of their connections to family and acquaintances. When a chief died, his son was usually elected to succeed him. There was no chief over all of the Kalapuya tribes of the Willamette Valley, but rather each band had three chiefs, two of whom acted as intertribal mediators. Hartless' description of the role of chiefs and their position in tribal social organization was very similar to the role and position of chiefs in the Grand Ronde Indian Legislature. Had Frachtenberg spent more time with William Hartless he may have recognized these similarities, but his assimilationist assumptions framed his research in a way that prevented this from happening.

In a letter to his research supervisor, Franz Boas, Frachtenberg wrote about the progress of his field work in Oregon and expressed his confusion with some of the Marysville texts he had collected.

I have thus far collected seventeen texts of which all but the last three are native traditions belonging chiefly to the Coyote cycle. The last three texts are undoubtedly French fairy tales. I am led to this conclusion by the general character of their subject matter, and above all by the name of the hero who is called Ptciza... There is no doubt in my mind that this name represents a corruption of the French Petit Jean... As far as their subject matter is concerned, they are told very poorly and are full of English and French terms due, undoubtedly, to the fact that the informant had not spoken her language for a considerable period. (Frachtenberg 1914)

This excerpt demonstrates an attitude towards culture change typical of Frachtenberg's understanding of the nature of tribal identity. The Indians of the Willamette Valley, including the Marysville, had traded with and intermarried with French Canadians since the Astorians arrived in the lower Columbia region in 1811. Instead of viewing the integration of French stories into the Marysville repertoire as the normal outcome of a century of intense contact and intermarriage, he saw it as a loss of authenticity. Rather than considering the texts "native traditions" as he described the other texts given to him by the same individual, he described them as corruptions of a well known French fairy tale. The two categories were, to Frachtenberg, mutually exclusive and had only been mixed because the texts were "told very poorly". He attributed the inclusion of English and French words to the fact that the informant had forgotten her language. These attitudes were not confined to Frachtenberg alone; they represent a major trend in 19th and early 20th century anthropological theories of identity.

Like many of his contemporaries, Frachtenberg studied a wide variety of linguistic communities and firmly believed that the cultures he studied would soon be extinct. He interpreted his experience at Grand Ronde within this framework and reported that he had, “found but a mere handful of survivors; hence the time is not far off when the stock will become extinct” (American Bureau of Ethnology 1923:21). Despite this fact, he found the Tualatin, Yamhill, Luckiamute, Marysville, Yoncalla, Pudding River and Santiam tribes all speaking distinct dialects of the Kalapuya language. Like his counterparts in the federal government, he was unwilling to accept the authenticity of these tribes’ adaptation to life on the reservation. He reported that, “Long and continued contact of the Kalapuya Indians with white settlers has resulted in a complete breaking down of the native culture and mode of living” (American Bureau of Ethnology 1923:21). His conclusion was that there was very little ethnologic data to be extracted; most of what he had collected had been “obtained through hearsay.” He failed to recognize the fact that one of his informants, Louisa Selky, had been married to Chief Shelkeah, who had signed the Willamette Valley treaty for the Yamhill tribe. Certainly his informants all had participated in the adaptations and maintenance of tribal identity that took place during the first fifty years of life on the Grand Ronde Reservation.

I suggest that the issue was not lack of data, but an assimilationist perspective and lack of information that could be easily compared across cultures. This problem was similar to that encountered by federal Indian agents who were asked to extract standardized information from the agencies they administered. Both arise out of the near impossibility of

accurately representing tribal identity in institutionalized records intended for use thousands of miles away.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Most cultural anthropologists today work within a relational paradigm and accept ethnic identity as discursively constructed. It is difficult for modern scholars working within this framework to uncover past identities because the relationships they study no longer exist. Ethnohistorians must rely on available data which often provides a limited perspective on the social relationships they aim to study. In the last 20 years most scholars who have written on 19th century identity at Grand Ronde view identity as relational and try to incorporate indigenous perspectives. However, they must rely on ethnohistorical data consisting mainly of materials written by European and European American missionaries, federal officials and anthropologists, and the people who created most of this ethnohistorical data tended to systematically exclude descriptions of seemingly ambiguous tribal adaptations in favor of descriptions of compliance or noncompliance with standardized rules or theories made according to their own essentialist administrative categories. Some of the biases inherent in these data make it into today's narratives of tribal identity at Grand Ronde.

Much of the data on tribal identity at Grand Ronde in the 19th century were created through the administrative processes of the government, church or academy. These data are a product of the administrative discourses within which they were produced. Galloway (2006) demonstrated the importance of taking administrative context into account when using such texts as ethnohistorical data. The nature of the relationships out of which ethnohistorical data is produced was examined in more depth by Sarris (1993), who focused on the relational nature of oral texts, pointing out that linguistic anthropologists' attempts to extract definitive,

authentic versions of oral texts, like the ones collected by Gatschet and Frachtenberg, result in authoritative versions native only to the speaker-fieldworker pair (Sarris 1993:22). The processes Sarris examined are not unique to anthropology. At Grand Ronde they also affected the tribal identities described in 19th century federal and Catholic records of Willamette Valley tribal identity.

