

# Density Variations of Indian Placenames: Spokane County and the State of Washington

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## Abstract

This is a preliminary study to examine the density of indigenous Indian placenames as a possible indicator of the relative acceptance of Indian presence by the immigrant European culture in North America. Seven counties of the State of Washington are compared statistically. Spokane County is used as the primary example because it has the lowest density of Indian names and because its history illustrates the deliberate removal of a relatively large number of indigenous people. Examples of strife in other counties suggest that the low density of Indian names in Spokane is not linked to the simple fact of conflict, but to explicit public policy and political attitudes. Broader statistical studies are recommended

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Most placename studies in the United States show extensive current use of names derived from Native American languages. Virgil Vogel has pursued the subject with most vigor in recent years and has demonstrated a great range of Native American name types, including direct borrowings, translations of Indian names, coinages with Indian phonemes, descriptions of Indian life, commemoration of Indian leaders and events, and, of course, transfers from one part of the country to another (*Iowa* and *Michigan*). Clearly, the influence of Native American culture during the times of exploration, early settlement, and map making was pervasive and continues as an important part of our heritage.

However, this influence is more obvious in some areas of our country than in others, and insofar as it may be reflected in placenames, it is distinctly less obvious in Spokane County, Washington, than in other counties within the state or, as might be hypothesized, across the nation. In a preliminary study of placenames in the western half of Whatcom County, Washington, conducted in 1967, I counted eighteen placenames plus shifts and displacements drawn from the regional Indian languages. These eighteen Indian names emerged from a relatively small total in-

ventory of 163, and so represent a frequency of 11.04%. The current study of Spokane County shows a maximum of four placenames derived from the indigenous language, and no more than one of those clearly predates the European influx. This study includes a total inventory of 723 placenames, and so the four Indian names represent a frequency of 0.55%. Thus, the frequency of Indian placenames in Whatcom County is more than twenty times greater than in Spokane County, even though both areas had comparable Indian populations during the early years of settlement.

The relative absence of Indian names in Spokane County is striking, not only in comparison to Whatcom County but also in comparison to other counties surveyed in the State of Washington. In the remainder of this paper I will use Spokane County as a touchstone by which to see placenames as a reflection of local history and of the cultural relations between the Indian and European peoples. My general hypothesis is that current placenames are products of the European culture and that the frequency of Indian place names reflects the relative acceptance of the Indian presence, physical and cultural, by the immigrant European peoples. Quantitative comparisons with six other selected counties within the state confirm the very low frequency in Spokane County. At the end I make suggestions for broader statistical comparisons.

To compare the frequencies or densities of Indian placenames in different areas, it is, of course, necessary to define "Indian placenames" as precisely as possible. That is to say, we need to include the same kinds of things in our category as we count the placenames of different areas. Vogel uses the broadest possible definition, from "names given to places by the Indians themselves, including translations of those names into European languages," to "placenames that are English or French but that commemorate historical or legendary events involving" Indians (*Michigan* vii-viii). As this last phrase suggests, the purpose of Vogel's definition is to reflect in the richest and most detailed manner possible the impact of all Native American tribes on our current modes of thought—not just the direct effects of their languages and culture but also the impact of what they sometimes came to be purely in the imaginations of the Europeans.

The inclusiveness of such a definition clearly focuses on the consciousness of the dominant European culture of the twentieth century, mixing what is essentially Indian and what is a part of the immigrant cul-

ture in a given area, categorizing European perceptions along with Native American languages and experience. The purpose of this study, by contrast, is to look at the two cultures as separate but interactive entities and to examine names that are or were in official use as possible indicators of the relationships between the two cultures within distinct areas and periods of time. Therefore, it is important that the definition of “Indian” placenames in this paper maintain a distinction between the two cultures at the local level. The simplest way of doing so is linguistically, and the definition used here for quantitative comparisons will be that an “Indian” placename is any placename that is derived from the indigenous Indian language. The advantages of such a definition may become more apparent after a brief sketch of the names and history of Spokane County.

