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Credit vs. Market (Early Russian-American Discussions on Evolution of the Northwest Coast Societies)

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Abstract
From the standpoint of economic anthropology, the Northwest Coast of America is a reference case of a prestige economy. However, when applied to the theory of social evolution, there is still a debate about the stadial status of the communities inhabiting it, carefully placing them between local groups and chiefdoms. The reason for this lies in the "combination of the incongruous." Thus, starting with Boas (1898), potlatch is often seen as an analogy to banking and lending. But, as you know, such a system of gift exchange developed here in isolation from market relations and, to some extent, even prevented their introduction during the colonial period. A fully developed institution of slavery did not lead to the complication of society toward the emergence of a state. Of particular interest is the question of the fate of ranks (classes) on the Northwest Coast after its integration into Euro-American society. The prevailing opinion about the complete lumpenization of both the social grassroots and the former political elites simplifies the situation. According to our data, the latter, for example, is the origin of the Khanty dynasty—modern political leaders and renowned Kwakwaka'wakw artists with solid incomes and reputation in White society. Over the decades, all these questions have been posed and resolved by Russian and American anthropologists in the face of tough competition between political systems after passing through an era of formulating antagonistic approaches and international discussions about inequality, with no opportunities for convergence being found.

Keywords
Northwest Coast, slavery, potlatch, economy, Soviet anthropology

Introduction

Having prepared the Russian translation of 'The Evolution of Human Societies' by Allen Johnson and Tim Earle, a notable (neo)evolutionist book of the last two decades, I noticed that the chapter on the Pacific Northwest was somewhat underrepresented. This was probably due to the fact that, in this case, the authors ultimately had to rely on outside sources. And as a result, the degree of their penetration into the topic was different than in the other chapters, for example, those of the Machiguenga of Peruvian Amazonia, or the Hawaiians, to which they have contributed personally.

Johnson and Earle's analysis of evolution factors, which determine social and cultural growth in this area, is perplexing. They call the threat of hunger almost the only challenge; the significance of which is not entirely obvious, given the long history of effective sea mammal hunting and fishing on the Northwest Coast. To their

understanding, local Indigenous communities did not evolutionarily reach regional polities (chiefdoms), being stuck on a level of social collectivities headed by Big Men. On the other hand, the authors emphasize the uniqueness of this case, which presents a complex social organization with apparently the highest population density among hunters and gatherers (Johnson and Earle 2000, 2017:282, 288–301).

Owing to several generations of anthropologists, Northwest Coast Indians have turned into textbook cases, becoming almost the most studied in the whole field of anthropology. This is precisely the situation when numerous theoretical models have long lived their own separate lives, separate from reality to which they were once addressed. It is logical to assume that such an extensive conceptual heritage weighs heavily on modern researchers, and hence requires special study.

The so-called Yuman anomaly is both similar and opposite to our case to some degree. Closely related linguistically, Yuman peoples (the Yavapai, the Mohave, etc.) are culturally and economically affiliated to Southwest, Great Basin, and California cultures. They combine features, endemic to all of the above-mentioned regions. Meanwhile, the Pacific Northwest is populated by linguistically unrelated groups, while forming a unity in various other aspects: material culture, art, society rituals, and so on (e.g., Wissler 1914:454–55; Kroeber 1939:28–31). Unusual Yuman material resists various explanatory schemes, from diffusionist and structural functionalist ones to cultural ecology and neoevolutionism (Adams and Mitchell 1990). The conflict of interpretations, to which this article is devoted, has repeatedly served as the object of analysis. In this sense, our humble attempt only continues this tradition.

Conceptual Background

The Pacific Northwest Natives fell into the focus of the social evolution in a way that was not quite familiar to academic science. At first, attention was attracted by such an intriguing social institution as *potlatch* (the word was borrowed from the Chinook trade jargon and was not used by practitioners for a long time). The missionaries were annoyed that their parishes, which were quite in-line with the standards of Protestant ethics in their everyday lives, indulged in unbridled waste during ceremonies, seemingly meaninglessly losing all their property. In addition, the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw were also suspected of ritual cannibalism and of ancestor worship.

In response to the legislative ban on potlatch by the Canadian authorities, requiring up two to six months in prison with confiscation of property for each transgressor (1884, confirmed in 1915), Maquinna, a famous leader of one of the Nuu-chah-nulth groups (Mowachaht), published his message in the provincial *Daily Colonist* (Maquinna 1896). He seems to be the first to compare the gift exchanges of Native Americans with credit and banking operations of the whites. The next year, a lengthy open letter on the same subject and with the same explanation for potlatch as a peculiar Native American banking system was published by Franz Boas in the Vancouver's *Daily Province* (LaViolette 1961:43, 74–75). This letter was used by the anthropologist word-for-word as a foundation for his academic article in the final report for the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). Its conclusion began with: "Finally, it may be well to add a brief explanation of the economic system prevailing among these Indians" (Boas 1898; Stocking, ed. 1989:88–107).

The struggle against bans on the potlatch and other traditional activities did not end there, and even Boas's main Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw informant George Hunt of Fort Rupert went to jail (1900) after trying to observe the *hamatsa* ceremony; the potlatch would not be allowed until 1951. Other anthropologists soon joined the campaign. In 1914, the Nuu-chah-nulth asked Edward Sapir, who was in contact with them and was working in Ottawa at that time, to

submit their petition, demanding the repeal of the anti-potlatch law. The following year, Sapir sent a letter to the deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott, which included a long quotation from Boas's above-mentioned "Summary" and more (LaViolette 1961:81). Paul Radin summed up the surge of attention to Northwest Coast Indians, calling them the "capitalists of the North" (Sahlins and Service 1970:67).

Thus, contrary to strict requirements of modern anthropological method, this first concept initially did not have a reliable empirical source. It is difficult to say whether Chief Maquinna's document was a direct impetus for Boas's reasoning, but it is certain that the letter was widely used by the Natives themselves in their defense and was replicated in many subsequent research publications. The circles from Boas's "discovery" diverged quite widely, influencing the concept of conspicuous consumption by Thorstein Veblen, and Marcel Mauss's theory of gift, due to which the economic interpretation of potlatch was established. After attempting the latter, which directly relied on the mentioned work of Boas, Northwest Coast peoples acquired the image of a society with a developed concept of credit, but not yet involved in market exchange (Mauss 1966:34). The last correction toward this path seems to have been made by Marshall Sahlins (1994:435), who included the area, along with China and Hawaii, in one Trans-Pacific sector in his "cosmology of capitalism": specifics of the Kwakiutl in comparison with the Hawaiians, consisted only in the fact that the power of the new market economy, understood as cosmic and universal, did not go to their personal consumption, increasing inequality, but to expand the circle and strengthen networking with other people, through the demonstrative distribution of goods.

As for the potlatch, after such heroic ethnographers as the Boasians and their successors, it became common to see in this phenomenon not just an exchange of gifts, but a way, tightly tied to religious tradition, to make social status public. With the spread of ethnohistory methods, many aspects were clarified, and the destructive, transforming Euro-American influence began to be considered. Helen Codere (1950), for example, was able to trace changes in the potlatch of the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw from 1792 to 1930, basing her research on records of the Indian Agency and family stories, collected by Boas. Their demographic decimation, re-settlement in Fort Rupert, and on the other hand, growth of the Indian economy by the second part of the nineteenth century led to hypertrophied scaling of the potlatch, expressed in increase of both frequency and the number of circulated goods and invited guests. Interestingly, this outbreak occurred just in the years of the ban (Drucker and Heizer 1967). In the 1930s, the economy of the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw was already closely connected with the world market, and subject to all its fluctuations. The Great Depression impacted the potlatch, which returned to its original more modest size (Holm 1977). Many of its varieties have disappeared and, at least among the Tlingit, Haida, Coast Tsimshians and Gitksan, the functions of the ceremony have narrowed to only funerals (Garfield 1939; de Laguna 1972; Adams 1973). As Margaret Blackman (1977:52) wrote, "we may be seeing in the mortuary potlatch a more basic, more central cultural ritual, its roots firmly entrenched in the northern areal expression of Northwest Coast culture." Thus, a crucial argument was introduced into the discussion about deep connection of the whole complex with veneration of the dead.

In postmodern decades, the range of explanatory models has expanded in response to ideologically important topics. Christopher Bracken (1997), for example, showed that in the nineteenth century, potlatch was a construct on both sides, participating not only in the transition of Indigenous population to market relations, but also in the origin of semi-capitalist colonial economy of a Canadian periphery. And the reason for the prohibitive measures of the government was rooted in the inability of European metaphysics to get along with a

radically different worldview, without having to subordinate it to itself or dehumanize it using the legal framework. Potlatch has been turned into a metaphor in the recent, witty work of Isaiah Wilner (2013), examining the influence of the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw on Boas's scientific worldview. In it, the dialogue between Native Americans and the West is likened to potlatch, and the Indians to donors. For Western civilization, the time for its reciprocity has not come yet!

Gradually, the mainstream has also shifted towards a more complex view on the problem, with emphasis on a variety of symbolic aspects, both adhering to the Lévi-Strauss's "sheet music" (Mauzé et al. 2004) and improvising on his main theme. In this last trend, one can discern Mauss's early influence, emanating, however, from his other ideas—to consider potlatch as an example of a "total social phenomenon," which is related not only to economics, but also to mythology, rites, etc. For instance, Sally Snyder (1975) drew attention to the symbolism of food in gift exchanges among one of the Coast Salishan groups (Skagit). Irving Goldman (1975) analyzed the idea of purity in the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw ceremonial complex. Stanley Walens (1981) examined its connection with cosmology. Similarly, Margaret Seguin (1984, 1985) focused her studies on rites of the Tsimshian. In the same way, Sergei Kan (1986:194), a Russia-born scholar, who in 1979–1980 and 1984 conducted his fieldwork among the Tlingit, explains the potlatch by means of symbolic anthropology.

The Problem of Slavery

If the political economy of gift exchange between Indigenous populations at the Northwest Coast currently continues to be of interest mainly to researchers who are more or less sympathetic to Marxism, another concept—slavery—would probably not have appeared at all if not for the competition of two sociopolitical systems.

We have previously written about a young researcher from the USSR, Julia Averkieva, who collected field material among the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw (Kuznetsov 2018). In particular, due to the delicacy of circumstances, she was equipped with two counter plans at once: the authorities at home, in the St. Petersburg Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Nikolay Matorin), demanded that she study survivals of matrilineal clan society and class differentiation of the Indians, and the New York supervisor (Boas), their dances, string figures, and talk with their women (Kuznetsov 2018). Of course, the divergence in lists of tasks stemmed from the differences in the research agenda of professional communities of both countries and two irreconcilable methodologies—Soviet Marxism, i.e., in fact the unilinear evolution à la Lewis Henry Morgan, and, in contrast, anti-evolutionist cultural relativism.

Having returned in the spring of 1931 from overseas, Averkieva initially continued to work on a massive collection of Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw string figures, but then, as a young graduate student, she had to change three topics over the next four years, from a narrow, grounded-in-the-field, still quite Boasian, to the broadest, which is matched to the airy-fairy Marxist sociology, indifferent to all sorts of nuances. Her book dealing with "cat's cradles" appeared only after her death (Averkieva and Sherman 1992). How did this drama (both professional and personal), the consequences of which, as we now know, would affect the entire Soviet ethnography, take place? The fact that Averkieva could no longer remain outside the postulates of official science became clear quite quickly, and on October 25, she informed Boas (BP: JA/FB 10/25/1931, in her own spelling):

> Papa France [sic!] do you know, I decided to study works from Marxian point of your that is from the point of dialectic materialism. The first thing, I think will be Kwakiutl material, especially social organisations. I have a question to you, as you wrote the Kwakiutl society was sharply divided into three classes. <…> In the secret societies people

> were divided according to there class principle—rich and poor. Initiations were connected with distribution of much wealth. So initiates were of rich families. And only rich people had part in the ceremonies. Those who did not have neither fishing places nor gardens for digging roots, could not obtain much wealth so they always were poor. As a result of the whole—winter ceremonies were characteristic not for the whole tribe, but only for the upper clas, they were for the interests of that class <…>. I write that to you as first impressions, I did not go in deep yet. I will do that in the nearest future. The subject with Kwakiutl is very complicated, because of complexity of there social organisation. I am not very strong yet in the method with which I will work <…>. My question to you is how do you consider the class meaning of secret societies?

The letter is important for us because it helps to reveal several significant circumstances at once. Firstly, the discourse of Soviet ethnography regarding the class stratification that was allegedly observed in the aboriginal Northwest in the pre-colonial era is of Boasian origin, such as the case of the economic theory of potlatch. Secondly, one idea whose potential possibly has not yet been worked out is already presented here—that the emergence of secret societies should be somehow connected with the establishment of new relations of inequality in the primitive collective (primitive in the Marxist sense). Returning to it 30 years later, Averkieva (1961:82–83) equated the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw *hamatsa* with the all-male warrior-societies in Oceania to illustrate Sergei Tokarev's thesis about the role of the latter in the transition from matriarchate to patriarchate. Thirdly and finally, if you characterize overall her "first impressions," then it turns out that she built-up something like a schedule of her forthcoming searches. Thoughts contained in this fragment are found in almost all her later works, but in a slightly expanded form. This refers to both the thesis about the early class character of social relations on the Northwest Coast, and the "class meaning" of secret societies, which were known in several peoples of the area and the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw in particular.

By May 1932, enthusiasm left "Yulia Pavlovna" (Averkieva). She began to complain that she devoted too little to work with the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw data, although in her annual plan, this direction continued to appear. To fulfill the plan, she was even ready to refuse the summer trip home to Karelia (JA/FB 05/04/1932). However, in the fall, the plan was extended, and the topic became 'Kwakiutl Social Organization.' The graduate student again decided to ask for help from 'Papa Franz': "the work can be done with any result only in the case if you could give me some help" (JA/FB 08/08/1932). But by February 1933, the topic was changed once again, being narrowed to the questions of the study of slavery, as is indicated by her next letter to New York (JA/FB 02/04/1933):

> I am reading your Kwakiutl Tales for the theme "Slavery among the Kwakiutl." For the course of Historical Materialism I studied the History and the Slavery in the Antique World, very interesting thing. Professor Bogoras is my patron now in the study of American Ethnology, but still we have not done very much, becouse of the Greece and Rome.

A supervisor had already been appointed over Averkieva, and this person was Waldemar Bogoras, who had procured an American scholarship for Averkieva at one time. Together, they joined in the work on her dissertation, a bibliography of which was adorned with Russian translations of works on the evolution of slavery by Dutch ethnologist Herman Jeremias Nieboer and French sociologist Charles Letourneau, whose names were most likely prompted by the new "patron."

In accordance with official Soviet dogmas set forth in the 'History of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]: Short Course,' the dissertation opened with "It was believed that throughout its development humanity inevitably passed through a sequence of Marx's Gesellschaftsformationen (Social Formations), or obshchestvenno-ekonomicheskie formatsii (socioeconomic formations) (Averkieva 1941:5). One of the universal evolutionary stages, as it were, was the *Sklavenhaltergesellschaft* (slavery system), knowledge of which historians from the USSR drew from Greco-Roman antiquity. Thus, a prototype was found for Northwest Coast slavery, but not in the rich field data collected by anthropologists among Native Americans at that time, but in European classical history.

Less than two years were allotted to finish the text that, most likely, was required by the postgraduate program plan. In the final academic year, in addition to Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Averkieva also studied German and French, apparently, without much success. In correspondence, which she continued to maintain with the master of American anthropology, questions about the social organization of the Kwakiutl flashed repeatedly (JA/FB 10/09/1933; 03/24/1934). She felt the unsteadiness of the existing factual basis from which she was to draw the grandiose revolutionary conclusions demanded of her. As a result, the topic once again underwent expansion at the last moment (JA/FB 10/05/1934):

> I intend this winter present a dissertation for Kandidat's degree. The theme I choosed is "Slavery among the Tribes of the north west Coast." What do you think of it? The difficulty about it is that there is not much material about it.

Another consequence was the author's orientation primarily to written sources. Her own expeditionary materials were collected for another program and, with a change of topic, proved to be of little use. In the letter quoted above on February 4, 1933, Averkieva once again naively asked Boas for advice (JA/FB 02/04/1933): "By the way do you have any suggestion to give me what to do with my diary."

The dissertation was successfully defended, not in the winter of 1934, but in July 1935. Delaying the terms for another semester, however, in no way detracts from her qualities as a scholar—consistency and sense of purpose. During these two years, a series of terrible events occurred that included arrests of the director Matorin, and her own first husband (Nitoburg 2003:406). It is admirable that she persevered and achieved her goal under such conditions.

In the process of extending the topic (by no means in volume and depth, but only by moving geographical boundaries), all sorts of fables entered the dissertation, such as statements about primordiality of mother clans, not only among the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, but also among the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw and Nuu-chah-nulth, and even the Salish. The main theses of the qualification work, as it is now called, consisted of the following: after Marxist-Leninist classics, slavery on the Northwest Coast can be defined as "patriarchal" or "domestic;" it was hereditary and already a special system, but unlike the "ancient" and "plantational" ones, it did not yet make slaves the main productive force and, uniquely, developed on the basis of fishing, not farming or cattle breeding.

At first, American anthropologists paid due attention to Averkieva's 'Slavery.' Melville Jacobs (1941:87), a prominent specialist in languages of the southern part of the area, considered it necessary to mention "[a] short survey of slavery on the coast appeared in Russian" (Averkieva 1935). The 1941 publication, reproducing the full text of the dissertation, was translated and twice published in English (Averkieva 1957, 1966). In the review, which was also prepared for a Russian-language text, ideological tricks of the Soviet researcher were reservedly called "specific doctrines." And as the reviewer from Indiana University, W.D. Preston (1945:613), fantasized, if ethnographers of the USSR would continue to have possibility of "first-hand study" of their

subject, as it was with Averkieva in 1930–1931, then "a profitable scientific intercourse may be built up between the two nations."

In fact, such a chance did not appear for a long time, and as a result, Soviet ethnography ran wildly in a direction other than world science. With regard to theorizing inequality among Northwest Coast societies, this resulted in a whole generation of Russian *etnoamerikanisty* (if we use Averkieva's specific language) not having any opportunity to do fieldwork, and forced to rely on published literature. It was she who discovered this way, stepping into the strange realm of scholasticism fallen out of time, as said, almost immediately upon her return. She spent the rest of her life in dialogues, mostly imaginary, with "bourgeois" scholars, simultaneously borrowing from them not only material, but also particular theoretical points, though only those that fit into frames of a certain imposed canon fully known to her alone.

Forming Marxist Canon

Averkieva, upon return from the field, started working almost simultaneously with Ronald Olson, Viola Garfield, and G.P. Murdock in the early 1930s. Their fundamental works came out mainly after her Ph.D. defense, and therefore, they were incorporated only in the later published version of 'Slavery' (Murdock 1934, 1936; Olson 1936, 1940; Garfield 1939; Averkieva 1941:14, 16–17, 63, 99–100). Quotations from these anthropologists appeared in her subsequent works, even though the corresponding concepts inevitably became obsolete, as did their authors themselves.

However, it is hardly correct to assume that the general isolation of Soviet science predetermined Averkieva's weak awareness of the current state of discipline. For example, after 1932, she published reviews of relevant English-language literature in *Sovetskaia Etnografia*. New surnames of anthropologists regularly appeared in her own workings.

As early as 1941, Averkieva drew attention to Philip Drucker's report, which resonated at the American Anthropological Association (AAA) annual meeting in December 1937. She was impressed by this "young ethnographer's" opinion that we find only two classes everywhere at the Northwest Coast—freemen and slaves, and not three, as believed by Boasians (Drucker 1939:55; Averkieva 1941:32), inexperienced in the intricacies of the Klassenkampf Theorie as the driving force of history, and class antagonism in particular; in addition to slaves, they usually distinguished nobles and commoners.

Drucker was valuable in other aspects. For example, he argued that the maritime economy, social differentiation, as well as potlatch, culminated in their development namely at the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw, in contrast to the dominant point of view, according to which their northern neighbors were considered in this sense more advanced. This was important for Averkieva, and it helped her to explain the lack of a clan structure among the former as a result of the process of stratification, which was far gone. At that time, Garfield seemed really "progressive" to her (Averkieva 1941:94), being the only one who insisted on the value of slavery, the direct economic effect of the use of slaves by the Indians on the coast, and, most importantly, who did not regard slavery simply as something prestigious (Garfield 1945:626–630).

But in the 1970s, Averkieva put Drucker in the same Procrustean bed and included him in a group of researchers who argued when studying the area that slaves cannot be considered, since they are not sufficiently integrated into local societies and economies. "A young ethnographer of the USA, E.E. Ruyle (1973), made a deeply substantiated criticism of these concepts," wrote Averkieva hopefully (1978:356). A place for a certain ray of light from above always remained in this peculiar kaleidoscope of names. The "young" Eugene ("Gene") Ruyle was indeed 37 years old; he served as a Marine, worked at San Quentin Prison, and had just defended a Ph.D. thesis in anthropology at Columbia University.

This new name was supposed to strengthen the position that was shared, firstly, by herself, secondly, by Garfield (1947), and thirdly, by Wayne Suttles (1968).

The next historiographic chains were reeled-up on previous ones, while, as already mentioned, maintaining the frame, which consisted of Averkieva's own ideas, although almost all opponents were such only in her imagination. The IEA Archive (coll. 16, item 1064) has preserved the only letter of Murdock, in one page, addressed to her, and there is no evidence of correspondence with Drucker, Codere, de Laguna or other researchers of the Northwest Coast.

Each excursion of Averkieva into foreign historiography resembled walking in a minefield. The criticism and suspicion, degrees of which only increased contrary to all expectations, as shown above, were explained by tragic reversals in the life of Averkieva: imprisonment, death of her second husband, apparently a victim of extrajudicial reprisal; years of deportation on the Yenisei and Angara river banks; long separation from daughters Lena and Zina (Nitoburg 2003:409–415). Accused of having close ties with the U.S. Embassy staff, Averkieva learned too well the lesson she was taught to become especially picky in referring to American and other Western authors.

It is interesting to see how Averkieva reacted to the neo-evolutionists. Conceptually, their approaches seemed to be the closest, but the logic of the revolutionary struggle is such that the factions and oppositions were forgiven even less. During interrogations in December 1947, the investigator indicted the confused young scientist for "criminal connection with the Trotskyists," to which even Bogoras and Boas were ranked (Nitoburg 2003:413). It is not surprising that after this, she became even more concerned, not so much with the essence and general direction of the thought of a subject of her analyzing, as with some apparently significant markers. Murdock, "a prominent representative of the historical school [Boas's school—I.K.], who declared himself a proponent of evolution," was condemned for the fact that, while disputing the Boasian conclusion on the reverse transition of the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw from matri- to patrilineality, under the influence of contacts, he was content with the idea of their primacy of bilateral relations (Averkieva 1961:10–11, 61–62).

In general, Averkieva paid more attention to Murdock than to anyone else. As many as eight manuscripts, as well as two of his own works from the late 1950s (IEA Archive, coll. 16, items 308, 533, 536, 552, 556, 657, 816, 820, 1201, 1202) that analyzed this anthropologist's workings, were discovered in her personal archive (totaling 246 pages). Such a half-hearted revision of the "Papa Franz's" concept, which had long been an eyesore, still did not satisfy her; she spent too much energy on substantiating the universality the maternal-clan organization.

Again, such retrograde position of Averkieva at this point was fully correlated with the current political moment. According to Daniel Tumarkin, who was her co-worker for a long time on the editorial board of *Sovetskaia Etnografia* [Soviet Ethnography], when she literally argued with herself in those years about Murdock's views, another Leningrad ethnographer, Nikolay Butinov, was ostracized for "partial disagreement with this interpretation" [of Morgan and Engels—I.K.], i.e., for doubts about the planetary distribution of the Iroquois-type tribal structure in the past. The director of the Institute of Ethnography, Sergey Tolstov, instructed four of his employees, including Averkieva, to smash the revisionist. Butinov was not allowed to attend the 7th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES) held in Moscow in 1964 (Tumarkin 2001:21).

Averkieva fulfilled her main "socialist obligation" by discovering the roots of the Sklavenhaltergesellschaft on the Northwest Coast, thereby confirming the truth of the "only true teaching." All these biographical details, combined with the image of "a human of orthodox Marxist convictions that have not been shaken

for years" (Tumarkin 2001:21) made her—and not a hundred imitators of science, who flooded all the structural divisions of the Institute in a greenhouse behind the Iron Curtain—valuable to the authorities.

In the end, all this helped her to win back recognition by replenishing the cohort of the Communist Party members, as well as the professional workshop of Soviet "Doctors of Sciences." The entrance pass to the latter was her *magnum opus*, the preparation of which began as early as the 1940s, and resumed in the 1950s; the publication turned out to be the output of two works at once, one after another: the 120-page 'On History of Social System of the Northwest Coast Indians' (Averkieva 1960), dealing with northern peoples (Tlingit, etc.), and the twice as voluminous (270 pages) 'Decomposition of Clan Society and the Formation of Early Class Relations' (Averkieva 1961), which included data on the Nuxalk (Bella Coola), southern groups, and the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw, including grains of the author's own materials, mainly, however, from the 1941 publication. Both formal victories, notedly won within one year (1962), allowed the scholar to take the editor-in-chief's chair in *Sovetskaia Etnografia* (1966) as well as to lead the Institute's Division of the Peoples of America (1975). All this, of course, turned Averkieva into the head of Russian Americanists.

Discussion on Inequality

In the 1960s and 1970s, more than virtual discussions began between ethnographers of the USSR and their Western counterparts. They took place during the ICAES sessions, especially in Moscow and Chicago, and then on the pages of *Current Anthropology*. Resonance was triggered by the 1973 work of Ruyle (one of the Chicago speakers) on slavery, surplus, and stratification on the Northwest Coast.