The relationships out of which ethnohistorical data are produced were not equal. Cruickshank (2005) argued that deep narrative differences between indigenous, colonial and post-colonial accounts can be hidden by superficial similarities which are interpreted differently by interested parties sometimes within very different paradigms. Indigenous perspectives are often appropriated and recast in terms legible within hegemonic paradigms, becoming a tool for colonialism (Cruickshank 2005:11, 259). This was certainly the case for changes in Willamette Valley tribal identity at Grand Ronde during the 19th century. For the tribes involved, these changes were necessary adaptations to changing contexts, but for those who produced most of the written records within administrative contexts that included nationally standardized records management practices, these changes were indications of assimilation. Although modern scholars often rely on this data, few have critically approached these administrative cultures at Grand Ronde and their relationships with tribal identity.

There is a need for a critical ethnohistorical theory of identity that takes into account the processes through which ethnohistorical data becomes available to modern scholars. Scott (1998) proposed a model of the relationship between local practices and large scale

administrative programs, such as those of the federal government, Catholic Church and academic anthropology, that provides insight into the nature of the identities preserved as tribal names in ethnohistorical data. This approach is useful because it emphasizes the fact that the tribal names that come to modern scholars in written records don't necessarily reflect the tribal identities of the people described in these records.

In the context of 19th century reservation life, the names associated with Willamette Valley tribal identities were often appropriated by missionaries, federal officials and anthropologists and then recast in an essentialist paradigm shared by missionaries, the U.S. Government and academic institutions. As these institutions expanded, either in breadth or depth of organization and control, tribal adaptations such as official and unofficial tribal adoption practices and the Grand Ronde Indian Legislature became increasingly illegible within the administrative contexts of church, state and academy. The examples in chapters three, four and five demonstrate the gradual accumulation of administrative illegibility surrounding Willamette Valley tribal identity at Grand Ronde. In the 1870s the Indian agent, missionary and anthropologist who worked on the reservation, working within an essentialist worldview where adaptations to changing contexts meant loss of identity, witnessed and recorded the "dissolution" of tribal identity. Their views were canonized through the administrative processes of the Catholic Church, the Office of Indian Affairs and the United States Geological Survey and by the mid 1890s the identities and social organization of Willamette Valley tribes at Grand Ronde were completely illegible to the federal government.

19th century anthropologists and federal officials who wrote about Grand Ronde omitted mētis, the intricacies of the constant negotiation and reconstruction of Willamette Valley tribal identity and social organization, because these practices, although essential to the preservation and collection of ethnographic data and the implementation of federal policy on a local level, did not make sense in the context of formalized regulations or theories both of which were based on essentialist views of identity. This resulted in a complete disconnect between Willamette Valley tribal identity as it was practiced locally as a social identity and tribal identity as it appears in the ethnohistorical record according to essentialist categories. During this period the federal government and local Indian agents implemented a series of policies aimed at breaking down tribal distinctions at the Grand Ronde Reservation. Scholars often assume this process was successful and continue to write about the history of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (CTGR) as if tribal boundaries dissolved by the end of the 19th century or never existed (Leavelle 1998, Merrill and Hajda 2007, Reddick 2000). This assumption is supported by the well documented opinions of various Indian agents, school superintendents, and other federal officials. There has been little in depth analysis of the biases represented in these documentary sources and the assimilationist assumptions implicit in the ethnohistorical record have led many to misunderstand the history of tribal identity at Grand Ronde.

Although European-American officials misunderstood the complexities of tribal identity on the reservation between 1855 and 1901 and today's scholars continue this tradition, tribal identity did not disappear at Grand Ronde. Federal policies did not lead to the

demise of tribal participation and identity. Instead, tribes adapted their membership and leadership practices to changes in social and political context. Federal officials, missionaries and anthropologists who visited the reservation saw what they expected to see. The Indians had settled down and built homes for their families on their own initiative. They had started farms, built a school and requested a church. To most European-Americans, functioning tribes seemed not just incongruous but completely incompatible with these clear signs of civilization. This view was not shared by the majority of the reservation residents in the 19th century or the majority of CTGR tribal members in the 21st century.

The continuation and adaptation of tribal identity after removal is particularly relevant today as CTGR is beginning once again to publicly assert the identity of its constituent tribes, reeducating southern northwest coast with knowledge of its long history. As Native American confederations, like that at Grand Ronde, recover from the termination policies of the mid 20th century and regain the ability to exercise their rights as sovereign nations, they are once again taking an active role in the communities now present in their traditional lands. By continuing to omit *mētis* from narratives of identity at Grand Ronde, academics maintain these canonical misrepresentations of the history of the community. Although this may be unintentional, it profoundly affects not only CTGR members and the fields of history and anthropology, but also the wider community of western Oregon.

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