The word *Spokane* is derived from Illim-Spukani, chief of the Indian people who lived at the falls of the Spokane River when Ross Cox, David Thompson, and others began trading in the area between 1808 and 1811 (Fargo 51-52). On May 6, 1806, Lewis and Clark recorded as *Skeet-somish* three Indians who had traveled to greet them (Lewis 990), a term which is similar to *Skeetshoo*, a name David Thompson used in 1811 to refer to the Indians and the river in what is now downtown Spokane (Thompson 260). The Indians, according to trappers of that time, referred to the general area where they lived as *Stlu-put-qu*, meaning swift waters, and they referred to themselves as *Sin-ho-man-na-ish*, meaning salmon-trout people (Fargo 51). Their economy depended on salmon caught in woven baskets as the salmon jumped the falls.

In 1810 the Northwest Fur Company built a trading post at the confluence of the Spokane River and the Little Spokane River. The cultures and economies of the traders and Indians quickly became interdependent and the relationships prospered. The traders—very few in number—all married Indian women and brought to the Indian culture wool blankets, iron pots, seeds for crops, and guns for hunting. They collected beaver pelts from the Indians, which sold in Europe for about 17 times the equivalent European retail price for the goods the Indians received in exchange (Cox 199). The traders and the Indians prospered together for a few short years, 1808-1826, until the Spokane House had to be closed for lack of beaver. As illustrated above, it appears that many indigenous Indian terms were used by the trappers to describe the area;

however, with one possible exception, all were displaced by the settlers of a later period.<sup>1</sup>

The word *Spukani* was adjectival rather than nominal as used by the Indians. Its survival as a placename reflects the American penchant for naming things in commemoration of someone. *Spukani* meant “broken” or “refracted sunlight,” and the image thereby referred to was the water spray in the sunlight from beautiful Spokane Falls. The term could also be used in an associative sense to refer to the people who lived nearby. *Illim* meant “the son of.” Thus, *Illim Spukani* meant “son of the refracted sunlight” and was used as the name of the local chief (i.e., the most persuasive leader). The traders used *Spukani* as a family name and named their trading post in honor of the local chief. Suppliers and wandering trappers referred to the general area as the Spokane area, spelling the word with a final *e* to indicate the soft [i] sound, a sound which was soon dropped by the English speakers unfamiliar with the indigenous language (Fuller 351-2; Durham 643; Cox 182-3).

Other closely related bands of Indians who lived both above and below the falls felt respect but no form of subservience to Illim Spukani. The Indian culture was not authoritarian. However, the name Spokane has been retained because it was used from the very beginning of European settlement to designate a center of population and commerce (Fargo 9; Ruby 39). Easy money, guns, and blankets could not last longer than the supply of beaver. In 1825, Sir George Simpson of the Hudson Bay Company convinced Chief Spukani that he should send his thirteen-year-old and youngest son, Ilu-am-hu Spukani, meaning “little son of the son of refracted sunlight,” to Red River Mission School in Winnipeg, Canada, to learn the white man’s culture and to pass it on to his people (Fargo 52-3; Ruby 53-55). With the eradication of beaver, some Indians were themselves aware that their culture had to change from hunting and gathering if products and supplies were to be bought from the European culture. Ilu-am-hu returned five years later with the techniques of agriculture in his head, Christianity in his heart, and school books in his hands. He also had a new name, *Spokane Garry*—an interesting inversion of presumptive family and given names, suggesting, perhaps, the descriptive nature of the term *Spukani*.

Spokane Garry started two schools in his lifetime and helped missionaries when they tried to establish their own. Many of the Indians took up some degree of agriculture as urged, but the unfortunate fact is

that the European culture had mixed feelings about their economic conversion. Along with or shortly behind the missionaries came settlers, and the settlers had distinctly fewer economic transactions with the Indians than the trappers. Their interest was in securing the best land. It could be argued that by teaching his people agriculture Spokane Garry unwittingly laid the seeds for later heartbreak because it set both cultures in competition for the same thing – namely, the best land.

The crucial series of events which led to the eventual eviction of the Spokane Indians from their native habitat in both name and fact began in 1847. The Whitman massacre (150 miles away) sent panic through all the regional missions and created fear in the hearts of the settlers, who were generally new to the area and unfamiliar with the Indians. In 1850, the Land Donation Act allowed settlement upon any “unoccupied land,” which encouraged, perhaps inadvertently, encroachments on hunting lands, and even land that might be unoccupied simply by crop rotation. By 1855, the Indians were discussing war, and the territorial Governor, Issac Stevens, tried to get the Indians to sign a treaty ceding land, which they refused (Schlicke 114-116; 131-132).