Politically, Ruyle considered (and still considers) himself an independent Marxist. He reevaluated, or rather completely rejected the "new orthodox interpretation," as he called prevailing ideas of that time, based on three conclusions: the population of the area had ranks, but no social classes; slavery, although it existed, was somehow not real—slaves had no economic significance and were not part of society; and both rank system and an individual desire for prestige in potlatch performed the function of adapting the local Indians to the environment.

To recall, Averkieva adhered to the same position as Ruyle, but he did not refer to any of her works, and, perhaps, was not aware of them. She responded with a short and very strange text, in which she stated that she agreed with almost everything; once again summarized her own ideas about the formation of classes, which according to her began in this part of Indigenous America; gave their Leninist definition; "butted" Codere who "was looking for signs of classes in the sphere of ideology," not material one, and… that's all, except that, just in case, she also emphasized: "My discrepancies with the author are related to his attempt and in my opinion unsuccessful, to clothe clear starting points in energy terminology" (IEA Archive, coll. 16, item 955). Her bibliographic list contained three titles: 'Slavery' and 'Decomposition of Clan Society' of the reviewer as well as The Complete Selection of Workings of Lenin. Hiding behind the 'shield' of quotes from the classics was the best way to save yourself before, and now to earn a promotion. In Averkieva's days, as in subsequent ones, most Soviet ethnographers did so.

The review, probably due to the blatant lack of content, was never published in *Current Anthropology*, although Ruyle read it, because he thanked the Soviet researcher, expressing gratitude to everyone who participated in the discussion on his provocative article initiated by the editorial board. But a year later, at the same Chicago-based journal, polemic notes 'On Northwest Coast Society' appeared, in which Yu.I. Semenov (1974) tried with great resourcefulness to explain to Ruyle that all theoretical arguments about class formation in the area were much better formulated by Marxist

historical materialism and political economics. The theorist of so-called history of primitive society relied on the same couple of books by Averkieva, presenting them as indisputable achievements of Soviet scholars. The nuances of the party differences regarding the nature of inequality on the coast concerned the following: it was very important for the Soviet Marxist to emphasize that "we are dealing not with completely formed classes but with classes only beginning to form"—so as not to jump to the next *Gesellschaftsformation* in any case. He also urged his American ally not to consider the sphere of exploitation in these societies separately from the sphere of production (Semenov 1974:200).

Ruyle retorted that everything is much more complicated. Of course, you can see in the relations of exploitation just a subsystem of production relations, but there are good reasons not to do this: firstly, there are known forms of exploitation that are in no way connected with production, i.e., negative reciprocity and constant robberies, which are widely represented just on the coast, or at least in some areas; and secondly, even when production relations and exploitation interpenetrate, it is useful to distinguish them heuristically. After all, production benefits the whole society, while exploitation serves only to the ruling class; moreover, the first deals with passive natural objects, but exploitation affects people who actively resist it. "Hence, it is exploitation, not production, that generates class struggle" (Ruyle 1974:201).

Semenov also could not agree with the thermodynamic metaphor, in which he saw the poorly formulated but long-familiar concept of labor. To this, Ruyle replied that his *ethnoenergetics*, in fact, is the same as the labor theory of value, in which the latter is defined as socially necessary labor embodied in the product, in other words human energy that is one of the key terms, which, along with one more "state-church," borrowed from Leslie White, obviously to emphasize his own theoretical background. "The labor theory of value cannot, however, be applied to precapitalist formations, where use-values do not take the form of commodities" (Ruyle 1974:200). Therefore, his theory is an attempt to generalize Marxist reasoning about value, to a level operational in the analysis of both pre-capitalist and non-capitalist societies.

At the same time, in the West, Ruyle's revisionism got more attention. People who knew the field better shared details. Arnold Sio drew attention to an interesting fact, evidencing of the past scale and deep roots of slavery in this part of America: on the Plateau and in northern California, where slaves usually were not kept, they still were captured during special raids, in order to be sold to the Chinook at the main slave market, which operated at The Dalles on the Columbia River, or even brought to the Tsimshian at Fort Simpson. Moreover, slaves looked differently from others, with some groups enslaving those with differently shaped heads for contrast (Sio 1973:622). This was probably done to visually emphasize the lower status of slaves.

John Adams, who, accompanied by his wife Alice Kasakoff, worked with the Gitksan, was convinced by the arguments about the economic importance of slaves and the need to distinguish not only ranks, but also classes. But the field data of this pair did not allow seeing Mendelian populations (with a common gene pool) in the latter, as Ruyle did. At least among the Gitksan, even those who only had one grandfather as a clan leader, were ranked as members of the chief stratum. The side branches of noble lines eventually dissolved into simple ones, while the extinct main lines were replaced by commoners, who were "promoted" by other leaders to fill the vacancies, due to the lack of practice for the reallocation of resources after death of their owner. So, social strata or classes should not have been genetically different (Ruyle 1973:618). Surprisingly, Ruyle's biologism for some reason was not noticed by Semenov.

Those who dealt with more southern groups objected to the new interpretation. William Elmendorf, Jacobs's younger colleague, emphasized that, unlike the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw and Nuu-chah-nulth, the Coast Salish women and

men from high-status families were involved in the production. Methodologically, he saw Ruyle's blunders in ignoring intra-areal differences. Even if we take the model proposed by the latter as the basic one, i.e., that it corresponded to the pre-contact time, then a series of subsequent changes, acting everywhere at different speeds, should lead to different results. And for this, the Marxist explanation is no better than an ethnohistorical one (Ruyle 1973:619–620).

The same emerged from materials Suttles possessed: it is impossible to assert that the upper class among the Salish was a ruling one, and the lower was the only one engaged in production. Suttles proceeded from the fact that at least one case of famine was noted on the Northwest Coast (in the 1793–1794 winter at Nootka Sound), and there seemed to be fluctuations in the availability of resources: the northerners in comparison with the Coast Salish used fewer species of plants and animals for food, harvesting them in fewer places and for a shorter time in a year, but at a higher concentration. In his opinion, the system in which potlatch played an important role could to some extent compensate for environmental variability, redistributing resources among the participating groups and thereby minimizing the risk of food shortages (Suttles 1973:622–623).

Ruyle shifted the argument in a different direction: the system in the understanding of Suttles as well as Vayda (1961:618–624) is an independent object with its own needs and means of satisfying them. In fact, we are faced with nothing more than a multitude of actors involved in achieving their goals in a specific environment, and any interpretation must take this into account. Further, the system assumes the existence of local groups, more or less equivalent, exchanging surplus food products for values and values for prestige in order to balance food consumption at the intergroup level.

However, for such a model to work, differences in labor productivity must necessarily be temporary. Otherwise, groups with stable overproduction will acquire sustainable surpluses of wealth and prestige, in a word, the advantages needed to attract a larger population, to strengthen the army, and, as a result, to dominate weaker groups from less productive areas. Therefore, Suttles' recognition of long-term regional differences inevitably destroys the stability of his own constructions.

It is important that purely ideological criticism came not only from the Soviet camp, but also from the other side. Harold Schneider (1973:621), a major economic anthropologist from Indiana University, who remained in formalist positions (which would look unusual today) opposed Ruyle's "conspiracy school," although under the disguise of mild irony: from the point of view of formalism, the exploiter is just an entrepreneur whose presence is inevitable in any economic system; cost of labor, like any other value in economy, is a function of demand for it; and classes are formed due to the imbalance of material exchanges. He accused Ruyle of artificially attaching the Marxist concepts of "class" and "exploitation" to the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw realities (Schneider 1973:621).

Whereas the latter, avoiding scandal and restraining himself, replied that he never called either "conspiratorial" or "exploitative" interpretations different from his own, and that it was generally not useful to conduct a discussion in such a manner and in the same tone as Schneider did (Schneider 1973:628). On the contrary, Thomas Hazard (1973:621) of Rockville, Maryland, supported the lone American Marxist explorer of the Northwest:

> [T]hose of us who have managed to survive that peculiar and insufficiently examined exploitative system known as the American Ph.D. "track" have to face up to the tyranny of preprogrammed proselytization. In this also I am in sympathy with Ruyle's predicament.

Nonetheless, such an exchange of views, under the conditions of the existence of a bipolar world, affected mainly the upper (methodological) level of anthropology. Northwest

Coast ethnography itself remained much more closed, as Ruyle's case showed. Michael Harkin (1996:8) was forced to state that "Marxism was relatively less influential in Northwest Coast studies than elsewhere." And an active participant in the discussion, Adams (1981:370, 385), eventually even joined those who still considered a "slave society" and a "slave economy" to be different things. He expanded the list of doubts about the class (and pre-state) character of pre-colonial societies in the area, suggesting that they be described as "an oligarchy of chiefs and their clients," as opposed to a chiefdom, in which a leader has control beyond their immediate surroundings.

Convergence Opportunities

The question is: to what extent the "taboo" on researches of inequality from a Marxist point of view is explained by the particular conservatism of Northwest Coast studies themselves? Was it because Boas's realm had already inherited his anti-evolutionism and a strict orientation toward empiricism, more than any other branch of anthropology? Or, is it a result of the influence of some circumstances from the outside?

The leftist Ruyle, a "Partisan No 26" of the California Feminist Socialist Party of Peace and Freedom, ran for Congress and the State Assembly, but failed, and now is actively opposing President Trump and, of course, supports Bernie Sanders. Apparently, Ruyle never got his tenure, and instead used the faculty's early retirement program. The real witch hunt regarding left-wing professors took place in the U.S. during the years of McCarthyism. It so happened that the main battlefield was then located in Hollywood, but the Northwest Coast was also drawn into it. In 1949, the City College of New York refused to renew the contract of Morris Swadesh, who attracted the attention of the Un-American Activities Committee. This was due to his membership in the Communist Party and participation in the campaign against the execution of Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Nuu-chah-nulth, from whom Swadesh collected his field material, while simultaneously teaching them to read and write in their native language, made a statement in support of the scholar. The letter began with

> *iih-atlitin yaa-ak'at thlim'aqsti qwa'maaqin t'aqsap-ath qwi-yiqin hashiichitl ani ah-aa hawii-ap'atqa Professor Morris Swadesh*… 'All of us Aht people were very distressed to hear that Professor Morris Swadesh was dropped… (Powell 1995:661–662)

As prescribed, Swadesh asked the AAA Executive Council for help, but the association did not support him. A few years later, this brilliant anthropologist was forced to move to Mexico in search of work, where he finally died at the age of 58. Of course, the Cold War did not bring American anthropology such misfortunes as occurred in Soviet anthropology—no one directly paid with their lives, or went to camps or prisons. This was the case in the USSR during the Great Terror. But Swadesh's case was not the only one. A year earlier, Jacobs—as it turned out, another communist sympathizer—appeared before the analogous commission of the Washington State Legislature, but he managed to keep his job at the university (Thompson 1978:642–643). On the other side was Murdock, scribbling reports on "unreliable" colleagues to the FBI (Price 2008:37–61).

Regarding Averkieva—whom Harkin calls a "dogmatic communist" and her approach "paleoevolutionary," despite all the laurels in Moscow—none of her concrete ideas were in demand in North America. Earlier we noted (Kuznetsov 2017, vol. 3:131–133) that, contrary to popular opinion among Russian colleagues (possibly supported by Averkieva herself), the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw did not adopt her in any of their clans, or more precisely *numaym*. In the same way, she was not able to completely overcome the demarcation lines within the international academic community.

The authority of the "etnoamerikanistka" was unambiguously recognized in the USSR and the countries of the Socialist Bloc—Hungary,

Czechoslovakia, and Cuba. She visited the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES) in Chicago (1973), specially convened by Sol Tax to illustrate the diversity of exotic national manifestations of anthropology; she also received correspondence from *Current Anthropology*; however, she never went to AAA's meetings and only sent her report once to the International Congress of Americanists, in 1958, when it was held in Costa Rica (IEA Archive, coll. 16, item 48).

In addition to Adams and Harkin, who briefly mentioned Averkieva's "Slavery," perhaps only Leland Donald (1997:44–46), who directly addressed the issue of slavery in the area, paid some attention to her approach. Nevertheless, the theorizing of inequality among the Northwest Indians, with the irreconcilability of both initial positions, could bring results that would suit everyone. Eventually, the arguments of the main Soviet expert turned out to be permeable to influence from colleagues from North America. She drew upon Marian Smith's idea concerning the beneficial effects of the early contact period on the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw; new technologies, primarily iron, and benefits "gained from European trade in sea-otter pelts" (Smith 1956:283–284), caused them to economically and culturally flourish, unlike subsequent colonialism, which destroyed everything (Averkieva 1961:49).

In her work specifically dedicated to the topic, Averkieva tried to interpret the same idea in a Marxist spirit: at first colonialism accelerated stratification, hereditary slavery appeared in the area, early class relations were established, which should have meant progress. But at a later stage, capitalist exploitation turned the Indigenous population—from whom land and resources were taken—into exploited wage workers at fish factories and canneries. Traditional forms of credit faced a market introduced by Europeans; these new relations became the main threat to the fragile Indian economy. The growing Soviet chauvinism forced Averkieva to look for correlations between the onset of dark era of injustice and the Alaska Purchase (Averkieva 1968:69).

In the 1970s, the conclusion about all-destructive capitalism, grinding not only local economic structures, but also social institutions based on traditions within Indian communities, greatly helped Averkieva to "find" remnants of phenomena everywhere that would confirm the correctness of Morgan-Engels. In parallel, left-oriented scholars of the U.S., such as Eleanor Leacock and Harold Hickerson, did the same, starting to refute the Boasians' thesis about the initial absence of a clan structure in many tribes of the Northeast.

Perhaps the highest manifestation of the trend toward rapprochement was the implementation of the Soviet-American publishing project *North American Indians in a Historical Perspective*, conceived at the Moscow ICAES. As an American reviewer wrote: "The fact that the genesis of the idea came from a pair of Soviet scholars is a fascinating footnote" (Cash 1972:89). Along with Averkieva, the pair also included I.A. Zolotarevskaya, who, alas, did not live long enough to see the final publication.

The book was out both in English (Leacock, Lurie, et al. 1970) and Russian (Averkieva, editor, 1978) versions, and the team of its authors brought together anthropologists who were close to ethnohistory. It is significant that a prominent group among them were sympathizers of the left and even those who themselves suffered a quarter century ago. These were Marvin Opler, who had been subject to FBI investigations several times (Kuznetsov 2017, vol. 2:226–227), and Gene Weltfish, who had been called to the McCarthy's commission twice, in 1952 and 1953, as well as expelled from Columbia University and included in the "blacklist," being deprived of the opportunity to teach for eight years (Niehaus 2006:90–91). As the author of that review continued his analysis: "The essay on the coastal Algonkians by T.J.C. Brasser is especially impressive, as is the work on the Tlingit Indians by Julia Averkieva of the USSR" (Cash 1972:89). There is no doubt that mutual understanding between all the authors was promoted by the general drift of Averkieva toward ethnohistory.

Averkieva placed her essay, "Tlingit", almost word for word in her grand book *The Indians of North America* (Averkieva 1974:134–170), which was published even earlier than the Russian translation of the mentioned collection. Thus, once having started with the study of the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw, Averkieva finished with The Tlingit of Russian America. The change in research focus was probably also dictated by the need for compromise. Firstly, it was no longer necessary to turn everything inside out in order to prove the unprovable, i.e., the hopelessly outdated Morgan-Engels' understanding of social evolution. As we recall, matrilineal clans are preserved among the Tlingit, unlike the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw. And secondly, as a result of this step, the lack of field data brought by her from Fort Rupert was compensated by the possibility of using new historical sources.

Everything seemed to have ended in the 1980s with her passing, and the next generation of ethnographers who grew up in the USSR, if they continued to research the Northwest Coast, were based on completely different starting points. For example, Kan (1986:194) does not mention Averkieva's materialistic publications at all, suggesting "a more holistic interpretation" in his works of the Tlingit cycle. Only in an article of his concerning the history of anthropology—which was dedicated to her—does he discuss her. In that article, he states that her "work cannot be considered a significant contribution to American studies, and therefore is not of great value today for specialists in this field" (Kan 2018:74). The same applies to Russian sources, to which she first drew attention. As far as one can judge, the notes of I. Tikhmeneff, I. Veniaminoff, and others, for the most part, remain untranslated and unknown to most English-speaking anthropologists who worked on the coast.

Paradoxically, the effect of the short-term intervention of Marxist Ethnography began to affect the study of the Pacific Northwest primarily after the collapse of the country (the Soviet Union) that Yulia Pavlovna served. The sharpness of confrontation between two blocs came to naught, and what Soviet scholars and their rare desperate supporters in the West did, ceased to serve as a bugbear or an example of how not to study for the majority.

James McDonald, who studies the Tsimshian, largely repeats Robin Fisher's (1977) conclusion about the two-stage involvement of local Indian economies in the global market. Initially, as we saw, this had been expressed by Smith and Averkieva, but updates the process in the broad context of world-system relations: the overall beneficial effect expressed in their growth of the commodity economy, eventually, is replaced by capitalist hegemony over most of the resources, technologies, and labor that were taken from Indigenous communities. McDonald (1994:152–175) draws his theoretical guidelines from studies of dependency, which characterized the underdeveloped world. Charles Menzies, a Marxist scholar and another Tsimshian researcher, uses archaeological methods together with ethnohistory. His 'People of the Saltwater' (Menzies 2016) contains a detailed "story" of a Gitxaała village community, whose social and political relations, based on marine economy, have survived both colonialism and the emergence of the industrial capitalist economy.

Until recently, Kenneth Ames, an archaeologist who excavated in various parts of the coast, also remained in the company of those who recognize reality of the classes and economic importance of slavery. According to his data, the appearance of elites, at least in the north, dates from no later than 1850 BC, as indicated by finding of labrets, *koliuzhki*, in burials, i.e., markers of nobles among the Tlingit and Haida. The time period for transition to slavery in the area has not yet been defined, but it is important that slaves were the only labor resource under control of the nobility (Ames 2001:3–4, 7). Data collected by him seems to really contradict "a long held anthropological view that Northwest Coast economies were somehow "irrational," expending important resources in a pursuit of prestige" (Ames 2008:155).

Thus, Marxism has undergone a kind of amnesty. And this was reflected not only in renewed attention to selected topics, including inequality and classes. Another consequence is integration, the gradual entry into everyday life of the inner-party language. Bill Angelbeck and Colin Grier masterly use rhetoric originated from M. Bakunin's anarchism to explain peculiarities of historical development of the Salish, possibly in the most irregular area of the coast that is the south. Suttles (1958:499–500) called them an "inverted pear"-shaped society, in which the majority were not slaves or even commoners, but representatives of the upper class. According to archaeological data, nobles stood out in this group as early as 3500–2400 BP (when skeletons with a characteristic deformation of skulls appeared). From 1000 BP they became more and more dominant statistically (dolichocephalic findings were more common), and as such the historical Salish entered the age of colonization (Angelbeck and Grier 2012:559). However, Coast Salish leaders, like the elites on the coast in general, even had many of the external attributes of chiefliness in their arsenal, were inferior to paramount chiefs, those who had consolidated power over significant territories, i.e., of the classical type in understanding of Sahlins, Service, etc. The combination of social complexity with lack of a political one is understandable for long-term resistance to the centralization of power, which, in Angelbeck and Grier's opinion, corresponds to anarchist thought.

Conclusion

To conclude, evolutionism in all versions considered above, whether it is Soviet-Morgan, multilinear, independent Marxist, or anarchist, tends to interpret the process of sociopolitical development as stadial, and therefore spasmodic. Synchronic models, from cultural-ecological to semiotic-holistic, imply that after a change of environment, alienation of Indigenous population from its resources and its subsequent acculturation, comes the end of times. And in this, they are similar to the first, because they also lead us to the idea that development is intermittent. A similar vision is opposed by historicism as a method, on the contrary implying not discreteness, but continuity in every possible case. The irreducibility of such contrasting approaches to a compromise represents an inexhaustible source for creativity and new interpretations. But in our opinion, this opposition is only alleged.

Why was the social evolution of Indigenous peoples considered as if it ended with the arrival of the colonists? Perhaps this question is too naive? And yet, is it possible that the laws of development, if they exist and are indeed discovered, can cease to function in contemporary society? One of the few cases where a complex aboriginal chiefdom, which was steadily moving toward being a state, and had reached it in the colonial period, is analyzed by A. Johnson and T. Earle. This is the Kingdom of Hawaii of Kamehameha I (Johnson and Earle 2017:292–294). It seems that nothing like this has happened on the American continent.

Anthropologists, who laid the foundation for current understanding of how mosaic cultures of the Pacific Northwest are arranged, worked at crucial times. The 1855 U.S. treaties with Northwest tribes get passed over, despite each one stipulating that natives free their slaves. During those most difficult decades, there was a depopulation of Native Americans, who had been plunged into a state of shock from the beginning of the reservation period, then also the crisis the Great Depression, though it seized everyone, persecutors and persecuted. It was widely believed that we are observing irretrievable passing of the last generation of local communities, once great and distinctive. Moreover, their total lumpenproletarianization should have affected both social lower classes and former political elites. However, time passed, and it became clear that such a view was fraught with obvious simplification. After all, the descendants of almost all the peoples mentioned at the beginning still live in their original places

of the area, unlike their counterparts from the Northeast, who suffered the so-called Indian Removal.

It seems that North American Indian societies, unlike Hawaiians, were hardly expected to grow into a state by the colonial era. Today's label '500 nations' must be taken mainly as a metaphor or at least in some other meaning than social evolution suggests. At the same time, somewhere in the Indian country, modern reservations, ranging from large-scale Navajo to a small community of the Wisconsin Oneida, try to upgrade their political and legal statuses to a kind of "nonstate nations" (Shepardson 1977:223–244; Nesper 2018:87–116). But if so, then the fate of their classes or ranks after integration into Euro-American society is of interest. It is reliably known that Indian slavery disappeared by the 1880s after prohibitive measures by administrations both in Alaska and British colonies. As Averkieva (1961:27) wrote, the last Tlingit slave was shot dead in 1898. Another thing is chiefs' families, and at this point, the most interesting thing occurs. There are clear examples of how, despite everything, the nobility retained its status, even having a chance to enter the new establishment.

The masterly weaver of Tlingit blankets Florence Scundoo (*Kaatxwaaxsnéi*) came from a family of a high-ranking shaman in Chilkat Kwan; Emmons personally worked with her. Her husband, a prominent collaborator of many anthropologists (Speck, Sapir, Boas, etc.), Louis Shotridge of Klukwan, was the son of another representative of the Tlingit elite—*Yeilgooxú,* whose half-brother was John Swanton's informant *Ḵadasháan* from Stikine Kwan. In turn, this last one was the eldest son of the Chief *Laatxích̲x̲*, who himself was the great-grandson of the noble *Yisyát*. As Judith Berman (2015:230) demonstrated, *Ḵadasháan* belonged to the Tlingit leaders, at least in the fifth generation, while Shotridge came from the sixth generation and George Hunt from the seventh generation.

Regarding the latter, famous "Kwakiutl" from Fort Rupert, we have already written that his mother, Mary Ebbetts, who belonged to Tongass Kwan, married Robert Hunt from England (Kuznetsov 2017, vol. 3:80–82, 95–98). About her father, who was named *Andáa*, for whom "slaves carried water from other islands," it is known that he was one of the eight offspring of the amazing woman *Kaajidal* from the Valley House of the *Teiḵweidí* clan, who managed to prevent the bloody strife a couple of times between her own clan and her husband's relatives *Xaas. hitaan*. Apparently, she should be considered as the sister of Neigoot, a leader of *Teiḵweidí* lineage, married to a woman from *G̲aanax̲.ádi*, and the first one to accept the name of Ebbetts from a visiting captain. The Tlingit matriline of Hunt's genealogy went back to a leader *Teiḵweidí* named *Ḵaa Tlein*, i.e., great-grandfather *Kaajidal* (Berman 2015:221–223, 227).

In the future, Hunt's descendants, who merged mainly with the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw, will achieve many heights, owing to their skillful marriage strategy, including feasts, such as the one arranged by George himself in honor of his son David, and the scandalous potlatch of Dan Cranmer, married to the daughter of the latter. George's grandson Thomas will become related with the high-ranked Mowachaht shaman Dr. Billy; one great-grandson, also George Hunt ("senior"), became the supreme leader of the Fort Rupert Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw, the other, Calvin Hunt—the leader of the Mowachaht. A whole pleiad of artists and woodcarvers from the Hunts is known: a grandson Henry; great-grandchildren and great-granddaughters Richard, Tony, Stan, Eugene, Corrine and Rita Hunts, Verna Hunt Chartrand, and Shirley Ford; great-great-grandchildren Tom D., Stephen, Jason, and Trevor Hunts. Anthropologist Andy Everson, who is inheriting the prestigious name *Na̲gedzi* now, is both great-great-great-grandson of George (grandson of his granddaughter Maggie Frank) and grandson of Andy Frank—the leader of the Comox (a Coast Salish group). In 2013, more than 500 members of the extensive Hunt family gathered in Fort Rupert to establish a totem pole carved by Calvin in honor of their ancestors (Bruchac 2014:167)!

These and similar family stories convincingly demonstrate the effectiveness of the institutions of the Northwest Coast Indians, and their adaptive capabilities, which again brings us back to the more general question of results of development of these societies. Undoubtedly, the Hunts and others achieved prestige, wealth, and a high position nowadays, not only by distributing blankets and candle fish oil, but, first of all, by converting their knowledge, which gained anthropological value in some moment that by the way confirmed the lively nature of abstract theorizing, albeit in somewhat unusual sense. Their artistic talents turned out to be another treasure, but they were not in great demand until a shift towards total recognition of Indian crafts as real art. It seems that, along with searches for an evolutionary perspective, in the form of new, more adequate sequences of stages and levels, one can also confidently talk about another process—the gradual convergence of two different systems, the native and the Euro-American, or at least the inter-penetration of some their parts.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA—American Anthropological Association.
- BAAS—British Association for the Advancement of Science.
- BP—Boas Papers Collection (American Philosophical Society).
- CA—*Current Anthropology* (Chicago).
- ICAES—International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.
- IEA Archive—Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology Archive (Moscow).
- JA/FB—Julia Averkieva to Franz Boas (BP).

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History of Lushootseed Language Instruction

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Abstract
Language revitalization has been central to efforts by Indigenous communities all over North America to reclaim and regain their voice. A century after linguistic efforts by missionary Chirouse, Lushootseed, the Coast Salish language of the Puget Sound area, experienced a continuous period of revitalization. This article focuses on two stages of Lushootseed language revitalization. The first begins with the efforts of Skagit elder Vi Hilbert, whose work with linguist Thom Hess led to her forty-year commitment to revive Lushootseed through teaching, publishing, recording and filming, storytelling, and public speaking. The second, resulting in part from Hilbert's legacy, describes the development of local tribal language programs and language "activists," and new strategies for language instruction that aim to produce lifelong speakers. We follow Lushootseed from the era of language suppression in boarding schools through decolonization to twenty-first century initiatives to see that Lushootseed remains a living language.

Keywords
Coast Salish, Lushootseed, language revitalization, Indigenous language instruction

Introduction

The First People of Puget Sound have lived for millennia on its shores and along its rivers. Their Coast Salish language was first labeled Puget Salish by linguists and anthropologists, and then, in the 1960s, transliterated as Lushootseed (Figure 1). It is now generally known by Native language teachers as *dxʷləšucid* (Northern Lushootseed dialect) or *txʷəlšucid* (Southern Lushootseed dialect). The story of Lushootseed language revitalization follows a path similar to that of Indigenous language restitution efforts worldwide, but it is also a very local story. It begins with language suppression and the agendas of Euro-American missionaries and academics, and continues with the dawning of Native American cultural and legal activism in the second half of the twentieth century. In Lushootseed country, this narrative focuses on the determination of one woman to take back the linguistic legacy her parents and community had contributed to the historical archive over generations. Lushootseed language communities have grown and changed over the last half century, and a new generation of Indigenous language scholars, teachers, and speakers keep the story going. The "living language" of pre-contact Puget Sound continues in a contemporary context where new ways of imagining and creating modes of communication bring new life to Lushootseed.

Figure 1. Coast and Interior Salish language area (Courtesy of Seattle Art Museum).

Historical Background

The Boarding School Experience

Generations of children learned to speak their language growing up in Indigenous Puget Sound area households and communities. The natural process of language transmission from one generation to the next began to be disrupted by the mid-nineteenth century. Students required to leave their homes to attend either day schools or boarding schools were forbidden to speak their language, as part of missionary and governmental efforts to "civilize" young Native people and further their acculturation.

The Tulalip Reservation came into being as one of the provisions of the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott (it was officially established in 1860 (Riddle 2009)). Named for a bay within the area included in the reservation, Tulalip "…was created to provide a permanent home for the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Skagit, [Sauk-] Suiattle, Samish, and Stillaguamish Tribes and allied bands living in the region" (Tulalip Tribes 2020).

In 1858 Tulalip became the site of the first missionary-run school in western Washington territory (Parkhurst 2014:23–24). The Mission of St. Anne's began as a single log house which served as residence, church, and a day-school for both boys and girls. It soon expanded to include a boys' boarding school, and by 1868, a

girls' school had also been established. Operation of the Tulalip Mission School was turned over to the federal government in 1901, when it was renamed the Tulalip Indian Boarding School. It remained in governmental hands until its closure in 1932 (Tulalip Tribes 2020).

Trauma associated with language disruption has been documented by elders from many tribes, based on their school experiences. As a result of these experiences, many were reluctant or unable to pass the language along to the next generation. Some parents also felt that their children had a better chance of getting ahead in the world if they spoke only English. Harriette Shelton Dover described her experience at the Tulalip Indian Boarding School, arriving there in 1912 at age seven:

> I was given a whipping for speaking our own language in school when I was nine years old….Two or three of us were talking "Indian" [Snohomish] downstairs in the playroom in the Girls Building. Somebody probably told on us. It was against the regulations for any of the students to speak their Indian languages….The girls' matron came downstairs from her office. You could hear her voice two miles away. She was screaming, and she had the strap….The matron strapped us from the back of our necks all of the way to our ankles… and I mean she laid it on. The strap wrapped around my whole body…. She swung her arms way out, and she made that strap sing around my neck, and she nearly knocked me out.
>
> Believe me, we never talked "Indian" at the school again. Some of our people, such as those who were my sons Wayne's or William's age and some of the girls, were kind of shocked and disturbed over the fact that they never heard our language. They said their mother never spoke the language or their father or their grandmothers, and so they said they didn't know a single word of their Indian language. I gave a talk somewhere to a group, and I explained the reason why we seldom spoke Indian: it was beaten out of us. We were severely punished, and some of the boys and girls got worse punishment than I did. (Dover 2013:118–119)

A generation after Harriette Shelton Dover, Vi *taqʷšəblu* Hilbert (Upper Skagit) also attended the Tulalip Indian Boarding School. Her experience confirms the decrease in natural language transmission that had occurred since 1912:

> My parents would put me in boarding school in September when they went up to work in the hop fields in Yakima. Many people resented the discipline there. English was spoken—only—unless we were hiding in the corner there someplace talking to each other about something we didn't like. So very few people were speaking the language, they didn't have to enforce it anymore. They had already got it out of the generation before me. (Jennings 1995)

Father E. C. Chirouse

Ironically, interest in Lushootseed among non-Natives in the Puget Sound region goes back to Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse, Catholic missionary of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Father Chirouse was the founder, with Father, later Bishop, Paul Durieu and Brother Celestine Verney, of the mission and school on the Tulalip reservation in 1858. His parish included the Lummi, Muckleshoot, and Port Madison reservations as well as Tulalip, and in his travels throughout the region, he became familiar with the local dialects and learned to converse with members

of these communities (Marino 1990:172; J. Miller 1999:41; Riddle 2009). At Tulalip he learned Snohomish well enough to produce his "Short Method to learn the Snohomish in 12 lessons," or, as it is described on page one of the 219-page manuscript, "A short method to learn the Snohomish Indian language—in 12 lessons, to be retained by heart….The most successful way to come to the knowledge of an Indian language, is, in my opinion, to follow Nature, and imitate little Children when they are making their first attempt to speak…" (Chirouse [n.d.]:1).

Father Chirouse appears to have improvised his own orthography to represent the sounds present in the Snohomish words he transcribed. His impressive method includes elements of a dictionary and a grammar. Lessons one through eight include English to Snohomish translations of common questions and terms organized by subject (celestial bodies, birds and fish, parts of the body, etc.). Lesson nine reverses the translation order, presenting terms for Snohomish "habits and custom" followed by English descriptions of each. Lessons 10 and 11 focus on elements of Snohomish grammar and pronunciation (Chirouse [n.d.]:55–137).

Lesson 12 consists of two "Dialogues," titled: 1) "A Dialogue between a young Catholic Snohomish and a military man (White man)," and 2) "An other Dialogue between an Indian scholar and the son of a protestant parson" (Chirouse [n.d.]:138–208.). Father Chirouse specifies that the first Dialogue was "…translated from a Chinook original, both speaking the jargon," into English and Snohomish (Chirouse [n.d.]:142). He does not mention the source of the second Dialogue, but it seems likely that this exchange also took place in Chinook Jargon.

It is clear that Father Chirouse had an interest in and affinity for languages, but his stated purpose in preparing the method came from his vocation as a Catholic missionary. As he states on page two, "In this little manuscript, we will present a resume of materials that may enable a Missionary to converse with the Snohomish" (Chirouse [n.d.]:2). In addition to his method, Father Chirouse produced Snohomish translations of Christian scripture, which he and other priests presumably used in the course of saving souls throughout the Puget Sound region.

The Dialogues are particularly interesting in that they feature Indians who had been "instructed and baptized" (Chirouse [n.d.]:140) speaking in their own words (according to Chirouse). In the first Dialogue, Chirouse describes the young Snohomish Catholic who took the name Peter: "His faith was sure [sincere?] and strong, and since he was born a Christian he became a zealous apostle among his people who generally followed his example with his instructions and were also regenerated in the water of salvation." The transcribed Dialogue is between Peter and a military man who, Chirouse writes, "…probably wanted to try his [Peter's] faith" (Chirouse [n.d.]:141).

The second Dialogue is between "Jullius," a Nooksack living at Lummi, who had been at the school at Tulalip for five years (Chirouse [n.d.]:161), long enough "to save my own Soul" (Chirouse [n.d.]:162), and a "Lad," the son of a Protestant clergyman. Again, the theme of the conversation is the demonstration of the strong faith of a Tulalip-missionized Catholic Indian confronted by a challenge to that faith. In the first Dialogue the challenge comes from a white military man and, in the second, from a white (presumably) Protestant believer. The Protestant "lad" questions Catholic doctrine and Jullius's knowledge of the Bible. In response, Jullius defends Catholicism, quoting Biblical chapter and verse in lengthy passages. The encounter ends, according to Chirouse, with the lad "throwing a stone at Jullius [and saying] crazy boy don't talk to me anymore (and away he went)" (Chirouse [n.d.]:208).

It is unknown how Chirouse came by these Dialogues. They are so detailed, it is as if they have been transcribed from a tape recording! It seems likely that in each case the convert described his encounter to Chirouse, who embellished the texts to maximize their effectiveness as evangelizing tools.

The Age of Salvage Anthropology

Father Chirouse's aim in learning and documenting Lushootseed was tied to his Catholic mission, with no further goal than religious conversion. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the beginning of efforts by ethnologists across North America to document native cultures and languages assumed to be well on their way to extinction. The earliest work in the Puget Sound region was done by George Gibbs, whose *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon* included a "Dictionary of the Niskwalli" (Gibbs 1877). Anthropologist Thomas Talbot (T. T.) Waterman, who taught at the University of Washington, 1918–1920, published numerous ethnographic works based on his research in the Puget Sound area. His particular interest in ethno-geography led him to complete a study of western Washington native place names (Miller in Waterman 2001:2–3). Waterman deposited this manuscript in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, later in his life, and it was published as *Puget Sound Geography* by Lushootseed Press in 2001 (Waterman 2001).

During his research in the Puget Sound region, Waterman was often assisted by a local student of Indigenous culture, Arthur C. Ballard (Watson in Ballard 1999:vii–viii). Ballard had a lifelong interest in the language and lifeways of the place where he had grown up, and during the course of his long life, he published several works including *Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish* (1927), *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (1929, reprinted in 1999), and "Southern Puget Sound Salish Kinship Terms" (1935). In 1932 Ballard also made sound recordings of four elders on the Muckleshoot Reservation using Ediphone wax cylinder technology, recording songs associated with the stories he documented in his published collections (Jacobs [n.d.]).

Most early anthropological research in the Puget Sound region had included attention to Indigenous language terminology, but the first work of Lushootseed linguistic analysis was Jay Ellis Ransom's "Notes on Duwamish Phonology and Morphology" (Ransom 1945). This was followed by Colin E. Tweddell's *The Snoqualmie-Duwamish Dialects of Puget Sound Coast Salish* (1950) and Warren A. Snyder's *Southern Puget Sound Salish: Phonology and Morphology* (1968a) and *Southern Puget Sound Salish: Texts, Place Names, and Dictionary* (1968b). The works of Ransom, Tweddell, and Snyder may all now be found in Miller 2020. Implicit in all this scholarly research was the expectation that whatever could be "salvaged" from Native American culture was worthy of study, interpretation, and analysis, but that its value was ultimately historical. Many researchers clearly felt respect and admiration for their subjects as they witnessed the tragedy of individual lives. Few if any imagined an ongoing existence for Indigenous communities and the cultural resurgence that would characterize Native American life in the second half of the twentieth century.

Lushootseed Language Research in the 1950s and 1960s

During the academic year, fall 1961 through spring 1962, linguist Laurence C. Thompson taught a field methods class to study Northern Lushootseed at the University of Washington (UW). At that time Thompson was involved in the development of the UW Department of Linguistics, and in its early years, he trained a number of graduate students who became specialists in different Coast Salish languages. This effort produced a community of Coast Salish scholars who worked closely with Native speakers to document language and, often, promote language instruction in Native communities.

In the field methods class, Thompson was assisted by Louise *cisxʷisał* George, a Skagit-speaking Nooksack who was living in Seattle (Bates et al. 1994:x; Hess in Bierwert 1996:5). Thomas Hess (hereafter referred to as Thom Hess, the form of name he preferred), a student in the class, became interested in doing his own linguistic study of Lushootseed. In order

to find an elder to work with, he drove to the Tulalip tribal headquarters and spoke to tribal chairman Sabastian Williams. After questioning Hess about his knowledge of the language and being convinced that he was serious, Williams gave him the name of his aunt, Elizabeth Krise, a Snohomish speaker and resident of Snohomish who spent her later years at Tulalip (Bates et al. 1994:x; Hess in Bierwert 1996:15–16). After knocking at her door and convincing her of his scholarly intentions, Hess began meeting weekly with Krise, from November 1961 through the academic year and the following summer (Bates et al. 1994:x; Hess in Bierwert 1996:15–16). In December 1961 Hess made an audio recording of Krise telling the story of Lady Louse, which later became a signature story in Upper Skagit Vi Hilbert's repertoire.

The language material Hess had begun collecting in 1961 formed the basis for his University of Washington M.A. thesis, *Snohomish Chameleon Morphology* (Hess 1964) and Ph.D. dissertation, *Snohomish Grammatical Structure* (Hess 1967). His Ph.D. dissertation has never been published (van Eijk 2009). Apparently, Hess was unhappy with his dissertation and removed it from the University of Washington Libraries collection (Jay Miller, pers. comm. 10/26/20).

Between 1961 and 1975, Thom Hess made reel-to-reel tape recordings of a number of elders telling stories, relating personal and historical narratives, and acting as language consultants. Sessions were held in these elders' homes and inevitably include the sounds of daily life—barking dogs, slamming doors, crying children, and other ambient noise. At the time, Hess recorded these sessions with the sole purpose of gaining understanding of the mechanics of the language. He tape recorded only portions of these linguistic sessions, as the standard procedure for linguistic research was to transcribe by hand. As Hess explained:

> …we were discouraged from using tape recorders. We needed to use them, but we were also told, 'The more you get on tape, the less you're going to get in notebooks. Whatever you tape, be sure to transcribe it.' Well, of course, you can tape much faster than you can transcribe. And it just wasn't in our field methods at the time to have someone transcribe who was literate in the language (Hess in Bierwert 1996:22).

Years later Hess wrote, "It was only after the language began to become clear to me that the literary and cultural value of the stories slowly dawned" (Hess in Bierwert 1996:6). In the beginning, Hess was not much different from Father Chirouse and authors of previous linguistic works on "Puget Salish" language whose intended audience was anthropologists, linguists, and historians, not members of local Indigenous communities.

Hess worked with speakers of both Southern and Northern dialects of Lushootseed, then known as Puget Salish. His Northern Lushootseed speakers included Elizabeth Krise, Emma Conrad, Edward (Hagan) Sam, Martha Lamont, Levi Lamont, Louise George, and Dewey Mitchell. His Southern Lushootseed consultants, all from Muckleshoot, included Ernie Barr, Bernice Tanewasha, Eva Jerry, Bertha McJoe, and Ellen Williams. Hess transcribed and translated the recordings following each session, working in most cases directly with the consultants, who were able to assist with grammatical and lexical questions. The culmination of this field work was the development of a written form of the language and the publication in 1976 of the *Dictionary of Puget Salish* (Hess 1976).

Hess's dictionary utilized mainly Northern Lushootseed forms and grammatical elements (Bates et al. 1994:ix), but the audio recordings Hess made of the five Southern Lushootseed speakers in 1974 and 1975 were the source for "Muckleshoot Lessons" (on nine five-inch audio reels in the Hess Collection, University of Washington Libraries, Ethnomusicology Archives) (Hess 1995) and the *Muckleshoot Indian Language Book*, volumes one and two (Hess [n.d. a]).

Thom Hess, Pamela Amoss, and Vi *taqʷšəblu* Hilbert

In 1967 Hess was working with consultant Louise *cisxʷisał* George, the Skagit speaker he had been introduced to in Laurence Thompson's class years earlier. They were working together to translate and analyze Louise Anderson's telling, in Skagit, of the Basket Ogress story (often titled "The Witch Who Stole Children"). The audio recording of this rendition by Louise Anderson had been made in 1955 by University of Washington anthropology student Pamela Thorsen (referred to hereafter by her married name, Amoss), during her field research at Nooksack. Amoss had worked mainly with Nooksack speakers George Swanaset and Sindick Jimmy, but she also met Louise and Charley Anderson through fellow student Sally Snyder, who was working with Skagit consultant Charley Anderson.

Based on her research at Nooksack, 1954–1956, Amoss completed her M.A. degree in anthropology at the University of Washington in 1961 with the thesis *Nuksac*k *Phonemics* (Amoss 1961). That year she audited Laurence Thompson's field methods class, where she would have met Thompson's Skagit language consultant Louise George and where Thom Hess was a fellow student. Knowing Hess's interest in Skagit Lushootseed, Amoss gave Thom a copy of her 1955 recording of Louise Anderson. This is the recording Hess and Louise George were working to translate and analyze in 1967. At some point during these sessions, Mrs. George suggested that Thom should meet Vi Hilbert, the Andersons' daughter, who she felt would work well with him, and she arranged an introduction (Figure 2).

In a 1990 account of her life and work, Vi Hilbert described her initial meeting with Thom Hess [speaking of herself in the third person; exclamation marks and underlining are in the original typed document]:

> Vi Hilbert met Thom Hess at the nagging of Louise George who was working with the linguist at that time [1967]. Vi was impressed by the work that was in progress. She quietly listened and observed the patient tedium that was required to get just a few sentences from the tape recorder to the notebook in Lushootseed and then in English translation. She discovered during this first visit that she knew a lot more than she thought she remembered. She could understand the language and she could translate it to English!!!! <u>This was the beginning.</u> Thom began to present problems through correspondence with Vi. He was working on a tape recording that Pam Amoss had done with Louisa [Louise] (a basket ogress story). (Hilbert 1990)

This meeting was the beginning of a long, productive relationship between Hess and Hilbert and signals an important landmark in the history of the revitalization of Lushootseed. It is worth emphasizing that Vi Hilbert did not seek out this work, and in fact began working with Hess somewhat hesitantly, believing that she did not remember enough Lushootseed from her childhood to be of use. She recalled this hesitancy again in a 2004 interview:

> …I didn't think that I knew anything of value to anybody. If it had not been for Thom Hess coming into my life, Lushootseed probably would have died right there. I wouldn't have known that I had the kind of memories I have that could be used for the Lushootseed work. So I give him all the credit for the Lushootseed work that I have done. Because he was patient enough to work with me. For years he was patient enough to work with me. He never allowed me to feel that I was too dumb to learn. (Yoder 2004a)

Later in her life, Vi Hilbert recalled a memory that may have planted the interest in language that manifested in her work with Hess:

Figure 2. Vi Hilbert, Skagit elder. Photograph by Jill Sabella

> You know, before I ever worked with Thom, somewhere I picked up a book that had some of Erna Gunther's work in it [*Ethnobotany of Western Washington*]. I was so delighted to find something written about my culture. So I think that the fact that something had been written was what allowed me to become interested in being involved in the first place. Because it was so exciting to see something written (Yoder 2004a).

Vi Hilbert tape recorded her language sessions with Thom Hess. The first recorded lesson took place on 17 February 1968, a few months before her 50th birthday, probably at Hilbert's home (the sound of planes going over was commonplace at the Hilbert home on Des Moines Way South in Seattle). Hess describes how linguists work, introduces eight sounds in Skagit, and shows her how to write down the sounds in the orthography standardized by Hess for Lushootseed. He asks her to add to his list of words that contain the same vowels.

The session ends with Hess saying he will send Hilbert a postcard with a list of words for her to translate into English and send back to him. This is apparently the way they continued the work in between sessions. This exchange near the end of the one-hour lesson shows Hilbert's immediate excitement for the work:

> [Hilbert:] "Well, it's a privilege, believe me!"
> [Hess:] "Well, if you have the patience enough to stick with it 'til you really master it, it would be a tremendous

> service, too, I mean—not completely altruistic in this—if I could, you know—"
> [Hilbert:] "There *will* be a dictionary someday, won't there, in the Skagit language. And there will be stories written in Skagit."
> [Hess:] "That's right, that's what I'm doing."
> [Hilbert:] "Uh huh—so that I'll be able to read them and write them."
> [Hess:] "Right."
> [Hilbert:] "And even I could teach my children, hopefully." (Hilbert 2005)

Hilbert had actually started making tape recordings of Louise George and others before that first session with Hess, and she continued this practice during the months she worked with him. Hess and Hilbert met often from February through May 1968 in sessions recorded by Hilbert, usually with Louise George also present. These sessions focused on work with the stories Thom had elicited from elders during his earlier field work, as well as on grammar, vocabulary, and Lushootseed language sounds (Hilbert 2005). At the end of May, Hess returned to the University of Victoria, in Victoria, B.C., where he had joined the linguistics faculty and where he taught from 1968 to 2000 (van Eijk 2009).

Hilbert continued making recordings of friends and relatives after Hess returned to Victoria, documenting songs and hymns sung in English, casual conversation, and often including discussion of Skagit terms. The Vi Hilbert Collection in the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archives includes thirteen tape reels recorded by Hilbert from 1967–1971 (Hilbert 2005).

As Hilbert was getting more involved and committed to her language work, she experienced a serious setback. In 1969 she suffered a cerebral aneurysm which required brain surgery and was followed by months of recuperation. By the time she was able to work again, she had resolved to spend the rest of her life devoted to Lushootseed (Hilbert [n.d.]).

A second event during the early years of Hilbert's work was significant not only for her personally but for the future of Lushootseed revitalization. Sometime during the late 1960s–early 1970s, she learned that tape recordings had been made of her father and mother in 1955 and 1956 by University of Washington anthropology student Virginia Mohling. She also learned that Sally Snyder's research with Skagit consultants in 1952–1954 included sessions with Hilbert's father. Snyder did not make tape recordings, but rather manually transcribed myths and tales in English. Hilbert was eager to obtain copies of Snyder's notes and transcriptions, as well as Mohling's recordings, all of which were produced in the course of graduate research under the tutelage of UW anthropology professor Melville Jacobs.

It's not clear who suggested that Hilbert approach Jacobs to obtain access to these materials. Amoss and Mohling were classmates, and Amoss and Snyder had been roommates for a time while Amoss was working on Nooksack and Snyder on Upper Skagit. All three were students of Melville Jacobs. There are several versions of the story of how Vi Hilbert approached Jacobs to ask for copies of the Mohling and Snyder materials. He was clearly caught off guard by her forthright and insistent request but agreed, entrusting the materials to Pamela Amoss to get copies made. For Hilbert, this was a vindication of her belief that the voices of her parents were her rightful inheritance.

There are certainly earlier examples of local tribal members consulting academics and archival collections for materials of personal and community importance. These efforts increased in the 1950s and 1960s as Native Americans began to seek documentation in support of land and resource claims and to demand repatriation of their cultural and linguistic legacy. Hilbert's visit to Jacobs stands as an exemplary moment in the overturning of the long-standing power imbalance between scholars and the native people whose language and culture formed the basis of so many academic careers. The

era of anthropological and linguistic research and publication by and for solely the scholarly community was over.

Lushootseed Instruction at the University of Washington 1972–1987

The first person to teach a University of Washington course on Native American languages (Thompson's class had been on field methods) was Pamela Amoss, who taught "American Indian Languages" in the Spring of 1971 (Nason, pers. comm. 4/26/17; https://www.washington.edu/students/timeschd/archive/TS-spring1971.pdf). Amoss was working on her Ph.D. in anthropology at UW at the time. After its completion in 1972, she was appointed acting assistant professor for academic year 1972–1973 and then assistant professor in anthropology from 1973 to 1979 (Nason, pers. comm. 5/4/20).

Thom Hess was suggested as a language instructor by a colleague of UW anthropology professor James D. Nason's at the University of Victoria. Nason was already familiar with Hess's work (https://www.washington.edu/students/timeschd/archive/TS-spring1971.pdf)), as was Pamela Amoss, who had known Hess since Laurence Thompson's field methods class and who promoted him as the best candidate to teach Lushootseed (Hilbert 1990).

Hess was invited to the University of Washington in Spring 1972 to teach a Lushootseed language class in the American Indian Studies program. Vi Hilbert attended every class and assisted Hess while continuing to work on her own Lushootseed writing skills. Hess recalled:

> …there was Vi in the front row. She attended every class and made it a success in several ways, the most important of which was by assuring the students that the words that white man was saying were indeed Skagit. It was the real thing. (Hess in Yoder 1993)

That same quarter, Hess also taught "Proseminar in Salish" with Vi Hilbert (Nason, pers. comm. 4/26/17). It was work behind the scenes that had led to the addition of local native language study at the University of Washington. James Nason described the administrative process:

> When we created AIS [American Indian Studies] I was on the summer 1970 Dean's committee to come up with a plan for its structure, courses, etc.…While working on the planning committee I had proposed that native language proficiency be accepted by the university for the BA language requirement, provided we had language courses or at least certified individuals…who could give appropriate exams in fluency. This was accepted. (Nason, pers. comm. 4/26/17)

In Fall 1972 Hess again taught the UW class, with Hilbert assisting (Hess in Bierwert 1996:8; Nason, pers. comm. 4/26/17). In Winter 1973 Hess and Hilbert taught a five-credit "American Indian Languages: Salish" course (Nason, pers. comm. 4/26/17). These classes were not listed in the UW Time Schedule because, as Nason explained, "…I was never certain about funding and thus had to circulate information about them by flyers after the deadline for time schedules had come and gone" (Nason, pers. comm. 5/4/20).