However, strife with the Indians was a general phenomenon and, in fact, more of a concern in other parts of the state than in or near Spokane (e.g., Yakima). It is an irony which spites the efforts of leaders like Spokane Garry that strife between the European and Indian cultures converged in a symbolic as well as literal way on the area of Spokane. The battles of 1858 mark the final end of the trading era, during which the Indians maintained control of their own lives and were of value to the European economy (i.e., the trading companies bought their pelts), and the emergence of the settlement era, during which the Indians were denied agrarian status, lost military control, and were physically removed from central areas of commerce. For the Territory of Washington, this cultural change found its epitome in the battles of Spokane.

In May of 1858, Lt. Col. Edward J. Steptoe tried to traverse known Indian territory on what is now the southern border of Spokane County. Although poorly armed, his expedition sought to assert the law and authority of the U.S. government in a small but symbolic criminal case at Ft. Colville. The Indians sought to maintain control of their own land, and Steptoe was nearly annihilated but luckily escaped in the middle of the night with the loss of nine soldiers.

In September of that same year, Col. George Wright, generally an advocate of conciliation with the Indians, led a reprisal force of 650 troops with two cannons and the latest repeater rifles. Although only a few of the *Spokane Falls* Indians had been directly involved in the battle with Col. Steptoe, Col. Wright headed his forces directly for the Falls area as the center of the Indian population. The Indians massed just west of Spokane. Col. Wright attacked, driving them into *Indian Canyon*, killing at least three chiefs and uncounted Indians in the battle. Within a few days Col. Wright asked dissident chiefs to meet with him in what is now called *Hangman Valley*, because when they arrived Col. Wright proceeded to hang those most known for their obstreperousness, fifteen in all. There are now *Hangman Creek*, *Hangman Valley Golf Course*, and other shifts. Col. Wright also marched through *Spokane Valley*, destroyed all Indian crops and food supplies and rounded up and shot their horses, 800 in all and a vital element of the economy (Schlicke 141-196). There is now an historical plaque at *Horse Slaughter Camp*. Clearly his action went beyond the immediate needs of civil order to express a policy for the entire Washington Territory.

More settlers came after the Homestead Act of 1862, and Indian lands were routinely encroached upon by the settlers who had been led to believe that non-European land was open land. In 1872 the Colville Reservation was established, and in 1881 the Spokane Reservation was established. Both lie totally outside what is now Spokane County. Most Spokane Indians refused to move to the reservations until they were paid for the land they occupied, a demand which the government was slow to understand.

Increasingly, commercial development did much to separate the European and Indian cultures. In 1870, a sawmill was built at the falls, and with it began the influx of an entirely different group of people. Their interests were not trading or farming, but real estate sales and industrial development. In 1881, the Northern Pacific Railroad made Spokane the hub for the mining industry of northern Idaho and for the vast stretches of wheat farms. Commercial expansion and immigration was very rapid, and most places were named and or renamed in a few short years—with, of course, many commemorations and grid patterns.

No attempt was made to integrate the Indians into the commercial and industrial development of Spokane. They were simply in the way. In 1887, the government reluctantly acknowledged agrarian status for the

Indians, agreeing to pay \$127,000 to erect houses and purchase cattle, seed, and farm equipment for the reservations so that the Indians would move there. Also, each Indian who was farming five acres or more was to be paid \$5,000, and the older chiefs were to receive \$100 per year for five years (Ruby 192).

Thus, the Spokane Indians were finally persuaded to leave Spokane County. Spokane Garry, the best known chief, moved temporarily to the Coeur d'Alene Reservation, but never received his payments and died in abject poverty.

Of course, the expected pattern of interaction between cultures would be for the subordinate culture to adopt the language and technology of the dominant culture, and such a pattern is easily seen in Spokane placenames. Chief Cornelius and Andrew Seltice were Indian leaders, like Spokane Garry, who adopted Anglo names, and all were later commemorated with placenames in Spokane. These placenames illustrate the adoption by many Indians of the European technology and religion and the approval by the European culture of their doing so. That is to say, in the language of the names we see the acceptance of culture and cultural expression.