It is not clear when exactly Vi Hilbert took over all the teaching duties from Thom Hess. Her name first appears in the UW Time Schedule along with Hess's in Spring 1973 for "American Indian Languages: Salish" (five credits) (https://www.washington.edu/students/timeschd/archive/TS-spring1973.pdf). The course was repeated in Autumn 1973 (https://www.washington.edu/students/timeschd/archive/TS-autumn1973-revised.pdf). Hess also taught "Intro[ductory] Inland Salish" that same quarter (https://www.washington.edu/students/timeschd/archive/TS-autumn1973-revised.pdf).

During Hilbert's first year of teaching on her own, Hess continued to assist from a distance. Hilbert remembered:

> The year that I taught, the first year that I taught at the University of Washington, I didn't feel qualified to create tests for my students. So he volunteered to do this long distance through the mail. He would create the test questions and I would administer them and then he would correct the test papers after the students would do them. He would grade them. After one year of that, he said, "I can't do that anymore, Vi. You're quite qualified to do it yourself." But he was willing to do that as a volunteer gift to me for the first quarter or two that I taught at the University. (Yoder 2004a)

Hilbert gradually gained confidence as a teacher. She later acknowledged her reliance on the support and encouragement of Pamela Amoss and Jay Miller, who were becoming two of her closest colleagues and friends (Yoder 2004a). She soon developed her own approach to classroom teaching. Former students describe her as a strict teacher with high expectations. She assigned written homework, which was collected and corrected. When students were called-on in class, she expected them to be prepared but was careful to only include previously introduced vocabulary in her questioning. She sometimes gave short cultural explanations but mostly stuck to language instruction. Class tapes produced in the campus language lab included Lushootseed practice sentences for each lesson. These recordings were available for students to listen to in the lab or to purchase for use at home. Over the years, she brought in elders to speak to the class and often had these sessions videotaped. She would also host a bone game (*sləhal*) in class every year, during which there were always complaints about the drumming and singing from professors in neighboring classrooms!

Who were Hilbert's students at the University of Washington? It was always her ambition to teach Lushootseed to tribal members and revitalize its use in tribal communities, and she did have native students in her classes (including her grandson and granddaughter), but the majority of her students were white university students from anthropology, linguistics, English, and other programs. It would be a disappointment throughout the rest of her life that her influence among the local tribes was not as far-reaching as she had hoped.

From the early 1970s on, Vi Hilbert taught language courses every year, paid as a lecturer, until her retirement from the University of Washington in 1987. Her teaching career was interrupted when she suffered a second cerebral aneurysm in March 1985 and underwent a lengthy hospital stay and months of recuperation. The second-year language class was eventually replaced with a literature class, "Lushootseed Literature in English" (five credits), which she taught during her last eight years at UW (Hess in Bierwert 1996:8). During academic years 1985–1986 and 1986–1987, she was assisted by Rebecca Chamberlain, who was employed by the Department of Anthropology as her Teaching Assistant. Chamberlain, who had taken the literature class herself in 1980, recalled that each week Hilbert would bring in her cassette player, provide some context, then play a tape of an elder telling a story in Lushootseed. She would play a phrase, then pause to translate, play another phrase, pause to translate, through to the end of the story. Students were expected to produce their own explications of the stories weekly and later in the term to write and present their own story. At this point in her career, Hilbert relied on the elders on the recordings to do the storytelling. She insisted that she was not a storyteller herself (Chamberlain, pers. comm. 4/26/17).

Hess and Hilbert continued to work together during the summers, and in 1976 they published a set of lessons based on the UW class curriculum they had developed. *Lushootseed 1* (full title—*Lushootseed: The Language of the Skagit, Nisqually, and Other Tribes of Puget Sound—An Introduction—Book One*) was published by American Indian Studies at the University of Washington along with cassette tapes containing spoken dialogues

(Hess and Hilbert 1976). This was followed by *Lushootseed 2* (Hess and Hilbert [ca. 1977]). Books one and two were re-issued by Daybreak Star Press in 1980 and again in 1995 by Lushootseed Press. Following the publication of the two-volume grammar, *Lushootseed 3* (full title—*A Reader for the Study of Northern Lushootseed Language and Culture*) contained several dozen stories in Northern Lushootseed (Hess [n.d. b]).

In addition to working with the story recordings Thom Hess had made of Lushootseed speakers, Hilbert began exploring recordings made by other collectors. In 1973 James Nason, Curator of American and Pacific Ethnology at the Burke Museum as well as professor of anthropology, acquired a collection of over 100 language tapes recorded by music educator Leon Metcalf (Nason, pers. comm. 5/4/20). In addition to recordings of numerous Indigenous languages from North and South America, as well as Mandarin, Tagalog, Ilocano, Arabic, and Ibo, the collection included 49 reels of Puget Sound area elders made between 1950 and 1955 (Metcalf [n.d.]).

Metcalf, who had known several Tulalips and heard Lushootseed spoken during his childhood in the Puget Sound area, was moved later in life to document the voices of the few remaining speakers. He had taken a class in language transcription from anthropology professor Melville Jacobs at the University of Washington but felt impatient with Jacobs's emphasis on hand-transcribing dictation over tape recording. He purchased a tape recorder in 1950 (consumer models had only recently become available) and traveled around western Washington, visiting elders in their homes and recording stories, narratives, and songs, as well as personal messages, which Metcalf carried from one elder to another (Metcalf interview in Hilbert and Miller 1995b:63–65).

By 1972 Hess was confident of Hilbert's abilities to conduct language work on her own, and when he learned about the Lushootseed recordings in the Metcalf collection, he urged Hilbert to start work transcribing and translating them. Pamela Amoss, who was by now a close friend, arranged for Hilbert to obtain copies of the recordings and encouraged her to apply to the Jacobs Research Funds to support her work. The Fund eventually provided her with three grants (La Pointe 2020). Cassette copies of the Metcalf tapes were made by James Nason, using his own reel-to-reel recorder, in 1974, for Hilbert's use in teaching (Nason, pers. comm. 5/4/20).

Vi Hilbert had operated a hairdressing business out of her home since 1960 (La Pointe 2020), but as teaching and language work began taking up more of her time, she cut back and finally closed down her business. She reorganized her home salon to create what she called her "Brain Room." Here she worked on her transcription and translation and gradually built up a Lushootseed research center (Yoder 2004b). Following several privately printed publications, in 1980 she co-authored, with Crisca Bierwert, *Ways of the Lushootseed People: Ceremonies and Traditions of the Northern Puget Sound Indians*, published by the Daybreak Star organization in Seattle (Hilbert and Bierwert 1980).

By 1983 Hilbert had attracted a devoted group of students who were working with her to promote the teaching and appreciation of Lushootseed language and culture. Together they started the Lushootseed Newsletter, followed by the incorporation of Lushootseed Research in 1983 (La Pointe 2020) and Lushootseed Press. Years of productive work followed, including numerous publications, among them: *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound* (Hilbert 1985); several collaborations with Jay Miller, including *Aunt Susie Sampson Peter: The Wisdom of a Skagit Elder* (Hilbert and Miller 1995a) and *Gram Ruth Sehome Shelton: The Wisdom of a Tulalip Elder* (Hilbert and Miller 1995b); and *Isadore Tom* (Hilbert 1995).

In the 1980s, Lushootseed Research received three significant grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, resulting in the production and publication of the *Lushootseed Dictionary*, co-authored by Hilbert, Hess, and Dawn Bates (Bates et al.1994), and *Lushootseed*

Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics, edited by Bierwert, with translations by Bierwert, Hilbert, and Hess and annotations by T.C.S. Langen (Bierwert 1996).

In addition to teaching, transcribing and translating recordings, and publishing, Hilbert became a storyteller herself. She had long insisted that she was *not* a storyteller, but in the early 1980s, encouragement from her student and companion Rebecca Chamberlain and professional storyteller Laura Simms, among others, led her to appearances at local and national storytelling events. She told stories she had learned from the old recordings, including one of her father's, beginning each in Lushootseed and translating into English phrase by phrase, as she did when presenting the elders' recordings in her classes. A very short story told by Elizabeth Krise and recorded by Thom Hess in 1962 became known as Hilbert's signature story, "Lady Louse."

By the time of her retirement from the University of Washington in 1987 (Yoder 2004a), Vi Hilbert was a high-profile local elder, often called upon to speak at public events and traditional gatherings. She was named a Washington State Living Treasure in 1989 and received a National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment of the Arts in 1994. In 1995–1996 she taught at The Evergreen State College as the Daniel Evans Chair Scholar (Yoder 2004). She also taught night classes at Upper Skagit and Swinomish, where she was able to further her goal of bringing the language back to tribal communities. As part of her commitment to preserving Lushootseed language and culture, in 1996 she initiated the Lushootseed Digital Archive Project at the University of Washington, a part of the Center for Advanced Research Technology in the Arts and Humanities (CARTAH), directed by faculty member Richard Karpen. A small collection of stories and songs and a video lecture in Lushootseed were archived and maintained on the CARTAH website until it was superseded by the Center for Digital Arts and Experimental Media (DXARTS) in 2001. In 2005 Hilbert deposited her entire archive to the University of Washington: her papers were deposited in the UW Libraries, Special Collections, and the recordings in the UW Ethnomusicology Archives (now part of the UW Libraries).

For more biographical information about the life and work of Vi Hilbert, see the Lushootseed Research website (http://www.lushootseedresearch.org) and the HistoryLink article about Vi Hilbert by Janet Yoder (Yoder 2004b).

Vi Hilbert's friendship and collegial relationship with Thom Hess lasted until her death in 2008. Hess passed away in 2009.

The Work Goes On

From the day of her first session with Louise George and Thom Hess, through the years of her teaching, transcription, translation, publishing, and public speaking, Vi Hilbert was committed to the revitalization of the Lushootseed language and the return of cultural patrimony to her community. She especially wanted to see the language taught to new generations of tribal people. Though certainly not alone in the endeavor, her contribution to this end was enormous. By the time of her death in 2008, Lushootseed language instruction was well established in some local reservation schools and under development in others. As linguist and language revitalization scholar Russell Hugo notes, "While universities play an important role in revitalizing Indigenous languages, educational programs in the communities and public schools are even more vital" (Hugo 2019:53). Several of these community initiatives are described here, but a comprehensive listing of all Lushootseed language revitalization efforts currently operating in the Puget Sound area is beyond the scope of this narrative.

Muckleshoot

Two of Hess's consultants in the 1970s, Eva Jerry and Bertha McJoe, were the first teachers of Southern Lushootseed at Muckleshoot. Both taught language classes in the Auburn Public

School District (Noel 1980:8), and Jerry also taught pre-school children on the reservation through a program run by the Muckleshoot Tribe (Bierwert, pers. comm. 1/2017).

Hess had also created a two-volume *Muckleshoot Indian Language Boo*k, but he was not available in 1979 to work with the teachers himself, as the Indian Education Coordinator Virginia Cross had hoped. Hess recommended Crisca Bierwert for the job of working with Bertha McJoe on a language curriculum for elementary school students. Hess knew that Bierwert had studied with Vi Hilbert since 1977 and had created a short Lushootseed grammar and grammatical analysis in *Ways of the Lushootseed People: Ceremonies and Traditions of the Northern Puget Sound Indians* (Hilbert and Bierwert 1980:28–55). The new curriculum focused on language use rather than instruction based on flash cards, as was typical of teachers during this period. The completed guide was titled *Beginning Muckleshoot: A Curriculum for the Instruction of the Muckleshoot Language at Kindergarten Through Grade 3 Level* (Bierwert Russell 1980).

Cross had previously hired Patricia Slettvet Noel, a local classroom teacher, to write a history of the Muckleshoot Tribe. This work, *Muckleshoot Indian History,* was also completed in 1980 and intended as a supplement to the social studies curriculum for the Auburn schools (Noel 1980).

Since 1980, the Muckleshoot Tribe has continued to support the language program, which offers classes and has produced books and other materials for teaching in the tribal community. The program is currently directed by Eileen Richardson. For more information, see the program's Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/MuckleshootLanguage/

Tulalip

In 1989 Henry "Hank" Gobin was hired to serve as Cultural Resource Manager of the newly established Tulalip Cultural Resources Department. His duties included the protection of archaeological sites, the location of artifacts to be returned to Tulalip and the storing of artifacts, planning a tribal museum, enforcing the provisions of NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act), and developing a Lushootseed language program (Langen, pers. comm. 1/22/17).

When Thom Hess was approached about developing a Lushootseed language curriculum, he recommended Toby Langen, a student of Vi Hilbert who had attended events at Tulalip and was well acquainted with the community. Langen was hired to write the curriculum and also began teaching at the local tribal school. The tribe was interested in training tribal members to teach Lushootseed and build up a core of speakers. The Lushootseed Language Program is currently over 30 years old and a well-established part of the Tulalip Tribes. Lushootseed Department Manager Michele Balagot currently oversees a staff of 18. In addition to preparing lesson plans and teaching, the department conducts interviews with elders, operates a language camp, presents storytelling events, and visits schools throughout the area. Language information and instruction developed by the program is posted at http://www.tulaliplushootseed.com/

Puyallup

In 2007 the Puyallup Tribal Council approved a proposal by Tami Kay Hohn (Puyallup) and Nancy Jo Bob (Lummi) to establish the Puyallup Tribal Language Program. In addition to language study, the program assisted individuals from Puyallup and other tribes seeking certification as Lushootseed language educators through the state of Washington's "First Peoples' Language, Culture, and Oral Tribal Traditions Teacher Certification" program. In 2014 Zalmai *ʔəswəli* Zahir, Lushootseed language consultant, was contracted by the Puyallup Tribe to help move the program in a new direction. Amber Hayward (Puyallup), who had been working in the Language Program since 2012, was made director, and she and Zahir collaborated to develop *txʷəlšucid* language revitalization efforts, emphasizing

daily speaking, in tribal schools and the Puyallup community. The approach taken by Puyallup and other community language programs is described by Danica Miller, a faculty member at the University of Washington Tacoma and Puyallup tribal member: "The revitalization model of language acquisition focuses on language production and not, as traditional language teaching has stressed, rote memorization. To create Lushootseed speakers, we need to create language users, not just language learners" (D. Miller 2019:82).

For more information about the Puyallup Tribal Language Program, see http://www.puyalluptriballanguage.org

Information about additional tribal language programs is available on the following websites: http://www.sauk-suiattle.com/language.html for Sauk-Suiattle, James Ironheart, Instructor; https://www.snoqualmietribe.us/Language for Snoqualmie, Angela Wymer, Language Specialist; https://suquamish.nsn.us/home/departments/education1/language-program/for Suquamish, Lena Purser-Maloney, Lushootseed Language Coordinator.

Lushootseed Language Institute

In 2015 the Puyallup Tribe and the Puyallup Tribal Language Program approached Danica Miller, a faculty member at the University of Washington Tacoma and Puyallup tribal member, seeking support for the establishment of a Lushootseed Language Institute along the lines of the Northwest Indian Language Institute at the University of Oregon (created in 1997). Through the UW Tacoma Professional Development Center, Miller organized and coordinated the development of the Institute, with a curriculum designed by Zalmai Zahir and Amber Hayward. The two-week language immersion course was first held in August 2016 and again in summers 2017 and 2019. In 2020 the Institute moved from UW Tacoma to the Puyallup Reservation, where it is supported by the Puyallup Tribal Language Program.

Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir

Zalmai Zahir has been the most influential figure in Lushootseed language instruction since the passing of Vi Hilbert. His first teacher was his step-father, Don Matheson (Puyallup), and as a teenager Zahir worked for several months with Muckleshoot elder Eva Jerry. In 1983–1984, while a student in civil engineering at the University of Washington, he took Lushootseed language classes with Vi Hilbert. Realizing that he already had exposure to Southern Lushootseed, she gave him a cassette tape copy of the Metcalf recording of Annie Daniels (Duwamish) telling stories, which he proceeded to work at transcribing on his own.

Zahir continued to work with Hilbert, devoting more time to the serious study of Lushootseed after his graduation from UW in 1988. He began teaching the language himself in 1989 (Zahir, pers. comm. 4/17/20, [http://www.puyalluptriballanguage.org/ptlp/zalmai.php]). Up to this point, the Northern Lushootseed dialect had been privileged over Southern Lushootseed in instruction and publications, due mainly to the seminal work of Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert's own Upper Skagit heritage.

While instruction in Northern Lushootseed continues at Tulalip and elsewhere, Zahir has oriented his teaching toward the revitalization of Southern Lushootseed in classes, online sessions, and language videos. In 2010 he took time off from teaching and, at the University of Oregon, began developing a different approach to language revitalization that focuses on language use. This approach incorporates reclaiming domains and creating a home-based "language nest" where only the target language is spoken (Zahir, pers. comm. 4/17/20). In addition to working as a consultant for the Puyallup Tribal Language Program and the Lushootseed Language Institute, he has been an instructor with the Northwest Indian Language Institute (NILI) at the University of Oregon. With Vi Hilbert and Jay Miller, he edited and published T. T. Waterman's *Puget Sound Geography* (Waterman

2001), and in 2018 he received a Ph.D. in Theoretical Linguistics at the University of Oregon with the dissertation *Elements of Lushootseed Grammar in Discourse Perspective* (Zahir 2018).

University of Washington

Lushootseed language instruction has also returned to the University of Washington's Seattle campus. In 2017 Christopher Teuton, chair of American Indian Studies, proposed a weekly "language table" in Southern Lushootseed, an informal gathering for interested students. The weekly meetings were led by Tami Kay Hohn and Nancy Jo Bob (Bob has also taught Southern Lushootseed at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington). Beginning in autumn quarter 2018, "American Indian Language—Salish" (in this case, Southern Lushootseed) has been offered as a five-credit class in a three-course sequence, taught by Hohn (Joseph 2019).

Lushootseed Research

Lushootseed language revitalization efforts have developed organically throughout the Puget Sound area, with networks of communication facilitating the work of individual language programs. Most programs have websites offering creative forms of language instruction, games, songs, and lists of resources. Innovative uses of technology include Lushootseed keyboard apps for use with social media. While there is no organization overseeing interaction among local language programs, Lushootseed Research, directed by Vi Hilbert's granddaughter Jill La Pointe, sponsors an annual Lushootseed Conference, providing a forum for teachers, scholars, and students to share ideas and experiences in formal and informal sessions.

Conclusion

The revitalization of Lushootseed continues around the Puget Sound region in many forms and contexts. In addition to formal language study in tribal language programs and college classes, online classes and resources including stories, games, and songs are available to anyone willing to learn. During the months of the COVID-19 pandemic, most tribal language programs moved online, developing materials that are not only instructional but entertaining as well, such as the jack-o-lantern making videos produced at Suquamish!

In the city named for Chief Seattle, one can also see Lushootseed in unexpected places: on the labels of native plants in Seattle University's *taqʷšəblu* Vi Hilbert Ethnobotanical Garden; on the street sign for the Cheshiahud Lake Union Loop, an urban trail honoring a Duwamish elder who lived for many years at Portage Bay; and, during the COVID-19 pandemic, a sign spotted in someone's front yard with the phrases "Be kind," "Be helpful," "Be sharing," each translated into Lushootseed. Several exhibits at the Burke Museum, on the University of Washington campus, include Lushootseed signage. The Hibulb Cultural Center, on the Tulalip Reservation, and the Suquamish Museum on the Suquamish Reservation, provide extensive Lushootseed (Northern in the former, Southern in the latter) documentation along with their exhibits. Through the efforts of many, Lushootseed/*dəxʷləšucid/ txʷəlšucid* continues to live.

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Stalking the Wild Pigeon: Diffusion of a Word for 'Pigeon' on the Northwest Coast

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Abstract
Across the many different languages of the Northwest, words for pigeon are remarkably alike, suggesting either diffusion from a common source or, more likely, that the pigeon named itself by its cooing sounds. Native speakers often remark that the "sounds of the land are in our language," and the pigeon in the Northwest provides a very apt example.

Keywords
Pigeon, onomatopoeia, comparative linguistics, birds, diffusion, Northwest languages, habitat

1. Background[1]

In the spring of 1982, while consulting the vocabulary section of Leo J. Frachtenberg's *Lower Umpqua Texts* (1914:136), I noticed that the Lower Umpqua word for 'pigeon,' hamūʿm [hamu•ʔm], closely resembled the Lummi (Coast Salish) word which I had recorded as /həˊmʔu/. [2] My initial response was—what a fine example of an accidental sound-meaning resemblance between two unrelated languages.

Later, out of curiosity I checked the word for 'pigeon' in three languages in the vicinity of Lower Umpqua: in Alsea, I found [haʔmí?]; in both Hanis Coos and Miluk Coos, I found [hɛʿmú].[3] Intrigued by these additional findings, I pursued my search for 'pigeon' words in languages to the north of the Alsea and to the south of the Coos. The results of my investigation are presented in Section 2.

1 Revised and updated in April 2019, any materials cited after 1985 have been added to the original text: Stalking the Wild Pigeon: Diffusion of a Word for 'Pigeon' on the Northwest Coast, 20th International Conference on Salish & Neighboring Languages, University of British Columbia, August 15–17, 1985:337–342.

2 My Lummi research was conducted during the summers of 1970–1971 under the auspices of Laurence C. Thompson's Linguistic Relationships Project of the (former) Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (University of Hawaii) under the provisions of a grant from the National Science Foundation.

3 Alsea forms from Jacobs (1935), Alsea Slip File. Coos forms from Jacobs (1933–1934), Notebook 94, pages 90 and 102.

2. Phonetically Similar Words for 'Band-tailed Pigeon'

Below are the phonetically similar words for 'pigeon,' which I have located and arranged by language family and geographically from (roughly) north to south (Table 1).

3. Scope of Search for 'Pigeon' Terms

I was unable to locate a word for 'pigeon' in the following languages: Eyak, Coast Tsimshian, Nass-Gitksan, Chilcotin, Haisla, Comox, Pentlatch, Molala, Yonkalla, Yaquina, Galice Creek, and Upper Coquille.

Table 1. Phonetically Similar Words for 'Band-tailed Pigeon.'

Language Family	Phonetically Similar Words	Source
Tsimshian		
Coast	gamu•m	Marie-Lucie Tarpant pers. comm. 1985
Nisgha	gamhúm	Marie-Lucie Tarpant pers. comm. 1985[4]
Wakashan		
Northern (Kwakiutlan)		
Heiltsuk	hàʔm	Nater 1977:55
Oowekyala	hàʔm	-
Kwakwala	hmʾú[5]	-
Southern (Nootkan)		
Nootka	haʔu•min	Barry Carlson pers. comm. 1982
Nitinat	hiʔí•ʔb	Barry Carlson pers. comm. 1982
Makah	hiʔí•ʔb	Barry Carlson pers. comm. 1982
Chimakuan		
Chemakum	himʔō	Powell 1974:166
Quileute	hiʔí•ʔb	Powell and Woodruff 1976:173
Salishan		
Bella Coola	haʔm	Nater 1977:55
Coast Branch		
Central		
Seshelt	həmʾú	Nater 1977:55
Squamish	(n-s-xáʔxm)	Nater 1977:55
Nooksack	həmʾú[6]	-
Halkomelem		
Musqueam	hamʾʔa	Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:24
Chilliwack	həmá•	Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:24
Sto:lō	həmó	Galloway 1980:67
Cowichan	həmʔə	Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:24

4 Though outside the pigeon habitat range, the rich cultural context for birdlore is well presented by Marsden 1978 Birds of the Ksan.

5 Oowekyala and Kwakwala forms from Neville Lincoln via M. Dale Kinkade pers. comm. 1982.

6 Nooksack: Laurence C. Thompson via Brent Galloway pers. comm. 1985.

Table 1 (cont.). Phonetically Similar Words for 'Band-tailed Pigeon.'

Language Family	Phonetically Similar Words	Source
Salishan		
Coast Branch		
Lushootseed	həbuʔ	Hess 1976:185
Twana	həbíbʾ	Nile Thompson pers. comm. 1985
Tillamook	hɛ•mú	Jacobs 1933
-	hæ•mʊ	Harrington 1942–1943: Reel 20: 0264
Straits		
Clallam	həmʾú(h)	Terry Thompson pers. comm. 1985
Songish	həmáʔ	Raffo 1972
Lummi	həmʔu	Seaburg fieldnotes 1971
Samish	hàʔm	Brent Galloway pers. comm. 1985
Saanich	həməˊwʾ	Montler 1991:312.4
Tsamosan		
Inland		
Upper Chehalis	šəmímʾ	M Dale Kinkade 1991:270
Cowlitz	xəmímʾ	Kinkade 2004:181 ('pigeon, dove')
Maritime		
Quinault	hamʾímʾ [7]	-
Lower Chehalis	šəmʾímʾ	M. Dale Kinkade pers. comm. 1982
-	həmhəmímʾ	Harrington 1942a: Reel 17: 0381
Interior Branch		
Okanagan	snx̲ʷucʾcʾtn	Mattina 1987:331[8]
mourning dove	x̲amíshamísʾ	Doak 1983:68 #320
Sahaptian		
Yakama	mimím	Beavert and Hargus 2009:413
Chinookan		
-	o-o-min	Gibbs 1863:16
Shoalwater	ōᵉomEn t!amāniks (pl)	Boas 1911:606
Cascades	*kaxamau	Hale 1846:605
Kikst	a-gax̲man (fem sing)	French pers. comm. 1985
-	it-gax̲man-kš (pl)	French pers. comm. 1985
-	a-tkʾʊnɪtkʾʊn 'mourning dove'	French pers. comm. 1985
Lower Columbia Athabaskan Swaal		
Kwalhioqua	hum-ehm [xəme•m]	-
T1atskanai	shim-aem [šime•m][9]	-

7 Quinault: James A. Gibson via M. Dale Kinkade, pers. comm. 1982.

8 While the Thompsons do not list a word for pigeon, they do devote a third of a page (1996:631) to words for bird calls, cries, and songs.

9 Kwalhioqua and Tlatskanie (more properly Swaal) forms and phonetic interpretations in letter from Victor Golla to Seaburg, 5/13/82.

Table 1 (cont.). Phonetically Similar Words for 'Band-tailed Pigeon.'

Language Family	Phonetically Similar Words	Source
Takelman		
Kalapuyan		
Tualatin-Yamhill	háʔmuɪ	Jacobs 1936
Central Kalapuya	hắʔʊm; ɑnhắʔʊmʔ[10]	Terry Thompson pers. comm. 1985
Yakonan		
Alsea	haʔmíʔ	Jacobs 1935
-	ha:míʔ	Drucker 1934:Vol. 4, page 8
Siuslaw (Lower Umpqua)		
-	hamu•ʔm	Frachtenberg 1914:136
-	hɑ'mû•m	Harrington 1942b:Reel 22: 0352
Coosan		
Hanis	hɛ'mú	Jacobs 1933–1934: Nb. 94, pp. 90, 102
Miluk	hɛ'mú	Harrington 1942–1943: Reel 20: 0264
Oregon Athabaskan		
Tututni	hebmo 'dove'	Victor Golla pers. comm. 1982
-	hebmo-čoh 'pigeon'	-
Ritwan		
Yurok	heʔmiʔ	Robins 1958:289
-	heʔmi•ʔ 'pigeon and its call'[11]	-
Wiyot	haʔmík	Teeter 1964:196
Hokan Pomoan		
-	*ma•yú	McLendon 1973:73

10 First Central Kalapuya (Santiam) form from Jacobs (1928–1936), Kalapuya Slip File; second form from Jacobs (1928), Notebook 33, page 56.

11 Seaburg's Yurok fieldnotes 1982

Languages whose words for 'pigeon' do not resemble the forms in Section 2 include Tlingit [nu-kwut] (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:20b); Tsetsaut [qabakalá] (Boas and Goddard 1924:11); Haida [nu-kwt; kuls'-de] (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:21b, 31b);[12] Carrier [ʔɪmpɪn] (Harrington 1939: Reel 14); Lower Chinook [-qamɛn] (Boas 1911:599); Takelma [maatʻal] (Sapir 1909:250); Tualatin-Yamhill [amongɛya, amíngi•a, amɪngɛya, míngi•ya; am(h)í•nqaya] (Zenk 1976:114);[13] Upper Umpqua [maiko; her-unt (=[he•yunt] ʔ);[14] Applegate Creek [kʻan/ta/tcʻu] (Sapir 1914:340); Klamath [ʔo•lʼ] (Barker 1963:492);[15] Tolowa [temu(h)] (Seaburg fieldnotes 1982); Karok [imθayáha•n] (Bright 1957:432); and California Athabaskan.

I did not search for relevant terms in the Northern Athabaskan languages (except for Tsetsaut, Carrier, and Chilcotin), Interior Salishan, or Sahaptian because of the geographic distribution of the pigeon.

4. Onomatopoeia or Diffusion?

How does one account for the rather striking resemblance of these forms, ranging in area from northern British Columbia to northern California and representing languages from ten unrelated language families?

One possible explanation is onomatopoeic invention.[16] There is evidence that the speakers of at least two of the languages cited above considered their word for 'pigeon' to be onomatopoeic:

12 Carol Eastman, pers. comm., suggests that the first Haida form may be a loanword from Tlingit.

13 The first and third forms were recorded by Albert S. Gatschet in 1877; the second and fourth forms were recorded by Leo J. Frachtenberg in 1915 and were intended to be "corrections" to Gatschet's transcriptions. The fifth word was recorded by Frachtenberg in 1913–1914. These Tualatin forms do not agree with the Tualatin form recorded by Melville Jacobs in 1936, although both Frachtenberg and Jacobs utilized the services of the same informant, Louis Kenoyer, who was the son of Gatschet's main informant, Peter Kenoyer (Zenk 1976:76).

14 Upper Umpqua: the first form is from a Hale ms., the second from a Milhau ms., NAA; both forms cited by V. Golla, letter to Seaburg, 5/13/82.

15 The Klamath word means 'dove'. No word for 'pigeon' was listed.

16 It is not always clear from the literature what is meant by the term 'onomatopoeia.' *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (1983:825) defines the word as: "1: the naming of a thing or action by a vocal imitation of the sound associated with it (as buzz, hiss); 2: the use of words whose sound suggests the sense." The following words for 'crow' (Nater 1977:42) provide an example where onomatopoeia (sense (1) above) is clearly involved. This example is particularly indicative of onomatopoeia for English speakers because the various forms resemble the English imitative call, 'caw-caw.'

Bella Coola	kʼaqas
Heiltsuk	kʼăqà
Kitimat	kʼánqas
Nootka	kʼa•'k
Sechelt	skʼikʼ•ákʼ
Lushootseed	kʼă?-kʼă?

Boas (1911:655), on the other hand, sees onomatopoeia more in structural terms:

> "The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoetic terms. There are many nouns of onomatopoetic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled.... This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoetic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience."

Among the list of animals with onomatopoeic names Boas includes 'skunk' [o•'pənpən], 'porcupine' [é•šəlqšəlq], 'oyster' [iλo•'xλox], and 'butterfly' [səqʼalo•lo•]. If these forms are onomatopoeic in the dictionary sense (1), they are of a different order or degree than the 'crow' example.

Jewett (1953:335) indicates the call of the band-tailed pigeon to be: *woot wooo!* or *whoot wooooo!* Peterson (1961:152) reports the voice of the pigeon to be: "*A hollow owl-like oo-whoo* or *whoo-oo-whoo*, repeated." Larrison and Sonnenberg (1968:145) reports the call to be: "an owl-like *hoop-ah-whoo*."

Harrington's Lower Chehalis informant provided a partial reduplication of his word for [4] 'pigeon,' [həmhəmím'], as the "call of the wild pigeon." My Yurok speaker explained to me that the pigeon is called [heʔmi•ʔ] because that is what the pigeon says. Perhaps speakers of other languages on the list similarly regarded their words for 'pigeon' to be onomatopoeic, but investigators failed to inquire about or record such phenomena. (I, for one, have not systematically inquired about animal, and especially bird, vocalizations in my own field researches.) In his note on words for owls in North American Indian languages, Eugene Hunn (1975:238) states: "It is clear that names for owls are very likely to be onomatopoeic. The fidelity of imitation is often striking. This suggests that phonemic imitations will be severely restricted by the pattern of animal vocalizations which serves as a model." Brent Berlin and John P. O'Neill (1981:238) found onomatopoeia to be a pervasive feature of bird naming among the Aguaruna and Huambisa in northcentral Peru. And, according to these investigators, "A rapid perusal of the literature suggests that onomatopoeia of this type is not uncommon in languages spoken by peoples of small-scale, technologically simple, non-literate societies."

It seems improbable, though, that a series of independent onomatopoeic inventions would result in the close phonetic similarity of the words for 'pigeon' exhibited in Section 2. Mary R. Haas (1969:82), citing the widespread distribution of a phonetically similar word for 'goose' in North America, says, "Sometimes widespread similarities are probably to be attributed to onomatopoeia. But some resemblances are remarkably precise even if one allows for onomatopoeia. Words for 'goose' from the Southeast to California are a case in point.... Many other bird names show equally uneven but widespread distribution. They deserve further study." If we appeal to "a common human response to a similar stimuli" (Hunn 1975:239) to account for the similarity of the 'pigeon' words listed in Section 2, how do we explain those words for 'pigeon' (enumerated in Section 3) which do not fit the pattern? Haruo Aoki (1975:195), in his study of the East Plateau linguistic diffusion area, notes: "There are a few phenomena which occur outside the area of our immediate concern. For example, bird names such as blue jay and fish hawk are found north and south along the coast. Though they are onomatopoeic in nature, the fact that all the languages of the world do not have the same word for blue jay, for instance, indicates that they are not purely onomatopoeic (no linguistic form really is) and seems to suggest a larger linguistic diffusion area which may be termed the Northwest Coast area, of which our East Plateau diffusion area is a subpart."

Another possibility is that our word for 'pigeon' may have been an onomatopoeic invention in one language or proto-language which subsequently diffused to other languages.[17]

5. Diffusion: Speculations on a Source

If we turn to diffusion as a more likely explanation for our pigeon phenomenon than independent onomatopoeic invention, we need to consider a source language or proto-language. Of the ten language families involved, I believe that the two most likely sources are Salishan and Wakashan and that the best candidate of these two is Salishan.

Each of the languages of both the Coast Division of Salishan (except for Squamish, and for Pentlatch and Comox—for which we have no data for 'pigeon') and the Tsamosan Division has a word which fits the generalized pattern: $hV_1M_1(?)V_2(M'_2)$, where V_1 = [ə] (except [a] in Quinault

17 It might be useful to explore the possible role of onomatopoeia in the diffusion process. For example, is there any evidence that onomatopoeic words diffuse more easily or readily than non-onomatopoeic words? (Note the widespread occurrence of the Chinook Jargon words for 'cow' *moosmoos* and 'wagon' *chikchik*, *tsiktsik* (Thomas 1935:113, 162).) Also, many of the words identified in the literature as onomatopoeic are reduplicated forms. What is the relationship between reduplication and onomatopoeia? Are reduplicated words (onomatopoeic or otherwise) more easily diffused? M. Dale Kinkade, letter to Seaburg, 6/16/82.

and [ɛ] in Tillamook); M = a bilabial nasal (or homorganic stop in nasalless languages); when an M'_2 is present, the V_2 is always [i], otherwise V_2 is often [u], but sometimes [a]. (Cowlitz [x] may represent a shift from [h] to [x] because of the infrequency of [h], while Upper and Lower Chehalis represent a normal shift of [x] to [š].)[18] The close similarity in all the Salishan forms suggests that a proto-Coast-Salish 'pigeon' form could be reconstructed. A proto-form is further supported by the fact that the northerly Bella Coola, which separated early from the central group of Salish (Thompson 1979:695), exhibits a cognate form: /haʔm/. Similarly isolated, Tillamook, at the southern extreme of the Salish family, also retained the common Salish word for 'pigeon'. Further, the wide geographic distribution of Salishan languages and their contiguity to the Wakashan, Chimakuan, Lower Columbia Athabaskan, and Yakonan language families provide ample possibility of contact and subsequent borrowing.

Since there is ample evidence of contact and borrowing between Bella Coola and Northern Wakashan (Jacobsen 1979:773–775), Bella Coola could have been the source for the Northern Wakashan forms. If the Southern Wakashan forms are not reflexes of proto-Wakashan (q.v. below), they may have been borrowed from Central Salish. Knowledge of the Pentlatch and Comox words for 'pigeon' would be particularly useful here in shedding light on the Southern Wakashan words.

The second possible candidate for the source of the 'pigeon' forms is Wakashan. I do not know if the divergence of the forms in the Northern Wakashan branch from those in the Southern languages (viz. Nitinat and Makah), pose a problem for the reconstruction of a proto-Wakashan form. If Wakashan is the source, the form would have to have been borrowed very early, before the break-up of the Coastal Salish languages, in order to account for the distribution of the form all the way from Bella Coola to Tillamook. At this point in my research I do not have enough data to firmly establish either language family as the definitive source.

6. Directions for Further Research

In my search through the various dictionaries, grammars, and unpublished fieldnotes for 'pigeon' words, I noticed other words which have diffused across several language family boundaries. I have not had the time to check the extent of their distribution, but I list them here as possibilities for further study: 'canoe,' 'crow,' 'blue jay,' 'fishhawk,' 'frog,' 'goose,' 'raven,' and 'skunk'. The following additional candidates for investigation were taken from Nater (1977). They are the glosses of Bella Coola forms which show phonological resemblances and gloss equivalents in languages representing at least two other language families besides Salishan. Page references are listed in parentheses: 'to suck' (19), 'to go by wagon' (21), 'basket' (22), 'long snowshoes' (23), 'intestines' (23), 'clam' (23), 'to kiss' (24), 'ray, skate' (24), 'bush of dwarf blueberry' (26), 'quill of porcupine' (28), 'barnacle' (32), 'mallard duck' (34), 'soapberries' (35), 'edible seaweed' (37), 'eulachon grease' (40), 'humpback salmon' (41), 'crow' (42), 'herring-rake' (43), 'potatoes' (44), 'fur seal' (45), 'starfish' (47), 'rabbit' (48), 'hat, cap' (48), 'fence' (49), 'crane' (51), 'goose' (51), 'carving-knife' (51), 'raven' (52), 'whiteman' (54), 'pigeon' (55), 'a mythical bird' (55), 'turnips' (61), 'throat' (63), and 'well, OK' (64).

18 M. Dale Kinkade, letter to Seaburg, 6/16/82.

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I want to thank each of the researchers who generously provided me with forms for 'pigeon' from their notes. I especially want to thank Susanne J. Hancock and M. Dale Kinkade for their help and encouragement; along with Jay V. Powell and Jay Miller for urging it across the finish line.[19]

19 The species of pigeon referred to in this paper is the 'wild' or 'band-tailed' pigeon (*Columba fasciata*). According to Udvardy (1977:699), the range of the band-tailed pigeon is from "... southern British Columbia to Baja California in and near coastal forest and hills; in mountain chains extending from Utah and Colorado south through Mexico to Central America." Farrand (1983:138–141) indicates the range of the band-tailed pigeon to be "Southeast Alaska, British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California primarily west of crest of Sierras into Baja California. An Inland race occurs from Utah and Colorado south to Arizona, New Mexico, and central Mexico."

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MAKAHS, S'KLALLAMS, AND THE HOKO RIVER

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Abstract *The Hoko River on the northwestern Olympic Peninsula of Washington is generally considered to be the boundary between early historic Makah and S'Klallam territories. Review of the origins of ideas about the cultural significance of the Hoko River and a settlement at its mouth indicates that they rely heavily upon second-hand accounts rather than direct observations and were further influenced by the requirements of early historic Treaty Councils. Moreover, it is likely that the actual conditions being observed in the mid-nineteenth century were a part of the dramatic impacts to Native peoples which were occurring due to the arrival of Europeans. Thus, while accepted in legal contexts today, the anthropological and historical arguments for this boundary are problematic at best. While the discussion focuses on the details of a small portion of one territorial boundary, it is unlikely that the dynamics of this case are unique in the mid-nineteenth century Indian Treaties from Washington Territory.*

Keywords
Makah, S'Kallam, Hoko, Olympic Peninsula

Introduction

The Hoko River, on the northwestern Olympic Peninsula, is generally considered to be the boundary between the early historic Makah and S'Klallam peoples. The idea was enshrined in Indian Treaties signed by Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens in 1855, but a river is an unusual boundary for a traditional territory in this region. Most Native traditional territories in western Washington consist of one or more complete drainage basins (Spier 1936). The only other claims for a river being an ethnic boundary are associated with groups located along the lower Columbia River, a channel dramatically larger than the Hoko River. The earliest ideas about Hoko appear to come from Gibbs (1854), but how he came to these views is not completely clear. Nevertheless, Stevens used the Gibbs account at treaty time, and it was subsequently adopted by later anthropological writers including Eells (1887), Curtis (1913), Gunther (1927), Swanton (1952), Lane (1975), and Suttles (1990).

Background

The early historic Makah and S'Klallam peoples occupied adjacent territories along the northern margin of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington. As usually described, Makah Territory extends from the Hoko River westward to Cape Flattery and south along the outer coast beyond Cape Alava. S'Klallam Territory begins at

the eastern shore of the Hoko River and reaches as far as the northeastern corner of the peninsula. Makahs and S'Klallams represent two different much larger groups on the southern Northwest Coast. Makahs spoke a Wakashan language and are the southernmost members of a broad group of related peoples who occupy the west coast of Vancouver Island and nearby portions of the central coast of British Columbia (Renker and Gunther 1990). Alternatively, S'Klallams spoke a Salish language and are closely related to other Salish speakers in the Puget Sound Basin of western Washington and the Strait of Georgia in southwestern British Columbia (Suttles 1990).

This discussion focuses on the northern margin of the Olympic Peninsula generally (Figure 1) and the immediate vicinity of the Hoko River in particular (Figure 2). The Hoko River is a relatively minor drainage in this region. The river is approximately 25 miles long and—at River Mile 1—its channel is approximately 60 feet wide. It drains a basin of approximately 75 square miles. Its average discharge is approximately 300 CFS (cubic feet/second); during storm events, this flow can briefly exceed 5,000 CFS. To put this in some context, the Elwha River—the largest drainage on the peninsula's northern margin—is approximately 45 miles long and drains a basin of approximately 315 square miles. Its channel is approximately 300 feet wide at River Mile 1. Average discharge for the Elwha River is approximately 1,500 CFS and can exceed 40,000 CFS during storms.

Historic Ideas About the Makah - S'Klallam Boundary

While this discussion will focus heavily on the Gibbs (1854) account and its impact, it is important to first note that his report is not the earliest available description of the distribution of tribes on the Olympic Peninsula. The earliest such account appears to be that of Edmund A. Starling, Indian Agent for the Puget Sound. Starling (1852:168–175) provides a table summarizing the Native groups and their distributions, and he identified three along the northern margin of the Olympic Peninsula between Cape Flattery and the vicinity of Port Townsend. Specifically, he reports: "*Ma-caw*, or Flattery" people from "Cape Flattery to Neah Bay," "*Pist- chin*" people from "Neah Bay to Point Los Angelos," and "*Sklal-lum*" people on "the coast between Los Angelos and Port Townsend" (1852:170). Unfortunately, Starling offered few additional details about these groups, but he

Figure 1. Frequently mentioned locations on the northern Olympic Peninsula of Washington. 1 = Neah Bay; 2 = mouth of the Hoko River; 3 = Clallam Bay; 4 = Pysht; 5 = mouth of the Lyre River; 6 = Crescent Bay; 7 = mouth of the Elwha River; 8 = mouth of the Dungeness River; 9 = Sequim Bay; 10 = Discovery Bay.

Figure 2. The Hoko River (indicated by the dashed line) and its vicinity on the northwestern Olympic Peninsula of Washington.

did say: "The Ma-caw and Pist-chino speak the same language. They scarcely ever come into the country settled by the Americans. They trade mostly with Vancouver's Island, and with vessels which touch there for the purpose. The Sklal-lums speak a distinct language" (1852:172). The group name "*Pist-chin*" or "*Pist-chino*" rarely appears in later descriptions of Native people in this region. Hodge (1912:263) rejected Starling's claim that the Makah and Pist-chin were two related groups speaking the same language and reported that this term refers to the S'Klallam village of Pysht, a location along the Strait of Juan de Fuca approximately seven miles east of Clallam Bay. Hodge, however, offered no citation or other justification for this view. Starling's report is of interest nevertheless. If the Makah and Pist-chin spoke the same language and the S'Klallam spoke a different one, then the Pist-chin were also Wakashans. Starling also said that the Pist-chin held the coast as far to the east as "Point Los Angelos." The latter is thought to be a reference to Angeles Point, a locally prominent point close to the mouth of the Elwha River (approximately 40 miles east of the Hoko River). Thus, according to Starling, Makahs and S'Klallams did not share a common territorial boundary. Rather, a second Wakashan-speaking group was present between them, and the S'Klallam presence extended no further to the west than the vicinity of the Elwha River.

This account is problematic in several ways. Beyond the fact that it refers to a second Wakashan-speaking group for whom clear evidence is lacking, we have no information regarding how Starling happened to know these things. He was new to the region when he wrote it, and there is no reason to suggest that

his account is based upon direct observations he made. Rather, it appears that he is reporting information provided to him by someone else, but we have no knowledge of who the source may have been. Still, Hodge's rejection of it is also problematic. He made the obvious phonetic connection between "*Pist-chin*" or "*Pist-chino*" and the placename "Pysht" and ignored the claim of Wakashan speakers being present well to the east of the Hoko River.

Gibbs' account of the Indian Tribes of Washington Territory appeared two years later in March of 1854. Prepared as a part of a survey for the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad and addressed to Capt. George B. McClellan, it is sometimes referred to as the 'Railroad Survey Report' or the 'McClellan Report.' If Gibbs was aware of Starling's earlier account, he made no mention of it. He reported that Makah Territory extended "but a short distance up the Straits" (1854:35), but no geographic reference for its limit was provided. Gibbs mentioned Hoko in the context of a list of eight S'Klallam villages: "Nearest to the Makahs, *Okeno* or *Ocha*," "*Pishtst* at Clallam Bay," "*Elkwah*" at the mouth of the Elwha River, "*Tse-whit-zen*" at Port Angeles, "*Tinnis*" at Dungeness, "*St-queen*" at Washington Harbor, "*Squa-que-hl*" at Port Discovery, and "*Kahtai*" at Port Townsend (Figure 3). Very little information is offered about any of them. With specific respect to "*Okeno* or *Ocha*," Gibbs (1854:35) says only that it is: "a sort of alsatia or neutral ground for the runaways of both tribes." Several things are worth noting here. First, Gibbs did not explicitly describe "*Okeno* or *Ocha*" as being located at the mouth of the Hoko River nor did he explicitly describe the river as the boundary between Makahs and S'Klallams. In fact, there is little reason to believe that he was familiar with the details of the geography

Figure 3. The distribution of S'Klallam villages as reported by Gibbs (1854). 1 = Okeno (Hoko River mouth); 2 = Pishist (Clallam Bay); 3 = Elkwah (Elwha River mouth); 4 = Tse-Whit-Zen (Port Angeles); 5 = Tinnis (Dungeness); 6 = St-Queen (Washington Harbor); 7 = Squa-que-hl (Diamond Point); 8 = Kahtai (Port Townsend).

of the northwestern Olympic Peninsula at this time. Note, for example, that Gibbs places the village of "*Pishtst*" at Clallam Bay. Subsequent researchers including Curtis (1913:174) and Gunther (1927:178) interpreted this name to refer to Pysht and—as just noted—Pysht is approximately seven miles east of Clallam Bay.

Ideas about Hoko developed further the following year in the Point-No-Point and Makah Treaty Councils conducted by Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens. Gibbs and Stevens were working closely together at this time. In a letter to Stevens written on February 7, 1854 (almost two months prior to the appearance of his report to McClellan), Gibbs provided a list of nine S'Klallam villages: the eight mentioned in his published account and an unnamed village at Crescent Bay. The comment about "*Okeno* or *Ocha*" being the "resort of runaways from both the Clallams and Makahs" also appears here.

Gibbs was present at both of these Treaty Councils as Stevens' secretary. While no specific document authorship is cited, it is reasonable to assume that Gibbs was a principal source of ethnographic information in the treaties. The Point-No-Point Treaty Council was held with representatives of the S'Klallam, Skokomish, and Chimakum Tribes on the 25th and 26th of January 1855. The Makah Treaty Council was held a week later on the 30th and 31st. Note that this means that Stevens reached an agreement with the S'Klallams regarding the location of their western boundary—and thus, the Makah's eastern boundary—prior to meeting with the Makahs. So, what do these treaties say about the boundary? The introduction to the Point-No-Point Treaty includes a list of eleven S'Klallam villages; it includes seven from Gibbs' 1854 published account, a different named village at Port Angeles ("*Yennis*" instead of "*Tse-whit-zen*"), and two new named villages at Clallam Bay ("*Klat-la-wish*" and "*Hunnint*"). The westernmost of the villages is here referred to as: "*Oke-ho*." The unnamed village at Crescent Bay mentioned in Gibbs' February 7, 1854 letter to Stevens does not appear in the Point-No-Point Treaty. Article 1 of this treaty describes the relevant portion of the ceded land boundary as: "Commencing at the mouth of the Okeho River, on the Straits of Fuca; thence southeastwardly along the westerly line of territory claimed by the Makah Tribe." In contrast, the introduction to the Makah Treaty does not mention a village at or near the mouth of the Hoko River. The description of the ceded land in this treaty also begins "at the mouth of the Okeho River," but turns to the west first. It ends with a boundary that begins in the Olympic Mountains and runs "northwardly along the line of lands lately ceded to the United States by the S'Klallam Tribe to the place of beginning."