Many placenames in Spokane County involve the Indians, but what we see is not a degree of, or a continuum of, "Indianness" (as Vogel suggests in his definition of Indian placenames), but rather the deliberate elimination of "Indianness" by the immigrant culture. It is useful to see the involvement of Indians behind such names as *Indian Canyon*, *Hangman Creek*, *Horseslaughter Camp*, even *Steptoe Butte* and *Ft. Wright College* in order to understand the history of the region. However, such names do not reflect the influence of Indian culture, language, or values. They reflect the language, culture, and values of the European settlers, and suggest rather strongly the rejection of Indian culture. They stand in obvious contrast to the indigenous terms used by the early fur trappers and traders.

Spokane County now has very few names which reflect acceptance of Indian culture. These can be listed in five *ad hoc* categories: 1) associative descriptions, 2) transfers, 3) translations, 4) post-settlement indigenous names, and 5) pre-settlement indigenous names. A limited acceptance of "Indianness" might be seen in associative descriptions of the immigrant language. *Indian Canyon*, *Indian Prairie*, and *Indian Trail* reflect a European perception with very little sense of "Indianness" or

Indian perspective and, in fact, originated with a pejorative usage. Similarly, *Squaw Creek* utilizes a specific term which was originally Indian but is from the Algonquian of eastern North America, not the Salish languages of the Spokane region. In this example, the word *squaw* is already a part of the European vocabulary used to express a European perspective. There are four such examples in the Spokane inventory, and they show a presence of Indians just as *Negro Creek* shows the presence of one black family. While presence certainly indicates a degree of toleration, the absence of the indigenous language also indicates a lack of cultural interaction and considerable social distance.

Similarly, real and legendary Indian terms have been transferred or otherwise employed in twentieth century Spokane placenaming that reflect the general vocabulary of American English, but these show little that is distinctive about the interaction of the two cultures in Spokane County. *Cherokee Bay*, *Pocahontas Bay*, *Manito Park*, and *Minnehaha Park* function primarily as labels, reflecting the romantic associations of civic promoters and real estate developers which we are apt to find in any American city. One name included in this group does have a regional significance but does not come from the local Salish languages—*Sacajawea Junior High School*.

Distinctive features of Indian culture and its role in Spokane County history can be best seen in names taken from the indigenous Indian language or in translations of Indian names or descriptions. For the purposes of discussion, these will be treated as separate types. At most, only four examples remain of names taken from the indigenous language; one possible translation has been displaced. The one name that might be viewed as a translation (or, perhaps, as an indigenous term) is from Chinook jargon: *Camas Prairie*. This term referred to an area (like many in the Pacific Northwest) where Indians from various tribes—but especially from the Spokanes—harvested camas roots for food, and so might be viewed as a translation from a similar term in the local Salish dialect. *Camas Creek* flows into the Spokane River close to the falls, and the U.S. Army named it *Ned-Wauld Creek* for a trapper who lived along its banks. After Col. Wright's expedition, it was renamed *Hangman Creek*. In 1965 the Washington State legislature passed a law officially renaming *Hangman Creek* as *Latah Creek*. *Latah* is an anglicized pronunciation of the Nez Perce word *Lahtoo*, meaning simply "a camping place well supplied with food." However, the Nez Perce people did not frequent this



area. The *Camas Prairie* was long ago plowed into wheatfields and is now most generally referred to as the *Fairfield* area.

There are three placenames drawn from the indigenous language which have been applied after the primary settlement period of the Spokane area. One new name has been drawn from the indigenous Indian language within the last thirty-five years: *Qualchan Road* is a half-mile cut-off in *Hangman Valley*, named after a young, firebrand (and probably murderous) Indian hanged by Col. Wright.<sup>2</sup> The motives or reasons for the naming of this road have not been recorded (so far as I have been able to determine). Clearly, it is an Indian placename that recalls a pivotal event in local history. The newness of the name suggests a continuing interest in the conflict of 1858, and therefore in the interaction of the two cultures. However, the placement of the name does not suggest any particular honor for the individual, and it may serve, perhaps inadvertently, as a grim reminder of past relationships.

Two Indian placenames were first applied around the turn of the century and help illustrate the partial integration of Indian people and language into white society. *Quinnamose Creek* derives its name from an Indian, Joe Quinnamose, who lived on its banks for a few short years around 1890 (Kevis). He lived alone, worked occasionally in logging camps, but was principally known as the operator of the ferry across Spokane River who would accept whiskey as in-kind payment for his services. His story is that of a local Indian living on the periphery of white society and culture.

*Camp Sekani* is a Boy Scout campground, but records of its establishment cannot be found. One informant claims that he received his Eagle scout badge there in 1921 and that the camp was active at least as early as 1917 (in the early years of the Boy Scout movement) with the same name (Fosseen). At the same time, two informants on Indian affairs claim that *Sekani* is not a local Indian word or name and is not likely a corrupt derivative thereof (Kevis and Nicodemus). The plausible source is an Indian tribe which trappers encountered in northeastern British Columbia who were called *Tse Kehne* or *Sikanni*, which meant "people on the rocks" (Akrigg 275). The Boy Scout camp is situated in a high rocky area, and so it seems quite possible that someone with a background in outdoor life might have been familiar with that Indian phrase and used it in a descriptive manner. While the phrase may not derive from the Spokane tribes, it appears to reflect knowledge of the

Canadian tribe by someone who is local. It was not a phrase that had become a common part of the European culture before its transfer to Spokane County.

Only *one* name both comes from the indigenous Indian language and was used during early settlement—*Spokane*, used first by whites as a commemoration. A second name, *Eloika Lake*, on the northern boundary of the county, illustrates the way in which strangeness or a sense of the exotic may be associated with that which is Indian. This name, according to local residents, was used by the Indians for the lake, but “the meaning is now lost” (Hitchman 82). However, the phonemes are not even close to those of the indigenous language (Kevis and Nicodemus). Another explanation for this name is a derivation from Greek and Hebrew: *El-* is a Hebrew root referring to divinity, and *-oikia* is a Greek feminine root for dwelling place. Elkanah Walker was a protestant missionary who lived not far away from 1839 to 1848 and probably visited the area; his first name may be similarly analyzed, *-kanah* meaning “canon,” or “standard.” Of course, “Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?” are also the last words of Jesus on the cross (Mark 15.34). Because such explanations are phonemically more plausible, *Eloika* is not counted as an Indian name in this study.

The pattern of indigenous Indian names reflects the history of Spokane County. There were many Indian names and terms used in the days of the early trappers and traders. However, from 1880 to 1890 the population of the city grew from 500 to 23,602, while the number of Indians in the county fell from about 900 to two “civilized indians” (Spier). Indian placenames were displaced in equal proportion. In a very direct way, the name changes parallel the physical expulsion of the Spokane Indians from Spokane County.

In other counties of Washington there was also very rapid development and population growth, and in other counties there was also armed conflict between the Europeans and Indians. However, the battles of 1858 in Spokane County were articulated by both sides as tests for control of the land—and naming is a function of control. The Indians sought to block Col. Steptoe’s march as an incursion of their territory, and after easy initial success they talked openly about killing or expelling all whites from all of Eastern Washington. In similar fashion, Col. Wright’s retaliation was urged and applauded by Gov. Stevens as an example for the entire territory (Schlicke 153; 193-6). The outcome was devastating for the

Indians, and the symbolism of those events, particularly as it was given political meaning, was reinforced during the later development of Spokane County.

The unique status of Spokane County in the history of Washington State is confirmed in a comparison of Indian placename frequency with six other counties. These six were selected on the bases of similar or contrasting area, population, population growth patterns, or economy. Table 1 shows the number of indigenous Indian names,<sup>3</sup> the total number of names in the GNIS inventory for each county (except Whatcom), the area in square miles, and the population (x 1000). The relative density of Indian placenames is listed for each county in terms of inventory (Indian/Total = Indian names compared to the total number of names x 100), area (Indian/Area = Indian names compared to the area in square miles x 1000), and current population (Indian/Pop = Indian names compared to population x 1000). Whatcom data are shown but not included in the averages because that study is much older, did not use the same types of sources, and covers only part of the county.

In all categories the relative frequency of Indian placenames is least in Spokane County. In terms of current population, the frequency of Indian placenames varies from five times greater in Snohomish County to

Table 1. Frequencies of Indian placenames: a comparison of eight counties in Washington State.