Note what is actually said—and not said—about the identified boundary. While each treaty references the other agreement regarding the "line" separating the two territories, no specific compass bearing for this line is identified. Further, the two descriptions do not precisely agree with each other. The line from the mouth of the Hoko River in the Point-No-Point Treaty extends to the southeast, but the line reaching the mouth of the Hoko River in the Makah Treaty has a north-south orientation. Finally, also note that neither treaty specifically equates this boundary line with the Hoko River upstream of its mouth. Nevertheless, the idea of an association between the territorial boundary and the river became established shortly after this time. In 1870, James Swan wrote that—at the 1855 Makah Treaty Council—"the tribe claimed as their land all that portion of the extreme northwestern part of Washington Territory lying between Flattery Rocks on the Pacific coast, fifteen miles south of Cape Flattery, and the Hoko River, about the same distance eastward from the Cape on the Strait of Juan de Fuca." A few years later in 1876, William H. Dall prepared a map of the distribution of Indian Tribes in Washington Territory which clearly shows a boundary between Makahs and S'Klallams extending southeastward from the mouth of the Hoko River for approximately fifteen miles and this line is also marked as the Hoko River channel (Figure 4). This map was prepared for a revised version of the 1854 Gibbs report which appeared

Figure 4. Detail of the Dall 1876 map for the Distribution of Indian Tribes in Washington Territory showing the "Okeho" River as a territorial boundary. Note that this map also incorrectly shows the "Osett" River to the north of the "Tsooyes" River, misrepresents the "Kwilleluit" River, and fails to show Lake Ozette (compare to Figure 2).

in 1877. Where Dall obtained information about the Hoko River's path is unknown.[1] The text of the 1877 version also contains some changed details.[2] The 1854 description of the Makah's eastern boundary claiming simply that their territory extended "but a short distance up the Straits" was replaced with a statement that Makah Territory extended up the Strait of Juan de Fuca "only as far as the Okeho River." The revised version also includes an account of S'Klallam villages listing only seven places. As compared to the original publication and the Point-No-Point Treaty, the 1877 list drops "*Klat-la- wish*" and "*Hunnint*" at Clallam Bay, "*Tinnis*" at Dungeness, and "*St-queen*" at Washington Harbor, keeps "*Yennis*" at Port Angeles, and adds "*Stehtlum*" at Jamestown.

Nearly all subsequent accounts of the boundary between Makahs and S'Klallams have followed the basic Gibbs ideas.

The earliest to follow was Myron Eells, a missionary associated with the Skokomish Reservation who collected information about Native people on the Olympic Peninsula in the late nineteenth century. In a brief account of

1 I am unaware of a map which accurately depicts the Hoko River channel prior to the 1892 GLO Map, and it appears that Dall simply associated the treaty-described boundary with the river and drew it as such. In fact, the Hoko River extends slightly southeastward for approximately the first two miles upstream, then turns to the southwest for another eight miles, and then back to the southeast for six more miles before reaching its source.

2 Gibbs died in 1873, four years before the appearance of the revised report. Miller (2015:1) suggests that at least some of the revisions were probably made by John W. Powell rather than Gibbs. Who is responsible for the specific changes about Hoko is unknown.

the S'Klallam, he reported that their territory extended "from Port Discovery Bay west to the Hoko River" (1887:6). Eells did not include "*Hoko*" in his village list, but this may have been due to his belief that Clallam people were no longer living there. Additional support for this view is apparent in census figures he reported. The settlement's population is given as 40 in 1878 and only three in 1881. Two years later, however, Eells (1889:608) offered a slightly different village list which included a single reference to "*Klallam Bay and Hoko*." This document includes no specific information about Hoko; it does not even place the settlement at the mouth of the river. In total, Eells mentions twelve different S'Klallam villages; they are those reported earlier by Gibbs and four additional places. Of some note, the latter include three shoreline locations which are not on the Strait of Juan de Fuca: near Seabeck and near Port Gamble (both on Hood Canal) and at Port Ludlow (in central Puget Sound).

Eells made no effort to explain how he happened to know these things. His brother Edwin Eells was the U. S. Indian Agent at Skokomish from 1871 to 1885, and this doubtless gave him access to considerable information about tribal communities on the Olympic Peninsula from both government and Native sources. He was familiar with the 1854 Gibbs report. However, while he traveled considerably on the eastern part of the Olympic Peninsula, there is no clear evidence that he ever visited the vicinity of the Hoko River or had any direct interactions with Makah people. In his 1887 account of the S'Klallam, he comments: "I can only learn of two dialects spoken by this tribe; the Elkwas and those to the west of them being said to speak as if with a thicker tongue than those to the east of them, and so to pronounce some words somewhat differently. The vocabulary which I have obtained is from the eastern members of the tribe…" (1889:608–609). These remarks suggest that Eells had very limited, if any, direct contact with individuals from Hoko.

Edward Curtis (1913:19–25) also provided an account of the S'Klallam. Perhaps influenced by Dall's map, he said that their territory extended to "Hoko creek on the west." Curtis' list also includes a list twelve S'Klallam villages. For the most part, it is a refinement of Gibbs, sometimes offering two different names for locations where the latter provided only one. Curiously, Curtis did not repeat Eells' earlier claim of villages near Seabeck, Port Gamble, or at Port Ludlow, but he did add that additional S'Klallam villages were present at unidentified locations "*on the upper west coast of Whidbey Island and the southern shores of San Juan and Orcas islands*." He also noted reports of a S'Klallam village near Victoria on Vancouver Island. Curtis' list includes a village at "the mouth of Hoko Creek." He gave the village name as "*Hŏko*," translated this term as: "Projecting," and added that it is a "Makah word referring to a large rock in the mouth of the canyon."[3] He also repeated the earlier Gibbs' claim of a mixed ethnic presence. In his introductory discussion, Curtis said: "Beyond the Clallam at Cape Flattery were the Makah, and a considerable admixture of this blood was to be found in the Clallam village *Hŏko*, where both languages were spoken." Similarly, in his village list, he added the comment "Six houses of mixed Makah and Clallam" for "*Hŏko*."

Curtis also provides little discussion regarding the sources he used. However, Frederick Webb Hodge was his volume editor, and Hodge likely played a major role in compiling the ethnographic information. While both Curtis and Hodge undoubtedly spoke with Native people in the early twentieth century, it is also clear that they were aware of the 1854 Gibbs report as well as early historic accounts of Northwest Coast Native peoples by Cook, Meares, Jewett, Sproat, and others. Nevertheless, his remarks about Hoko go beyond any earlier written source and so likely include information provided by one or more S'Klallam individuals.

3 More recently, Kinkade and Powell (1976) have argued that "Hoko" is a Quileute word and Renker and Pasqua (1989) have supported Curtis' earlier claim that it is a Makah word.

Information about territorial boundaries and villages in Erna Gunther's *Klallam Ethnography* (1927) also follow the established pattern, relying heavily upon Gibbs, Eells, and Curtis. She describes them as having occupied "*the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca from the mouth of the Hoko River to Port Discovery Bay.*" In some cases, she added details to the locations of some of the more recently cited settlements, specifically identifying the location near Seabeck as Brinnon and the location near Victoria as Beecher Bay. Gunther also makes reference to a group of S'Klallam people living at Marietta, on Bellingham Bay. Curiously, while she repeats earlier reports that "*Xō'kū*" village was "at the mouth of Hoko Creek," her map shows this village at the western end of Clallam Bay, approximately three and a half miles farther to the east.

Gunther (1927) is the first published account of the S'Klallam people which explicitly identified the Native informants she worked with: Robert Collier, John Cook, and Mary Wood at Jamestown and Mrs. Robbie Davis at Esquimalt. Whether any of these individuals had direct knowledge of Hoko is unknown.

Still more recent published accounts of S'Klallam villages and territory rely heavily on the preceding documents. In 1936, Edward Spier's *Indian Tribes in Washington* cites Gunther (1927) as his source for S'Klallams and both Gibbs (1854) and Swan (1870) for Makahs. John Swanton (1952) cites Gibbs (1854), Eells (1887), and Gunther (1927). Barbara Lane's (1975) discussion focuses on Gibbs (1854), also citing Curtis (1913) and Gunther (1927). Wayne Suttles (1990) cites Eells (1887) and Gunther (1927). None of the latter cite Native informant sources. All of the latter report that Hoko was a S'Klallam village. Swanton, Lane, and Suttles report that the Hoko River was the territorial boundary.

Beginning in the 1950s, anthropologists began to offer testimony in Indian Claim Commission cases and related legal contexts. Sometimes they offered insights relevant to the present subject which have not been widely cited. An important example is Wayne Suttles' 1953 testimony to the Indian Claim Commission on behalf of the S'Klallam Tribe. This was based upon both the available literature and his work with Henry Charles, a S'Klallam elder from Beecher Bay on Vancouver Island, although he also reported much briefer interactions with three additional—unnamed—S'Klallam individuals. One feature of his testimony is a list of 20 "original villages of the S'Klallam" provided by Charles (1953:17–20). This list is quite similar to those offered by Gibbs, Curtis, and Gunther, but includes seven villages not mentioned previously, and Suttles suggested that some may have been seasonal camps rather than villages. All of the additions are settlements at stream mouths along the Strait of Juan de Fuca between Port Angeles and Pysht. Hoko remains the westernmost village. Suttles also mentioned S'Klallam settlements at Port Townsend, Port Gamble, on western Whidbey Island, in the San Juan Islands, near Bellingham, and on Vancouver Island and suggested that these likely post-date the Treaty Period.

A considerable amount of the discussion concerned how to interpret the language and maps associated with the Point-No-Point Treaty's description of S'Klallam Territory. Suttles repeatedly urged caution regarding both the extent of Governor Steven's geographical knowledge and his intentions at the time. With reference to S'Klallam Territory he said:

> …one should make it very clear that this is the way this boundary was drawn on the maps made up by the Treaty makers. The Treaty makers, I think, were mainly motivated by the desire to extinguish native title to all of the land, and their main concern was that none was left over. So I suspect that in the case of the high Olympic Mountains, they were not terribly concerned as to the actual boundaries as seen by the natives. (Suttles 1953:40)

A little further in the same discussion, he emphasized again: "…the treaties, or the maps that you have just shown me that date back to that time, are so geographically inaccurate that I do not think that they really knew what was there" (1953:41). When asked about the western boundary of S'Klallam Territory on the Strait of Juan de Fuca, he indicated only that it was "at or near" the mouth of the Hoko River.

These remarks are in some contrast to his later comments on the subject (e.g., Suttles 1990:456).

While the preceding accounts vary somewhat, the continuity of later reports of S'Klallam villages with the basic Gibbs ideas is apparent (Figure 5 and Table 1). The eight settlements Gibbs identified in his 1854 Report to McClellan remain in all subsequent published discussions, and the idea that the Hoko River is a boundary remains central to any discussion of traditional territories and treaty rights in this region. More recent accounts offer more S'Klallam villages, but the original eight persist with only slight modifications. Beyond this continuity in village lists, a few significant themes are also consistently apparent. Most central to the current discussion are the related ideas that the Hoko River was the boundary between Makah and S'Klallam Territories and that a settlement at the mouth of this river was a S'Klallam village (although Makahs were also present there).

Figure 5. The distribution of the Gibbs (1854) and subsequently reported S'Klallam villages. Black dots (Gibbs) as in Figure 4. Red dots are more recently reported settlements. 1 = Tlătlăwaíis (W. Clallam Bay); 2 = Hunginglt (E. Clallam Bay); 3 = Pĭsht's't (Pysht); 4 = T'sawhangoylh (Jim Creek mouth); 5 = T'seywheng (Deep Creek mouth); 6 = Newhchey'saqen (Twin Rivers mouth); 7 = Wha'wham'ma (Lyre River mouth); 8 = T'lhtsent (Crescent Bay); 9 = Stey'alh (Indian Creek confluence on Elwha River); 10 = Aifnĭs (E. Port Angeles); 11 = T'salhmet (Morse Creek mouth); 12 = Tsŭq (Dungeness River mouth); 13 = Tsískat (New Dungeness); 14 = Sttílŭm (Jamestown); 15 = No name given (Port Ludlow); 16 = No name given (Brinnon); 17 = No name given (Point Julia); 18 = No name given (Ebey's Landing); 19 = No name given (Bellingham Bay); 20 = No name given (S. San Juan Island); 21 = No name given (Beecher Bay).

Table 1. Summary of S'Klallam Village Lists Prepared by Gibbs, Eels, Curtis, and Gunther.

Location	Gibbs 1854	1855 Treaty	Gibbs 1877	Eels 1887	Curtis 1913	Gunther 1927
Hoko	Okeno or Ocha	Oke-ho	Okeho	Hoko	Hŏko	Xō'kü
Clallam Bay	Pishtst	Klat-la-wish	Pishtst	Klallam Bay	Tlătlăwaíis	Xainañt
-	-	Hunnint	-	-	Hunginglt	-
Pysht	-	Pishtst	-	Pisht	Pīsht's't	Pīc
Elwha	Elkwah	Elh-wa	Elwa	Elkwa	Élwha	Ełxwa
Upper Elwha	-	-	-	-	-	Sēstīētł
Port Angeles	Tse-Whit-zen	-	-	Port Angeles	Chicwítsŭn	Tcīxwī′tsen
-	-	Yennis	Yinnis	-	Aifnĭs	I'ē′nis
Dungeness	Tinnis	Tsohkw	-	-	Tsŭq	Tsox^{q}
-	-	-	-	-	Tsískat	Tsē′esqat
Jamestown	-	Ste-tehtlum	Stehtlum	Jamestown	Sttílŭm	StEtē′xlem
Washington Harbor	St-Queen	Tch-queen	-	Sequim	Schqaílĭng	Suxtcikwī′'iñ
Port Discovery	Squa-que-hl	Squah-quaihtl	Kahkwaitl	-	Qaqíhl	Sq!aqwī′yel
Port Townsend	Kahtai	Kah-tai	Kahtai	Port Townsend	-	Ka′tai
Port Ludlow	-	-	-	Port Ludlow	-	-
Point Julia	-	-	-	Near Point Gamble	-	-
Brinnon	-	-	-	Near Seabeck	-	-

Another theme evident in the earlier accounts is geographic confusion. It is unlikely that any of the nineteenth century writers had accurate detailed information about the landscape they were considering. Finally, a theme common to twentieth century publications is that the primary source of the information is rarely questioned or considered in context.

Some of these themes beg important and interesting questions. If the river really was the territorial boundary, then how did this happen? As noted earlier, every other traditional territory on the Olympic Peninsula and nearly all others in western Washington consist of one or more complete watersheds. The use of a river channel as a boundary is very unusual on the Northwest Coast. Important questions about the ethnic association of the settlement also remain. Both Gibbs and Curtis said that the Hoko community included both Makahs and S'Klallams; Gibbs specifically called it an "*alsatia or neutral ground for the runaways of both tribes*" (1854:35). If this is correct, then why is it considered to be a S'Klallam village? In this same regard, recall that that "*Hoko*" is reported to be a Makah word. Why would a S'Klallam village be widely known by a Makah name?

Native Ideas About the Makah-S'Klallam Boundary

As the preceding discussion indicates, the idea that the Hoko River represented at least a portion of the boundary between Makah and S'Klallam Territories appears to have originated with George Gibbs and Isaac Stevens in the context of drafting treaties. The available record of what Native people have to say about this matter is both limited and consists largely of accounts by informants who post-date the 1850s. To my knowledge, there are no Makah or S'Klallam creation stories or other traditional histories which specifically refer to the Hoko River as a boundary.

While there do not appear to be such Makah stories, there are a few indications that they formerly occupied places farther to the east. For example, geographic information about the Lyre River collected by Thomas Waterman in the 1920s includes the comment: "The Makah had some sort of claim which I do not understand to fishing on this river. They sometimes camped here in the autumn to take dog-salmon" (Lane 1975:27). The Lyre River is approximately 25 miles east of the Hoko River. Similarly, Frances Densmore (1939:3) reported that Makah territory formerly extended eastward along the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the vicinity of "Port Crescent," approximately 33 miles east of the Hoko River.

Most of the Native accounts which directly address the Hoko River are affidavits collected as a part of Edward Swindell's (1942) report on the fishing, hunting, and other activities of various tribes in Washington and Oregon. It includes both Makah and S'Klallam affidavits which directly address Hoko.

The Clallam view is presented in a single affidavit representing three tribal elders: John Mike, Charley Hopie, and Mrs. Sam Ulmer. The youngest of these was Ulmer, who was born at Hoko in 1876. Mike and Hopie were both born in the 1860s. Neither of the latter are identified as having an association with the Hoko area, but both claimed to "have had occasion to have visited a number of the permanent villages and temporary fishing camps of the Klallam Indians" (138).Their discussion of the Hoko River never specifically claims that the river is the boundary between Makah and S'Klallam Territories. Rather, it is focused on the settlement at the mouth of the river and associated fishing activities. The affidavit describes the settlement as "one of the old permanent Klallam Indian villages" and specifically states that "there were two big buildings on the west side and two big buildings on the east side" (Swindel 1942:138). Other details in the affidavit relevant to the present discussion include that "there were approximately 100 people living there" when the informants "first remember this place," that "all of the residents of this place were Klallam Indians," and that, sometimes, "Makah Indians would visit the people at Hoko River for the purpose of trading with them" (Swindel: 1942:139).

Significantly more information is available for the Makah perspective as Swindell's report contains three separate individual affidavits and an unpublished transcript of his interviews with Makah elders also exists (Hunter 1941). Most of the information about Hoko comes from Joe Sly, who was approximately 80 years old at the time. As was the case with the Mike/Hopie/Ulmer affidavit, neither Sly nor any other Makah informant claimed that the Hoko River is the boundary between Makah and S'Klallam territories. Sly does, however, describe the Hoko River as a place where some Makahs went to fish in the late summer and early fall. In addition to himself, he named eight other individuals who regularly fished there and made no mention of a S'Klallam village. Rather, one of the latter—"*Kee Chukh*" (a "Sub-chief" in the 1855 Makah Treaty)—is specifically described as owning Hoko (Hunter 1941:16). While some uncertainties remain, most of the other named individuals are also Makahs. Two of them, however, appear to be S'Klallams (Swindell 1942:192; Wessen 2007:19).

Beyond the accounts of Makahs and S'Klallams, William Elemendorf (1960:294–296) collected information about S'Klallam villages from Skokomish informants in the late 1930s. His principal informants were Frank Allen, Henry Allen, and Charlie Cush. They provided a list of sixteen S'Klallam settlements much like the other expanded Gibbs-based lists. Of particular note, however, the Skokomish informants reported that the westernmost S'Klallam village was not Hoko; they said it was "*čiyu'cXa*," a 'rich' village at the mouth of "Seal River." "*Xókwu*" is mentioned as the next village to the east. A S'Klallam village of "*čiyu'cXa*" at the mouth of "Seal River" is not reported by any other ethnographic or oral historical source, including any S'Klallam source. Moreover, there is no stream referred to by this name in the vicinity. It is tempting to suggest that "Seal River" is actually "Sail River," a stream flowing into the Strait of Juan de Fuca approximately ten miles to the west of the Hoko, but this location is within three miles of some of the principal Makah villages at Neah Bay and therefore seems unlikely. It is unclear how the Skokomish informants came to hear of this place, but it was likely through their associations with S'Klallams. Indeed, Frank and Henry Allen's mother was S'Klallam (from Dungeness).

In sum, the available Native views of the Hoko River and its significance are limited and contradictory in some important details. Nevertheless, they also share important details, some of which are consistent with the themes evident in the nineteenth century sources and later anthropological accounts. Most importantly, there do not appear to be *any* documented early historic Makah, S'Klallam, or other Native claims that specifically identify the Hoko River as a territorial boundary. The available sources focus instead on the settlement reported to be present at the mouth of the river. Two principal points of disagreement among the accounts are: whose territory it is and what kind of a settlement it was.

The S'Klallam view is that Hoko was one of their permanent villages and that only they lived there. In contrast, the Makah view is that the Hoko River was owned by a Makah individual and that they—and possibly some S'Klallams as well—had a seasonal fish camp there. Note first that, if the river really was the boundary, both claims could be accurate. The S'Klallam village could have been on the east side of the river and a separate Makah fish camp could have been present on the opposite bank. This is not, however, what the Mike/Hopie/Ulmer affidavit describes. It specifically claims that there were large S'Klallam houses on both sides of the river. If the S'Klallam really did occupy the western side of the Hoko River, then the river cannot have been the territorial boundary. Rather, this would imply a boundary still further to the west. The report from Skokomish sources that there was yet another S'Klallam settlement farther to the west also contradicts the claim that the Hoko River was the boundary. At the same time, recall that Makah traditions suggest that they formerly occupied places further to the east.

An Integrated View

While the preceding discussions have addressed nineteenth century Euro-American and subsequent anthropological accounts separately from those offered by Native Americans, it should be clear that both groups share certain ideas. Direct comparison of the various accounts is therefore a useful way to examine where they agree and differ (Table 2). As can be seen here, the two most frequently repeated claims are that the Hoko River was a territorial boundary and that there was a settlement at the mouth of this river. The latter is the most common claim, being made by nineteenth century Euro-Americans, twentieth century anthropologists, Makahs, S'Klallams, and Skokomish informants. In contrast, only nineteenth century Euro-Americans and later anthropologists claim that the river was a boundary. Native informants did not directly address the question of a territorial boundary and sometimes offered information which appears to be inconsistent with the claim. The other widely reported claim is that both Makahs and S'Klallams lived in this settlement. It has been made by nineteenth century Euro-Americans, twentieth century anthropologists, and Makahs. Only the Mike/Hopie/Ulmer affidavit differs from them by asserting that only S'Klallams lived at Hoko.

Table 2 also offers a summary of what descriptive information has been reported. Note that most sources offer only very limited specific information about Hoko. The source offering the most detailed information is the Mike/Hopie/Ulmer affidavit. While detailed, however, it reports things which are either in apparent—or clear—contradiction with other

Table 2. Summary of the Details of Accounts of the Hoko River, Olympic Peninsula, Washington.

	Gibbs 1854	Stevens 1855	Swan 1866	Swan 1870	Gibbs 1877	Eells 1887	Eells 1889	Curtis 1913	Gunther 1927	Hunter 1941	Ulmer et al. 1942	Sly 1942
Reports the Hoko River as Makah-S'Klallam boundary	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
Reports a settlement at the mouth of the Hoko River	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
Describes where at mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Describes which side at the mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Describes the settlement	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	-
Reports Makahs and S'Klallams in residence at Hoko	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	X	-	X
Reports just S'Klallams in residence at Hoko	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Reports Makahs fishing at Hoko	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X
Reports S'Klallams fishing at Hoko	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	X
Reports Makahs coming to Hoko to trade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-

accounts. As noted earlier, they reported that S'Klallams lived on both sides of the river, in apparent contradiction with the claim that the river was the boundary. They also reported that only S'Klallam people lived at Hoko, in clear contradiction with Gibbs, Curtis, Gunther, and Sly. Finally, they reported that the population of this settlement was "approximately 100 people" when they "first remember" it. Given the informants ages, this is unlikely to have been earlier than the 1870s. Census numbers provided by Gunther (1927:181) do not support this estimate and—if Mike/Hopie/Ulmer are correct—suggest that Hoko would have been among the largest of the S'Klallam villages in the 1870s. Recall that Eells (1887) thought that S'Klallams no longer lived at Hoko.

Finally, while the issues of interest here are not archaeological, it should be added that a considerable amount of archaeological research has been conducted at the mouth of the Hoko River, and it is useful to briefly consider these findings as a part of this integrated view. Archaeological studies at Hoko have addressed two closely spaced precontact sites: 45CA21 (Croes 2005) and 45CA213 (Croes 1995). Both sites are located on the east side of the river, but there is strong historical evidence that much of the western side has been extensively eroded, and thus the apparent absence of cultural deposits there is not necessarily a reflection of past settlement patterns. 45CA21 is a rockshelter containing a thick shell midden deposit representing occupation during the last ca. 1,000 years. In contrast, 45CA213 is a combination of waterlogged perishable materials and nearby lithic artifacts representing an occupation dating to ca. 2,500 to 3,000 years ago. Both sites appear to be relatively small seasonal camps; neither has been interpreted as a large village. Ethnic identities are difficult to infer from archaeological assemblages, and the 45CA213 assemblage has already been the subject of some debate (Croes 1989). In brief, while significant elements of the assemblage have been attributed to Wakashan speakers (i.e., potentially Makahs or their relatives), a few others have been attributed to Salishan speakers (i.e., potentially S'Klallams or their relatives). This suggests that either both Wakashan and Salishan speakers were present at Hoko ca. 2,500 to 3,000 years ago or, at least, that Wakashan speakers had access to Salishan goods.

A Further Look at Gibbs

Accepting the proposition that early ideas about the Hoko River and the settlement at its mouth come from George Gibbs' 1854 report and his subsequent role in the 1855 Stevens Indian Treaties, it is important to ask from where he got them. In a generic sense, there are only two possible answers: either they are based on his own observations, or they are things he was told by others. In an effort to better understand the situation, his journals have been reviewed for the period prior to the appearance of the 1854 report. While the journal entries do not present a complete picture, they do offer valuable insights into what happened.

George Gibbs arrived in western Washington in the spring of 1853 (Beckham 1970; Miller 2015). He traveled widely after his arrival and kept a daily record of his movements, observations, and information he collected about Native cultures. The first comment to be made from this journal is that it offers no reason to suggest that he actually visited the mouth of the Hoko River, or its general vicinity, prior to preparing his 1854 report. Rather, it is clear that what he had to say on the subject consists of information provided to him by other individuals.

Gibbs' first discussion of the S'Klallam appears in his January 17, 1854 entry (Gibbs 1858:50–55). He was in the Penn Cove area of Whidbey Island at that time and reported that he had met and spoken with Samuel Hancock, a settler who had formally lived for a time in Neah Bay. Gibbs recorded brief notes about a number of different Native groups on this date. He wrote that the S'Klallam "occupy the shores of the Straits of Fuca and Admiralty Inlet from Clallam Bay to

below Port Townsend." The entry also includes a list of what he termed "their principal seats." The list contains eight villages and offers population estimates for each of them. This list is very much like that in his 1854 report, but it differs from the latter in two significant ways. Most importantly for the present discussion, it does not mention a settlement at the Hoko River. The westernmost village on this list is "Pishtst-Clallam Bay" (reported as a single place). The second difference is that it also reports a S'Klallam Village at Bellingham Bay, in what is now Whatcom County. In commenting about them, Gibbs acknowledged that the only S'Klallam villages he actually visited were at Port Townsend and Bellingham Bay. After leaving Penn Cove, Gibbs paused briefly at a few places in Skagit County and then traveled to Port Townsend, arriving on January 24th. His journal entry for the following day says: "Visited lodges of Clallam Indians whose principal chiefs are here" and then includes several pages of information about them (Gibbs 1858:62–64). These notes include the names of numerous S'Klallam individuals he met with in Port Townsend (*Lach-ke-nam*, *Tchotst*, King George [*S'hai-aks*], Duke of York [*Cheets- u, hah*], Gen. Gaines [*Yak-kwai-in-hoo*], Tom Benton [*Tse-te-yak*], Duke Clarence, [*He-ahtl-ya*], Gen. Scott [*Sera-toile*], Gen. Taylor [*Gat le-min*], John Adams [*Gai-a-hoom*], John C. Clahoun [*Klow-is-tau*], General Lane [*Kai-at-law*], James K. Polk, Patrick Henry, *Stow-a-heit*, *Se-lih-tum*, *Skai-an*, and *Skai-a-lom-hu*) and another list of the "Principal grounds or villages of the Clallams." This list adds "*Oh-ko*" as the westernmost village and includes the comment that Hoko is "a sort of an Alsatia where the fugitives of Makahs & the Clallams unite." The Bellingham Bay village no longer appears. Thus, his January 25th list is very similar to that in the published 1854 report. No additional comment about a boundary is made on this date. Gibbs left Port Townsend on the 27th of January, heading south into central Puget Sound.

The preceding journal entries indicate that Gibbs' ideas about the Hoko River area—as they appear in his 1854 report—were strongly influenced by conversations he had with S'Klallam individuals in Port Townsend on January 25, 1854. He had not yet been to Hoko himself, and it is unlikely that he had spoken with any Makahs about this subject prior to preparing the report.

A few other observations from the Gibbs' journals are worthy of comment. While his repeated comments about Hoko being an "[A]lsatia or neutral ground" where Makahs and S'Klallams lived together suggests that he thought this to be unusual, his journal indicates that Native communities with mixed ethnic memberships were not uncommon in western Washington at this time. For example, his account of Port Townsend on January 25, 1854 notes the presence of eight "*Clallam houses… of which one is Skagit*." Still further in the same dated entry, he also describes Chimakum people living there. Recall that he also earlier reported the presence of S'Klallam people living at Bellingham Bay. It is not clear why Gibbs chose to emphasize this point with regard to Hoko while not commenting on it elsewhere.

Finally, review of Gibbs' writings also indicates that his view of the S'Klallam villages was fluid. This analysis has examined six S'Klallam village lists prepared by Gibbs: in his journal on January 17 and 25, 1854; in a letter to Stevens on February 7, 1854; in the 1854 McClellan Report; in the Point-No-Point Treaty of January 1855; and in the 1877 revision of the McClellan Report. All the lists are similar, but no two are actually the same. At least one of the changes—replacing "*Tinnis*" at Dungeness with "*Yennis*" at Port Angeles—appears to be a correction. The reasons for other changes are less clear. Some writers (e.g., Lane 1975:5) have suggested that some of the variation may reflect whether or not Gibbs believed the settlement was still being used at the time. Recall that this may also have affected the Eells (1887) account of Hoko. To what extent this may have been a factor with Gibbs is uncertain. Nevertheless, Gibbs' published 1854 S'Klallam Village list has gained a stability in later documents, which is not apparent in a wider view of his own writings.

So, What is Likely?

While the information considered above is not sufficient to document precisely what happened, what is now known can provide a basis to "fill in the gaps" and suggest a likely scenario.

First, it is very likely that Gibbs had no first-hand knowledge of the vicinity of the Hoko River and who may have lived there when he wrote the 1854 report. He clearly learned somethings about a village at the mouth of this river from the S'Klallam "principal chiefs" whom he met in Port Townsend on January 25, 1854. He may also have learned some things about the Hoko area from earlier Euro-American settlers such as Samuel Hancock. It is very unlikely that he discussed the subject with any Makah person. Note that this could explain why Gibbs thought Hoko was a S'Klallam village, even though both Makahs and S'Klallams lived there; his only knowledge of it may have come from the S'Klallam "principal chiefs" he met in Port Townsend.

Gibbs was providing information to Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens, who was preparing to conduct Treaty Councils with the region's tribes. It is similarly very unlikely that Stevens had any first-hand knowledge of the Hoko River —or the northwestern Olympic Peninsula generally—at the time his effort began. Both Gibbs and Stevens clearly knew that there was a Hoko River and approximately where its mouth was, but it is very unlikely that either of them had any knowledge of where the channel actually extended to upstream. No accurate map of this area existed in 1854. Despite these uncertainties, Stevens needed to negotiate treaties that included descriptions of the lands which tribes were ceding. In this regard, he probably considered the river to be a handy and reliable geographic feature (even if he did not know the details of its course). Recall, however, that the Makah and Point-No-Point Treaties did not specifically claim that the river was the tribal boundary. Stevens used the river mouth as a control point and then offered general directions to and from it. Nevertheless, the boundary quickly became equated with the river channel. Dall's 1876 map showing this association (Figure 4) solidified the view, and it has been repeated by most subsequent writers (Table 2).

Beyond this, it is likely that Suttles' 1953 view of what motivated Stevens is correct as well. While both the Makah and Point-No-Point Treaty boundaries—near the Hoko River—are short on geographic details, they make specific reference to each other and this language ensured that, even in a poorly understood landscape, no unceded lands would remain in Native control.

Still Broader Speculations

Assuming that the preceding account does accurately reflect how the Hoko River came to be seen as a territorial boundary, does the available information offer any insights into late precontact and/or early historic conditions in western Washington?

I believe that it probably does, but to draw proper inferences, we need to consider the information in context. Gibbs' ideas about Hoko were based upon observations made by others, in the mid-nineteenth century. While he undoubtedly had some knowledge of what had happened to Native people prior to that time, it is unlikely that he knew very much about this subject. Of particular relevance, it is unlikely that he knew much about the scale of the recent population losses due to introduced European diseases or how they may have impacted Native communities. Analyses of introduced diseases and population decline on the southern Northwest Coast offer dramatic data indicating that Native groups throughout the region probably shrank from 50 to 80 percent between 1774 and 1874 (Taylor 1963; Duff 1964; Boyd 1990, 1999). Among other widespread documented conditions, there were significant population shifts as less impacted groups expanded into the territories of more impacted neighbors who could no longer defend them; communities of ethnically-mixed survivors also arose in some places.

The available information about the Hoko River suggests that both of the latter conditions were occurring. Clearly, the Hoko Village described by Gibbs was an ethnically-mixed community and—according to his journal—this was not an unusual condition in western Washington in the 1850s.

Evidence of possible population movements are less obvious, but nevertheless apparent. Boyd's (1999) reconstruction suggests that the S'Klallam were the most numerous group on the Olympic Peninsula in the 1850s. While the Makahs also survived the epidemic period in significant numbers, S'Klallams were likely a still larger group. This suggests that the S'Klallams were a likely candidate to have been absorbing territory from neighboring groups during this period. Indeed, Gibbs (1854:37) himself reported that the S'Klallams gained control of Chimakum Territory during the nineteenth century.

The "evolution" of S'Klallam village lists considered earlier in this article also appears to reflect a recent expansion in their presence. Recall that the published Gibbs' 1854 account included eight settlements, six of which were located along the southern shoreline of the Strait of Juan de Fuca between the mouth of the Elwha River and Port Townsend (Figure 3). This suggests that the traditional "core" of S'Klallam territory may have extended from the Elwha River watershed to the vicinity of Discovery Bay. Additional locations in more recent accounts include both still more settlements within this "core" area and settlements in areas normally considered to be the territories of neighboring tribes (Figure 5). The latter group includes settlements at Brinnon and Point Julia on Hood Canal, at Port Ludlow in central Puget Sound, at Ebey's Prairie on the west coast of Whidbey Island, in the San Juan Islands, at Bellingham Bay in northern Puget Sound, and at Beecher Bay on Vancouver Island.

What is to be made of the reports of S'Klallam people living beyond their traditional territory? Rather than being long-standing traditional settlements that were simply "missed" by Gibbs, these appear to be evidence that S'Klallam people were expanding to the east, north, and south during the nineteenth century. Both Gunther (1927:179) and Suttles (1951:10–13) report that the S'Klallam community at Beecher Bay was established in the 1860s. Paul Kane (1925:145) may have seen it still earlier in 1847. Douglas Deur (2009:62–66) summarized evidence that the S'Klallam presence on Whidbey Island is recent, but did not offer an initial date for it. In an earlier discussion of the same subject, Richard White (1980:15) placed the S'Klallams arrival on Whidbey Island in the 1840s. Similarly, the S'Klallam settlement at Point Julia on Hood Canal began in 1853, associated with the opening of a mill at Port Gamble (Wray 1997:32). In this light it is reasonable to ask: is it likely that the relatively large early historic S'Klallam population was also expanding to the west at this time?

If S'Klallam people were also expanding to the west in the first half of the nineteenth century, who was likely to be receiving pressure from this movement? Makahs certainly could have been, if they were formerly present farther to the east. Speculation on this subject also begs a return to Starling's 1852 report of the Pist-chin, a possible second Wakashan-speaking group on the Olympic Peninsula. Could westward pressure from S'Klallams have forced the removal or amalgamation of a much smaller depleted Pist-chin population during the nineteenth century? Admittedly, evidence for such a sequence of events is both limited and problematic at best. Nevertheless, if we entertain Starling's claim that Wakashan-speakers were formerly present well to the east of the Hoko River, this could help explain some of the unresolved questions raised by this review. If early Euro-American observers conflated the Makah language with Wakashan languages in general, this could be a possible explanation for why Makahs had traditional rights to fish at the Lyre River, why Makahs and S'Klallams were both living at the mouth of the Hoko River, and why the widely accepted place name is considered to be a word in the Makah language.

Some Final Thoughts

This article has examined the origin of certain ideas about the Hoko River and its role as a part of the territorial boundary between Makahs and S'Klallams in the mid-nineteenth century. It has offered a number of thoughts on the subject, including some of a speculative nature. It is therefore appropriate to finish the discussion with a clear summary of what its conclusions are.

Its principal finding is that prevailing ideas about the cultural significance of the Hoko River—and the Native settlement at its mouth—are not based on direct observations by informed, impartial reporters. Rather, the idea that the river (or even just the river mouth) was a territorial boundary was likely a political convenience adopted by Stevens for the Treaty Councils. Given both his agenda and the lack of relevant geographic information, Stevens' decision is understandable. Somewhat less understandable, or, perhaps, more unfortunate, has been the durability of these ideas as they have been repeated—largely without critical review—by generations of anthropologists and others.

In this regard, it is important to stress that this article does not argue that the boundary should really be someplace else. The discussion has noted that there are reports of both Makah settlements to the east of the Hoko River and S'Klallam settlements to the west of it. It has also acknowledged that both tribal territories and the distributions of Native people in western Washington appear to have been somewhat fluid during the nineteenth century. In fact, it is likely that territorial boundaries were subject to change prior to the historic period and that European contact initially accelerated this process. Similarly, this article does not argue that the Pist-chin must be accepted as a second distinct Wakashan-speaking group on the Olympic Peninsula. It has noted the existence and possible relevance of Starling's report, cited a few additional details which may be consistent with it, and considered what it might mean if Starling was correct. Makah oral history certainly speaks of a time when more than one Wakashan-speaking group was present on the Olympic Peninsula (e.g., Irvine 1921).

Finally, while this article has focused upon the background context and subsequent events associated with a small portion of one of the tribal boundaries established by the 1855 Stevens Treaties, I suggest that at least some of the elements of this story are unlikely to be unique to the northwestern Olympic Peninsula. In particular, it is difficult to imagine that Stevens did not employ similar convenient use of geographic features—in place of on-the-ground knowledge of geography and political facts —when defining tribal boundaries elsewhere in Washington territory. Similarly, while the accounts of Gibbs and other early writers are of great value, they should not be taken literally outside of their context.

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Seeing Women in Stone: A Spatial Analysis of Lithic Technology and Use-Wear to Identify a Norton Tradition *Ena* on the Kvichak River, Bristol Bay, Alaska

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Abstract
Yup'ik women have traditionally formed one half of a partnership with men in Southwest Alaska, through which one could not only survive but thrive in the Subarctic environment. Consideration has been given to identification and analysis of socio-technological attributes associated with the male sphere, often with regards to the qasgiq, or men's house, but less attention has been paid to the role of the ena, or women's house, counterpart as a space for women. The ena once provided a central space for women to transform wild catches into both food and supplies, vital activities that Yup'ik women still perform today. The analysis of lithic tool use-wear, especially that of unmodified flakes, and debitage in a 1,500-year-old Norton tradition house identify this space as the domain of women when evaluated against ethnographic examples of Yup'ik households.

Keywords
Central Yup'ik, Norton, gender, women, lithic technology, lithic use-wear, household analysis, spatial analysis, Bristol Bay, Alaska

Introduction

Variation in settlement patterns of hunter-fisher-gatherers is seen across the coastal Arctic with changing settlement patterns often employed to differentiate between different archaeological traditions and phases. One of the most marked transformations in Southwest Alaska is the adoption of the *qasgiq* (pl: *qasgiit*) or men's house from the northern Arctic coast, which became a central institution and corresponded with a shift to gendered housing arrangements in the region (Nelson 1899; Lantis 1947; Lutz 1973; Mason et al. 2007). Several studies in the Alaskan Arctic address the lithic assemblage signatures of men's houses or *qasgiit* as male spaces based on ethnohistoric records (e.g., Spencer 1959; Giddings 1961; Gubser 1965; Oswalt and VanStone 1967; VanStone 1970; Lutz 1973; Giddings and Anderson 1986; Larson 1991; Mason 1998). However, archaeologists rarely evaluate the corresponding *enet* (sg: *ena*) in the framework of female domains with spatial autonomy from the male sphere, but instead only as domestic spaces, despite substantial ethnographic evidence indicating that the *enet* functioned as the primary workspace and lodging of women, girls, and only very young boys (Nelson 1899; Oswalt 1963; Fienup-Riordan 1994; Frink 2005).

The application of a household analysis to the floor of a 1,500-year-old semi-subterranean house, HP22, at the site of Moose Hill (DIL-088) in the Bristol Bay region of Southwest Alaska offers the opportunity to explore themes of gender and space by testing the hypothesis that the HP22 assemblage resembles that of a Yup'ik *ena*. Ethnographic accounts from early travel through the Central Yup'ik region offer surprising detail regarding the roles of both men and women (Dall 1870; Nelson 1899; VanStone 1959; Oswalt 1963; Oswalt and VanStone 1967; Zagoskin 1967; Fienup-Riordan 1988). However,

our knowledge of the complex, interpersonal interactions between genders in northern prehistoric contexts is still limited (Frink, Shepard, and Reinhardt 2002). By mobilizing household and gender theory in combination with existing ethnographic examples, this research addresses the possibility that the crucial gendered partnership of the Central Yup'ik, reflected in their divided housing, exhibits parallels to the emergence of the *qasgiq* and *ena* during the Norton tradition in Southwest Alaska.

Gendered Spaces

Hunter-gatherer societies often arrange activities, space, and social status based on gender and age, even in cultures where flexibility exists between these roles (Kent 1991, 1998; Allison 1999; Brumbach and Jarvenpa 2002; DeGagne 2009:9; Whitridge 2013). However, distinguishing the variation of gendered domestic spaces in the archaeological record remains problematic. Spatial patterning that identifies differentially utilized areas is limited in explaining the structural elements behind this variation, and studies aimed at engendering archaeology are still marginal in today's vast body of archaeological research, especially concerning northern Indigenous communities (Frink, Shepard, and Reinhardt 2002; Fulkerson 2017).

Gender roles are not static, and we must be cautious in applying recent patterning to the past without testing the validity of our models (Conkey and Spector 1984). Additionally, implicit assumptions regarding gender relations and labor divisions underlie much of the foundation for household archaeology. We must consciously work to avoid applying preconceived concepts about household structure to archaeological data and must critically consider the biases present in analogical materials that we incorporate into our research. Despite these challenges, Arctic researchers continue to call on archaeologists and ethnographers to dispel the silence that "surrounds the lives of Native North American women" (Klein and Ackerman 1995:3). To accomplish this goal, archaeologists must draw not only from the material record but also consider the intricate behavioral patterning of modern Indigenous people's lives and how, if at all, archaeologists might integrate this patterning into their interpretations.

Use-wear in a Central Yup'ik Context

The identification of use-wear on the lithic tools recovered from HP22 has the potential to identify gendered activity in the Norton house floor assemblage and is employed here to determine if the floor assemblage of HP22 is consistent with that of a Yup'ik *ena*. Central Yup'ik women were responsible for processing a variety of organic materials that would not preserve into the archaeological record. Researchers may overlook activities performed by the ancestral Norton women if they do not incorporate lithic use-wear into their analysis, as evidence of these activities often degrades due to acidic soil and cryoturbation (Ackerman 1964; Dumond 2005; Bundy 2007; Hoffman 2009; Saltonstall, Steffian, and Rusk 2012; Tremayne 2017). To identify possible use-wear patterns in the past, we are reliant on the activities of modern and historical period inhabitants of the region who would have operated in an ecological environment similar to that of the Norton Brooks River Weir phase (Bundy 2005). Lithic use-wear analysis, with an emphasis on utilized flakes, allows for a method to recognize women's tools in the absence of organic materials and to identify and highlight the female presence within an archaeological assemblage (Dumond 1981; Shepard 2002; Smith 2006).

Drawing on ethnohistoric accounts of the Yup'ik people to interpret the past does have limitations, as Russian and American influences resulted in rapid changes to Yup'ik lifeways, and the trauma of colonialism has long-lasting impacts (Napoleon 1996; Shepard 2002). Moreover, 1,500 years have passed, and hunter-fisher-gatherer societies are not static. In addition to the Central Yup'ik, Southwest Alaska is home to several Indigenous groups, including

the Dena'ina and Unangan. Bristol Bay acts as a confluence of these three peoples, all of whom have maintained a strong presence in the area despite over two centuries of Euromerican contact (Shaw 1998; Bristol Bay Native Corporation 2016). The connection of the Central Yup'ik peoples to the Norton tradition stems from their overlap in space and practices. The Central Yup'ik traditionally occupied northern Bristol Bay, among other areas, and expanded inland from the coast along rivers and lakes. Norton tradition peoples who occupied this area relied on the same primary subsistence resource bases as early historical Central Yup'ik occupants, primarily the harvesting of salmon supplemented by caribou and sea mammals (Dumond 1987; Shaw 1998).

Archaeological evidence in the region indicates a continuum bridging the Norton tradition to the Central Yup'ik (Shaw 1998). Despite variation in settlement patterning, architectural style, and tool diversity over various climactic periods, no evidence for complete population replacement exists for the occupation of coastal Alaska (Mason 2009; Tremayne 2017; Tremayne and Brown 2017). While population fluctuations occurred, the archaeological Arctic Small Tool (ca. 5000–3200 BP), Norton (ca. 2500–800 BP), and Thule (ca. 1000–200 BP) traditions of the region are considered sequential developments, culminating with the Central Yup'ik of the historical period, as the peoples of the region adapted to changing environments via technological adaptations (Dumond 1987, 2000, 2011; Shaw 1998).

The Norton tradition includes the earliest examples of large, central structures surrounded by smaller constructions interpreted as *qasgiit*, first appearing in northern coastal regions circa 2000 BP (Lutz 1973; Mason et al. 2007). Structures of similar size and dimension to *qasgiq* at DIL-088 dating to the Norton period have been identified to the south at DIL-161 on the Alagnak River and at the Penguq site (UGA-050) on the King Salmon River (Bundy 2005; Saltonstall et al. 2012). The Penguq structure (P18) is contemporaneous with HP22 (ca. 1510–1610 cal BP) (Saltonstall et al. 2012; Farrell 2018). Even as houses morphed from single- to multi-room structures with the onset of the Thule tradition, the patterning of large, central *qasgiit* remained.

Peoples of the Norton tradition flourished in Southwest Alaska through the specialized extraction of salmon and intensified use of local resources. However, decreased salmon abundance and multiple regional volcanic eruptions impacting salmon and caribou stocks eventually resulted in the transformation of regional groups into the Thule tradition (Heiser 2003; VanderHoek 2009; Dumond 2011). Thule subsistence strategies primarily focused on marine mammals, with tool technology and settlement patterning reflecting a shift towards whaling and marine hunting (Darwent et al. 2013). Still, fishing practices were not abandoned, and again became the focus of subsistence practices for people in the region with the increase in salmon populations coincident with the Little Ice Age (Ackerman 1988; Heiser 2003; Vegvari and Foley 2014). Modern Yup'ik peoples remain actively involved in the Bristol Bay salmon harvest.

Despite limitations, ethnographic accounts permit the consideration of regional cultural frameworks that may explain material object distribution and place objects in behavioral contexts (Binford 1962, 1968a, 1968b, 1978, 1980; Ackerman 1970; VanStone 1970; Orme 1973). Ethnographic accounts do not replace archaeology; however, these accounts offer the potential to supplement the material record and consider possible socio-spatial relationships. There is a considerable amount of continuity in technology and environment through time in the region. However, linking technology and subsistence practices to gender-specific roles remains tenuous without additional supporting evidence. LeMoine (2003) argues that, despite variation across Inuit, Eskimoan, and Siberian societies, their belief systems all share ancestral roots with the shamanism identified in archaeological contexts in the region, first appearing in Siberia and later spreading

throughout the coastal Arctic (Gulløv and Appelt 2001). Similarly, all speakers of Eskimoan languages, including Central Yup'ik, use gender-specific roles to mediate the relationships between animals and humans central to their spiritual beliefs, suggesting that these practices also share ancient roots (LeMoine 2003). These connections are especially relevant to the occupation of HP22, as the house is associated with a period during which the *qasgiq*, a structure closely linked to Yup'ik ideology and shaman practices, is adopted throughout coastal Alaska (Fienup-Riordan 1994; Mason et al. 2007; Mason 2009; Dumond 2016).

The Central Yup'ik of Southwest Alaska had dichotomized, gender-specific domestic roles and even separate dwellings (Nelson 1899; Oswalt 1963; Fienup-Riordan 1994; Frink 2005). Women resided in their own *ena* with their children while men and boys over the age of five lived in the *qasgiq*. Domestic roles of women included meal preparation and serving; manufacture of grass mats and baskets; sewing clothing for all household members; harvesting vegetation, eggs, and clams; line and trap fishing; and the processing of all game into food and supplies (Fienup-Riordan 1986; Ackerman 1990; Frink 2002; Shepard 2002).

Complicating the archaeological record, Yup'ik peoples did not strictly enforce gendered activity and tool use with clearly defined gender roles. According to Shepard (2002:73), "… frequent forays by either parent outside of the house meant both men and women often had to be completely self-sufficient and able to use tools or take over tasks more commonly performed by the opposite sex." This flexibility attests to the driving necessity of preparing for resource-poor seasons. Couples shared many tasks and even jointly observed taboos (Lantis 1946; Fienup-Riordan 1986; Ackerman 1990; Frink 2002). Overlapping skills and knowledge were necessary to survive the Subarctic environment; however, the extremes of this continuum in skill sets and activity tend to be gendered (Ackerman 1970; Frink 2009).

Despite occasional overlap in tasks, women controlled the allocation of food throughout the year, taking ownership of one's husband's, brother's, or son's harvest the moment he returned to the community (Lantis 1946; Zagoskin 1967; Fienup-Riordan 1986; Ackerman 1990; Frink 2002). Women were responsible for processing and subsequent distribution of portions and supplies to family members and other women of the community. Yup'ik informant Theresa Moses describes this responsibility: "A man might be a good hunter, but if his wife does not take care of what he caught right away, he will have nothing. And although he may not be a good hunter, if his wife takes care of whatever he caught, she will have something that could be used" (Fienup-Riordan 2005:142). Women transformed game into food stores by thinly slicing meat and blubber to be air-dried, smoked, frozen, or stored in oil and then buried in grass baskets and grass-lined storage pits (Fienup-Riordan 2007; Fienup-Riordan, Rearden, and Knecht 2015).

Organic materials and residues associated with women's activities are rarely preserved in the archaeological record; however, many tasks would have left signatures on the lithic materials required for their daily tasks. Clothing production and repair requires processing, scraping, cutting, and perforating of hides, and abrading stones for sharpening needles. Wooden materials often require cutting, shaving, and abrading to achieve desired shapes. Grass would have been cut and cured in the summer and fall for the manufacture of a range of items from house insulation to a braided cord (Shepard 2002; FrontierScientists 2012).

The majority of tasks associated with Yup'ik women involve softer materials. Slicing through meat, hide, and blubber or cutting beach ryegrass offers considerably less resistance than harder materials such as wood and bone. Even spruce, used in bowls, utensils, and fish traps, is a softer material compared to other woods available in the region.

In Yup'ik villages, the *qasgiq* functioned as a communal residence, sweat lodge, place of education, and workshop for men and as a spiritual and political center for the community (Nelson 1899; Lantis 1947; Giddings 1961; Larson 1991; Fienup-Riordan 1994, 2007; Mason 1998, 2014). Here, men conducted their indoor work, and boys underwent a form of apprenticeship, learning skills as well as appropriate behaviors and social norms. The men of the village would teach young boys how to build kayaks; carve masks; and manufacture hunting implements and other tools and supplies from wood, stone, and bone, primarily harder materials. However, harder materials are not exclusive to the men's domain in Yup'ik culture. Women rely on bone and ivory for their essential sewing needles and several other implements related to sewing (Fienup-Riordan 2007). Some historical Yup'ik collections include sewing needle cases of intricate design in ivory.