County	Indian Names	Total Names	Indian/Total	Area	Indian/Area	Pop (x1000)	Indian/Pop
Chelan	30	1,439	2.08	2,915	10.29	48.5	6.19
Columbia	5	281	1.78	864	5.79	4.1	12.20
Jefferson	47	689	6.82	1,805	26.04	17.5	26.86
Lewis	19	871	2.18	2,409	7.89	56.5	3.36
Snohomish	19	1,121	1.69	2,098	9.06	373.0	0.51
Spokane	4	723	0.55	1,765	2.27	355.0	0.11
Stevens	9	1,046	0.86	2,468	3.65	30.1	2.99
Averages	19	881	2.28	2,046	9.28	126.4	1.50/(7.56)
Whatcom	18	163	11.04	2,151	8.37	106.7	1.69

184 times greater in Jefferson County on the Olympic Peninsula. (No shifts are included in these counts; clusters are counted as one name.)

The differences that may be observed in these frequencies are large and confirm the unique status of Spokane County. However, the history and political dynamics of Spokane may only partially explain why so few Indian names are found where many Indians once lived. Obviously, the history of Spokane cannot be used to explain why there are also substantial differences among the other six counties. Stevens County, for example, shows frequencies which are consistently half or less of the seven county averages, while Jefferson shows frequencies which are at least double the averages. Both counties are relatively rural. A possible explanation might be that rural areas have normally high densities of Indian placenames, but that Stevens, being adjacent to Spokane, shares in its history and cultural attitudes. Snohomish, which is most like Spokane in terms of population and industrialization, has frequencies very near the averages on the bases of inventory and area but next lowest to Spokane on the basis of population. A possible explanation for this pattern might be that the Indian names in Snohomish County predate its major population growth of recent times.

To account fully for these variations would require either a close analysis of local history in each of the counties or a statistical analysis of many more counties to find confirming and/or contrasting patterns. Both approaches are beyond the scope of this paper. The initial goal of this paper was to suggest that variations in density may indicate not only the relative presence of Indians at the time of settlement, but also the acceptance of that presence by settlers. My conclusion is to suggest that the statistical approach might be useful in determining and clarifying the number of variables over different areas.<sup>4</sup>

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## Notes

1. 137 Indian names that have never been used on maps of the European culture have been recorded for the Coeur d'Alene Tribal Council by Prof. Gary Palmer working with tribal members. How many of these, if any, were ever used by the traders or missionaries is unknown. Twenty of these names fall within the present borders of Spokane County.

2. While this name is tentatively included in the count of Spokane Indian names, similar names in the other counties were not counted because road names are not included

in GNIS. Thus, if this inconsistency were corrected, the comparable density in Spokane County would be proportionately lessened.

3. As may be noted in the Appendix, all counties except Spokane include at least one name based on Chinook jargon. A good argument can be made that Chinook should be excluded from this study because such terms are not restricted to local usage and thus are not reflective of purely local relationships. If these Chinook terms were excluded, the contrasts with Spokane County would be somewhat reduced.

4. I have pursued a broader study of all census districts in British Columbia, Canada, using a selective inventory and comparing the density variations of Indian placenames both to those within British Columbia and to those found in Washington State. That study is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Onomastica Canadiana*.

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### Appendix

A Listing of Current Indian Placenames in Eight Counties of Washington State. An asterisk indicates Chinook, and a double asterisk indicates a coinage using both Chinook and local terms. A pound sign (#) indicates an Indian rendering of a European term. When a derivation is not known, the term is presumed to be indigenous. A few are obviously transfers from nearby tribes.

#### Chelan County:

- |                        |                               |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Chelan<br>Lake      | 11. Methow<br>Park            | 21. Stehekin<br>ppl     |
| 2. Chikamin*<br>Creek  | 12. Nahahum*<br>Canyon]       | 22. Steliko<br>Canyon   |
| 3. Chiwaukum<br>Creek  | 13. Napeequa<br>River         | 23. Swakane<br>Creek    |
| 4. Chiwawa<br>River    | 14. Natapoc<br>Mountain       | 24. Tenas*<br>Creek     |
| 5. Chumstick*<br>Creek | 15. Ollala*<br>Canyon         | 25. Tillicum*<br>Creek  |
| 6. Cuitin*<br>Creek    | 16. Peshastin<br>Creek        | 26. Toketie<br>Creek    |
| 7. Entiat<br>River     | 17. Sahale*<br>Mountain       | 27. Tumwater*<br>Canyon |
| 8. Klonaqua**<br>Lakes | 18. Saska<br>Peak             | 28. Tyee*<br>Mountain   |
| 9. Klone*<br>Creek     | 19. Skookum Puss*<br>Mountain | 29. Wapato<br>Point     |
| 10. Memaloose<br>Ridge | 20. Squilchuck*<br>Creek      | 30. Wenatchee<br>River  |

#### Columbia County

- |                       |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Moolack*<br>Spring | 3. Patit<br>Creek     | 5. Tucannon<br>locale |
| 2. Pataha<br>Creek    | 4. Shawpatin<br>River |                       |

#### Jefferson County

- |                         |                        |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Chimacum<br>Valley   | 17. Mats Mats<br>Bay   | 33. Squamish<br>Harbor |
| 2. Cultus*<br>Creek     | 18. Ollallie*<br>Creek | 34. Sylopash<br>Point  |
| 3. Dabob<br>Bay         | 19. Olele*<br>Point    | 35. Tabook<br>Creek    |
| 4. Dosewallips<br>River | 20. Pataha<br>locale   | 36. Tacoma<br>Creek    |

5. Duckabush  
locale
6. Elip\*  
Creek
7. Elwah  
River
8. Hee Hee\*  
Creek
9. Hoh  
locale
10. Itswoot\*  
Creek
11. Kahkwa\*  
Creek
12. Kala\*  
Point
13. Kalaloch  
locale
14. Kanem\*  
Point
15. Kimta  
Creek
16. Liplip  
Point

21. Pulali\*  
Creek
22. Quatsap  
Point
23. Queets  
ppl
24. Quilcene  
Bay
25. Quillayute  
NeedleNWR
26. Quinault  
River
27. Saghali\*  
Creek
28. Seattle  
Creek
29. Skokomish  
River
30. Skookum-chuck\*  
Rapids
31. Snahapish  
River
32. Solleks  
River

37. Tarboo  
Creek
38. Teahwhit  
Head
39. Toandos  
Peninsula
40. Toleak  
Point
41. Tshletshy  
Creek
42. Tskutsko  
Point
43. Tumwata\*  
Creek
44. Uncas  
locale
45. Waketickeh  
Creek
46. Wawa\*  
Point
47. Zelatched  
Point

Lewis County:

1. Chehalis  
River
2. Chutla  
Peak
3. Claquato  
locale
4. Cowlitz  
River
5. Elochoman  
Pass
6. Kiona  
Creek
7. Klickitat  
Creek

8. Mesatchee\*  
Creek
9. Newaukum  
River
10. Nesika\*  
locale
11. Nisqually#  
River
12. Ohanapecosh  
River
13. Salkum  
Creek

14. Skookumchuck\*  
River
15. Tatoosh\*  
Lakes
16. Tumwater\*  
Creek
17. Walupt  
Lake
18. Willame  
Creek
19. Williwakas  
Creek

Snohomish County

1. Chetwot\*  
Creek
2. Chikamin\*  
Creek
3. Mukilteo  
ppl
4. Pilchuck\*  
Creek
5. Quilceda  
Creek

8. Sitkum  
Glacier
9. Skagit  
Bay
10. Skykomish  
River
11. Snohomish  
ppl
12. Snoqualmie  
River

14. Suttle  
Glacier
15. Tualip  
Bay
16. Tupso\*  
Pass
17. Tye Pool\*  
Camp
18. Utsalady  
locale

## 154 Grant Smith

6. Sauk River
7. Seattle Heights

13. Stillaguamish River

19. White Chuck\* River

### Spokane County

1. Qualchan Road
4. Spokane ppl

2. Quinnamose Creek

3. Sekani BSA Camp

### Stevens County:

1. Calispel Basin
2. Chamokane Creek
3. Chewelah Creek

4. Kaniksu Ranch
5. Spokane Indian. Res.
6. Toulou Creek

7. Tum Tum\* locale
8. Tyee\* Mine
9. Wellpinit Creek

### Whatcom County:

1. Cha-Choo-Sen Island
2. Chuckanut\* Bay
3. Chillawack River
4. Inati Bay
5. Kulshan Cabins
6. Lummi Island

7. Nooksack River
8. Samish Lake
9. Sehome Hill
10. Semiahmoo Bay
11. Shuksan, Mt.
12. Skagit River

13. Skookum\* Creek
14. Squalicum Creek
15. Sumas Creek
16. Tamihi Creek
17. Tomyhoy Lake
18. Whatcom Creek