The proportions of tools used to work harder and softer materials in *enet* and *qasgiit* reflect the gendered division of space. Men had access to the *ena* with which they were associated; however, the community teased them for spending time in the women's domain, especially young boys who had recently left their *ena* for the *qasgiq* (Fienup-Riordan 1994, 2007). Women also had access to the *qasgiq* and, in addition to ceremonies and festivals, would enter at mealtimes when they brought food for the men, although they would not eat there themselves. However, the material tasks for which women were responsible occurred in the *ena*, not in the *qasgiq*.

Based on the archaeological and ethnohistorical record, an *ena* would likely contain high proportions of thin, sharp cutting tools and scrapers for processing softer materials and lower numbers of tools for processing harder materials (Scanlan 2020). At the same time, a *qasgiq* assemblage would exhibit the reverse of this. Debitage in the *ena* would represent the manufacture of flake tools, more so than biface production, and the maintenance of bifacial and unifacial edges during processing tasks. Table 1 lays out expectations for the lithic archaeological material assemblage of the *qasgiq* and *ena*, as well as expectations for a mixed-gender household.

Household Studies in a Yup'ik Context

One of gender studies aims is to illuminate the relationships between male and female spheres (Brumbach and Jarvenpa 2002). The Central Yup'ik household is of particular interest in studying this dynamic, as the complex domestic system involved two separate structures, the *ena* and the *qasgiq*, in which the *qasgiq* additionally formed a nexus for all households in the community (Shepard 2002).

Ackerman (1990, 2002) asserts that Yup'ik women experienced greater autonomy than women in other hunter-gatherer societies as a result of the household arrangement of *qasgiit* and *enet* and that this arrangement, in turn, influenced Yup'ik culture. She also shakes the antiquated Euro-American framework of male dominance correlating with men's use of public space while women exist in marginalized domestic areas. While marriage locality arrangements varied among the Yup'ik, Ackerman (2002) describes matrilocal practices, which were common and added to the cohesion of women in contrast to men:

> Men's houses had the effect of isolating men as individuals. They were excluded from the company of their male kin… women lived with their mothers, sisters, children, aunts, and cousins, which formed a support network, whereas men were isolated from their kin of both genders…. Thus the existence of men's houses within a community is not an index of male dominance within the society. It seems unlikely that the separation of men and women in different dwellings has anything to do with gender status, and in fact such an arrangement may be socially disadvantageous for men because of their social isolation. (35)

Table 1. Expectations for Inorganic Cultural Artifacts in Gendered Housing, Derived from Scanlan (2020).

Inorganic Cultural Material	*Ena*	*Qasgiq*	Mixed-Gender House
Projectile Points	Endblades and sideblade inserts exibiting impact fractures.	Both complete endblade and sideblade inserts, inserts at various stages of manufacture, and insert fragments with both manufacture and impact breaks.	Both complete endblade and sideblade inserts, inserts at various stages of manufacture, and insert fragments with both manufacture and impact breaks.
Adze	Small adzes for the manufacture of wood bowls and utensils.	Small and large adzes for woodworking, including the manufacture of bowls, wooden tools, and kayaks and for construction.	Small and large adzes for woodworking, including the manufacture of bowls, wooden tools, and kayaks and for construction.
Sideblades	Large sideblades for use as knives.	Small sideblades insets for composite projectiles and large sideblade knives.	Small sideblades insets for composite projectiles and large sideblade knives.
Thin, sharp, cutting tools with evidence of processing softer materials	High proportions of these tools for filleting meat, slicing blubber, and cutting hide for clothing manufacture, and for collecting grass.	Low proportions of these tools.	Moderate proportions of these tools.
Thicker tools with evidence of processing harder materials	Low proportions of these tools for decoration, manufacture, and maintenance of sewing needles, fishing lures.	High proportions of these tools for manufacture and carving of masks, bowls, tools, tool handles, kayak parts, and darts.	Moderate proportions of these tools.
Abraders	Abraders for sharpening bone and ivory needles for sewing and for abrading hide.	Abraders for arrow straighteners, and edge grinders and sharpeners in lithic and bone tool manufacture.	Abraders for sharpening needles and lithic and bone tools and for hide abrasion and arrow straightening.
Scrapers	Higher proportions of tools for scraping soft materials—hide.	Higher proportions of tools for scraping harder materials—wood, bone, ivory, and antler.	Moderate proportions for processing both softer and harder materials.
Lamps	Present if used.	Present if used.	Present if used.
Ceramics	High proportions of ceramics for food storage.	Low proportions of ceramics, primarily for oil storage.	High proportions of ceramics for food and oil storage.
Notched net weights	Likely absent.	Present if stored indoors.	Present if stored indoors.
Ulus	Ulus with use-wear and ulu fragments with use breaks.	Ulu fragments for repair or ulus with no use-wear.	Present in all stages of manufacture and use.
Heated Rocks	Boiling stones.	Cobbles for steambaths.	Boiling stones.
Debitage	High proportions of flake blanks for use as tools and debitage indicative of retouch. Low proportions of debitage associated with biface manufacture.	High proportions of debitage types associated with manufacturing bifacial tools and projectile hunting technologies and retouch of tools.	Moderate proportions of flake blanks and debitage associated with tool manufacture and retouch.

Frink (2006) additionally asserts that, in many ways, the *qasgiq* bound and limited the movement of men, especially during certain ceremonies. In contrast, women could continue navigating these otherwise shared spaces in their daily tasks, affording them opportunity for building influence and authority within their community. Central Yup'ik women controlled the processed resources of the village and distributed these items into a social network in which they were integrally enmeshed. The autonomy and proprietorship afforded these women were not happenstance but facilitated and reinforced by the household arrangement.

The Site of Moose Hill

DIL-088 is located on the Kvichak River, an 80km river connecting Lake Iliamna to Bristol Bay in Southwest Alaska (Figure 1). HP22 is one of approximately 40 surface depressions that mark the locations of semi-subterranean dwellings and structures from multiple village occupations of the river terrace, including a Norton tradition *qasgiq* (898–690 cal BP) (Figure 2) (Farrell 2018). A combination of feature and artifact attributes, relative tephra chronology, and radiocarbon dating have been used to associate site features with regional expressions of the Arctic Small Tool (ASTt), Norton, and Thule cultural traditions. During the historical period, DIL-088 was situated within the territory of the interior-oriented Yup'ik subgroup, the Kiatagmiut, who inhabited the upper Kvichak River (VanStone 1984).

HP22

HP22 is an approximately 4 x 5 m semi-subterranean house, associated with the Brooks River Weir phase, ca. 1700–1200 BP, of the Norton archaeological tradition, situated with a south-facing cold-trap entryway overlooking a freshwater spring drainage (Figure 2) (Scanlan 2020). Two charcoal samples, taken from the floor and hearth, provide two-sigma radiocarbon date ranges of 1602–1415 cal BP (D-AMS 035648) and 1528–1377 cal BP (Beta-474865).

Evidence does not suggest that the assemblage of HP22 represents an extensive period of occupation (Scanlan 2020). Semi-subterranean structures involved annual maintenance and did not survive long without extensive reconstruction (Fienup-Riordan 1994, 2007). Dumond and VanStone (1995) estimate a 25-year life span of semi-subterranean structures based on their excavations of the nineteenth century village of Paugvik on the Alaska Peninsula. After this length of time, timbers that comprised of the support posts, roof structure, and wall lining would have had to be replaced and the house reconstructed.

The abandonment of HP22 does not appear planned, as unexhausted, complete tools, both modified and unmodified, appear throughout the house (Scanlan 2020). Considering the seasonal occupation of HP22, an accidental abandonment is the most likely scenario for the termination of the use of the structure. The assemblage of an accidental abandonment would be structurally similar to that of a catastrophic abandonment but absent of artifacts related to the seasonal move (Johnson and Wilmerding 2001). Occupants of the houses often moved out during the spring, as the houses flooded during the seasonal ground thawing, which could cause full or partial collapse of the structures (Fienup-Riordan 1994, 2007).

Lithic Analysis

Use-wear

Ethnoarchaeological studies indicate that people select unmodified flakes, those that exhibit "no other manufacturing input beyond production of the flake blank," for many cutting and scraping tasks because these implements are more useful for specific tasks than tools modified by the removal of additional flakes (Binford and O'Connell 1984; Root and Ferguson 2003:29; Andrefsky 2014). Experimental and

Figure 1. Location of DIL-088 in relation to Bristol Bay, Lake Iliamna, and Alaska (Scanlan 2020).

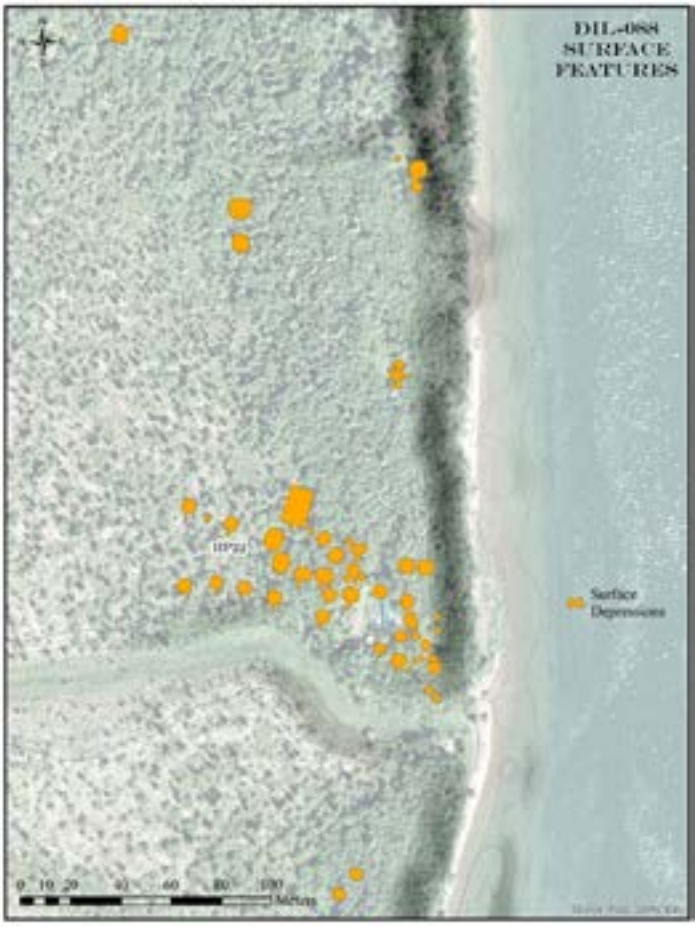

Figure 2. Surface Depressions at DIL-088 (Scanlan 2020).

ethnoarchaeological studies demonstrate that unmodified flakes are highly effective and efficient tools. However, unmodified tools often get classed as debitage rather than as tools because analysts do not always examine debitage for use-wear (Odell 1988, 1989; Kehoe 2005). Identifying these tool types is essential in recognizing the activities of Yup'ik women. The soft material that Yup'ik women cut and scraped often results in wear that is not always immediately perceptible without magnification (Odell 1996).

The entire lithic assemblage (n = 2520) (Tables 2 and 3) of the HP22 floor was examined under low-power magnification, and any tools or flakes exhibiting evidence of wear were additionally examined under high-power magnification for edge damage and possible trampling or post-depositional wear (Scanlan 2020). Microchipping, striations, abrasions, polish, and rounding were recorded for each flake to determine if any patterns resultant from activity type, material type, or material hardness could be identified. Additionally, utilized edge angle was recorded, along with evidence of trampling and post-depositional wear and lithic material, which analysts recognize impacts variation in use-wear and overall utility of stone (Semenov 1964; Tringham et al. 1974; Vaughan 1985). Results of the analysis were compared to a small reference collection developed through a series of experiments designed to reproduce activities performed by Central Yup'ik women in addition to experimental use-wear results produced by other researchers (Scanlan 2019, 2020).

A use code was assigned to each tool identified based on wear patterning (Table 2). Hardness of material worked falls into one of four categories: Soft (Figure 3) for fresh or soaked hide, hair, fat, meat, grasses, and other soft vegetation; Medium-Soft (MedSoft) (Figure 4) for dried or tanned skin, partially thawed or dried meat, and fresh coniferous wood; Medium-Hard (MedHard) (Figure 5) for fresh deciduous wood, frozen meat, and fresh or soaked bone and antler; and Hard (Figure 6) for bone, antler, ivory, and dried hardwoods. Some of these hardness categories group materials that produce distinct wear patterns. However, these groupings represent meaningful categories in the context of activities that Yup'ik women perform. The materials in the Soft and MedSoft hardness categories are materials with which ethnohistoric accounts indicate Yup'ik women in Southwest Alaska worked regularly. The MedHard and Hard classes are materials with which women worked less frequently in contrast to men in the *qasgiq*.

Technological Analysis

Experimental flint-knapping has demonstrated that certain morphological and technological traits in debitage frequently occur in combination together as a result of the reduction strategy employed (Crabtree 1982; Root 2004; Carr and Bradbury 2010; Fagan et al. 2017). The type of stone tool manufacture utilized within HP22 can be derived from flake morphology, including shape, size, curvature, and flake initiation and termination types; platform thickness, angle, and preparation states; location and amount of cortex; and dorsal scar morphology, including orientation and frequency. These technological and morphological attributes, when considered together, identify debitage diagnostic to particular reduction strategies recognized through experimentation (Flenniken 1981; Crabtree 1982; Raymond 1989; Root 2004). Attributes involved in identifying one reduction strategy may be irrelevant in identifying another, so no single characteristic is sufficient to identify lithic strategies employed (Morrow 1997; Root 2004; Fagan et al. 2017).

This typological, or technological, analysis of debitage is preferable to a mass aggregate analysis when attempting to identify the type of tool produced or the reduction technology used, especially in a house floor setting where one cannot assume that the inhabitants produced the debitage during a single reduction episode (Root 2004; Andrefsky 2007). The technological approach has fallen under criticism for categorization

Table 2. Frequency and percentage of HP22 tool assemblage by tool type.

Use Code	Count	Percent of Tool Assemblage
Indeterminate	15	13
Soft	31	26
MedSoft	31	26
MedHard	13	11
Hard	6	5
Abrader	5	4
Non-utilized Biface Fragments	6	5
Projectiles	12	10
Total	**119**	**100**

Table 3. Frequency and percentage of HP22 debitage assemblage by debitage type.

Debitage Type	Count	Percent of Debitage Assemblage
Core Reduction Flake (CR)	103	4
Bifacial Thinning Flake (BFT)	59	2
Bifacial Shaping Flake (BFS)	905	38
Unifacial Modification Flake (UM)	50	2
Alternate Flake (AF)	16	<1
Margin Removal Flake (MR)	22	<1
Flake Fragment with 3+ Dorsal Scars (C)	660	27
Flake Fragment with 1-2 Dorsal Scars (S)	586	24
Total	**2401**	**100**

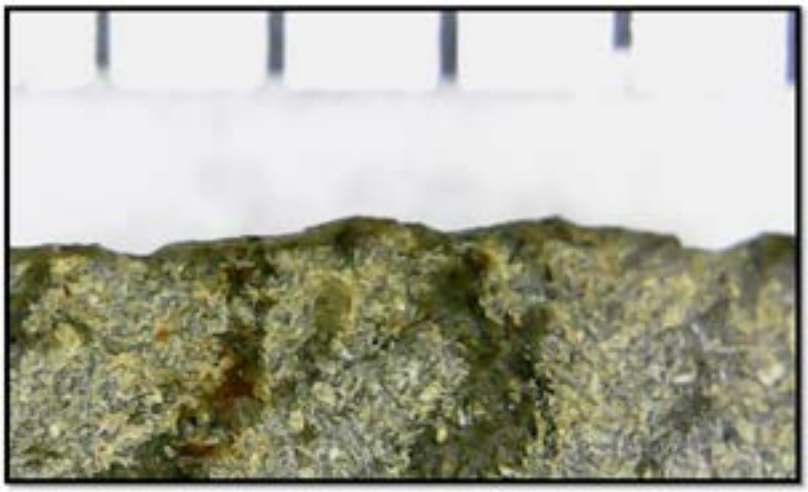

Figure 3. Example of use wear from the Soft tool category. Scale in mm.

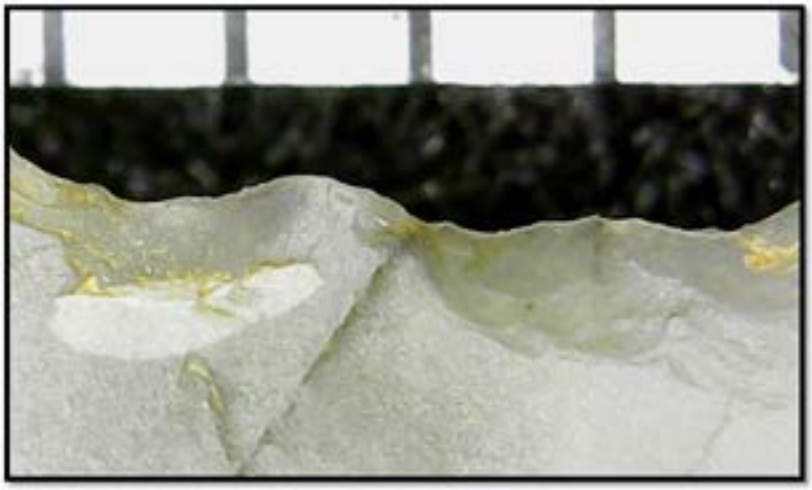

Figure 4. Example of use wear from the MedSoft tool category. Scale in mm.

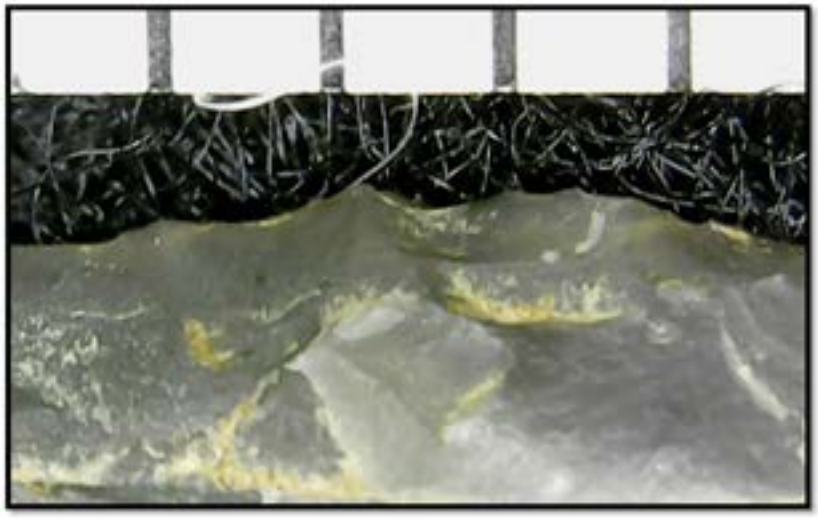

Figure 5. Example of use wear from the MedHard tool category. Scale in mm.

that is not comparable across sites without a detailed review of how an analyst defines each category (Railey and Gonzales 2015). However, the alternative attribute analysis proposed, where each attribute considered is measured separately, is impractical when considering large assemblages or alternatively fails to incorporate a sufficient number of characteristics to be meaningful when identifying lithic reduction strategies that are relevant when considering a house floor (Bradbury and Carr 2014).

HP22 debitage was categorized into the following types, derived from Root (2004) and Fagan et al. (2017) and described in detail by Scanlan (2020): core reduction flakes (CR), bifacial thinning flakes (BFT), bifacial shaping flakes (BFS), unifacial modification flakes (UM), alternate flakes (AF), margin removal flakes (MR), flake fragments with one or two dorsal scars (S), and flake fragments types with three or more dorsal scars (C) (Table 3). Notching flakes, burin flakes, radial-break reduction, bipolar reduction, shatter, and blades were also considered, but the assemblage did not include any of these debitage types.

Results of Lithic Analysis

Eighty-one of the one hundred nineteen tools were made on unmodified flakes (Figure 7). Burinated flake tools and unmodified flakes permitted the identification of original flake types. Sixty-five percent of these were made on core reduction and bifacial thinning flakes. The preferential use of unmodified flakes indicates that the presence of these flake types in the house was for tool use, not necessarily byproducts of biface production.

Soft and MedSoft tools accounted for over 50% of the HP22 tool assemblage, with utilized bifacial thinning flakes for slicing soft material accounting for 23% of tools. In contrast, tools for working hard materials only accounted for 5% of the assemblage, and MedHard tools made up 11%. The remainder of these tools had indeterminate use-wear. This proportional difference indicates that the processing of softer materials was a priority in the house.

Flake tools with an edge thinner than 30° accounted for 41% of the overall tool assemblage omitting abraders, unutilized biface fragments, and projectiles. Soft and MedSoft tools make up 90% of these thin-edged tools, again indicating the importance of thin sharp edges for processing these softer materials.

There are 12 projectile endblades in the assemblage. Endblades are bifacial projectiles that were typically inserted into bone or antler to form a composite point. Seven of these points exhibit impact fractures. An additional four points have bend breaks that could be the result of either impact or manufacture; however, three of these exhibit wear that is consistent with socketing or hafting, implying impact or repair breaks. The only complete point has rounded basal edges indicative of use. The hafting wear and impact fractures suggest that the projectiles were utilized and arrived in the house after use, either embedded in game or intended for repair.

Only three other bifaces in the assemblage have an identifiable shape. Two of these are large sideblade knives, bifacial knives inset into a handle along a margin rather than hafted at the base. One of these sideblades is complete and has wear consistent with cutting MedSoft materials (Figure 8). These blades may represent processing knives. The third biface type present in the house is a hafted perforator, an essential tool for sewing (Figure 9). The rounded edges on this tool are consistent with softer material. The base of the finely knapped tool indicates that the user may have produced it by modifying a projectile endblade.

Bifacial shaping flakes, which encompass bifacial pressure flakes, percussion finishing flakes, and sharpening flakes, comprise the bulk of the HP22 debitage assemblage (38%), followed by two varieties of flake fragments (Complex and Simple dorsal scar morphology, 27% and 24% respectively). The next most frequent debitage type after these three is core reduction, which only makes up 4% of the debitage assemblage. Twenty-seven flakes exhibited a remnant ventral surface, indicating that flakes were used as tool

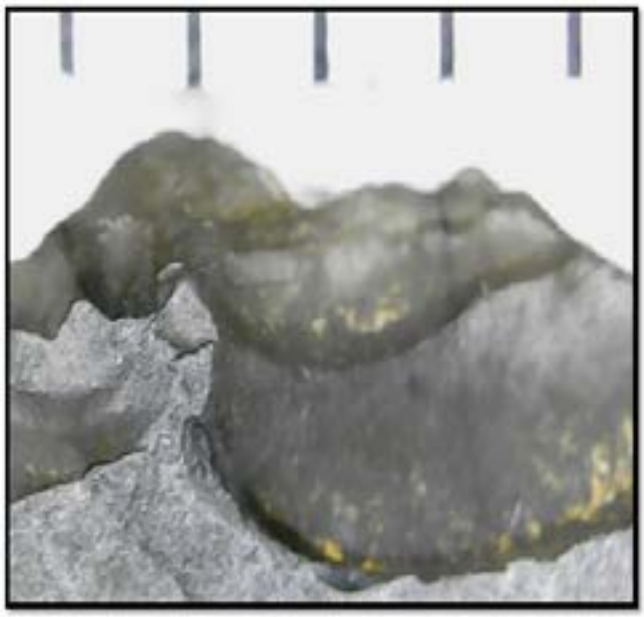

Figure 6. Example of use wear from the Hard tool category. Scale in mm.

Figure 7. A selection of utilized flake tools from HP22, clockwise from upper left corner: Utilized Flake (Soft), Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Utilized Flake (Indeterminate), Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Utilized Flake (Soft) (Scanlan 2020).

Figure 8. Sideblade with wear consistent with cutting MedSoft materials (Scanlan 2020). Scale in cm.

Figure 9. Hafted perforator with wear consistent with working softer material made from a repurposed projectile point (Scanlan 2020). Scale in cm.

blanks. Twenty-nine flakes, comprised of core reduction, bifacial thinning, and unidentifiable flakes were of a size and shape that, based on the tools in the HP22 assemblage, had potential either as utilized flakes or tool blanks. Core reduction and bifacial thinning flakes account for 65% of utilized flake tools, but only 6% of the debitage, suggesting that flake blanks for tools were manufactured elsewhere and brought into the house for use.

Spatial Analysis at the Household Level

The *ena* created space for women and children mostly absent of men. Female household membership was tied to their *ena*, which in turn was associated with a specific *qasgiq*, while male membership to a *qasgiq* could change if he took a spouse from an *ena* associated with a different *qasgiq* (Nelson 1899; Lantis 1946; Ackerman 1990; Fienup-Riordan 1994). Understanding the social and economic role of the women's house has important implications for better understanding the dynamic between males and females, reflected in the relationship between the *qasgiq* and *enet* (Ackerman 1990; Fienup-Riordan 1994, 2007). Neither the *qasgiq* nor the *enet* functioned without the other, as each house type served separate but complementary roles that, when combined, met the basic physical and symbolic needs of the inhabitants.

While individual preferences may impact the internal layout and use of space in a house, the function of the *enet* as women's houses and the social pressures placed on the household would result in artifact assemblages and interior patterning reflective of the social role of the house. Spatial analysis of the house assemblage permits the identification of organization and how this articulates with the social and economic systems in which the house existed. The sod house as a unit of analysis helps determine if the macro-level social organization identified in ethnographies of the Central Yup'ik region and the micro-level organization of artifact distribution in HP22 are linked despite temporal differences (Wilk 1997; Ames 2006; Samuels 2006).

Correspondence Analysis

A correspondence analysis (CA) was used to identify similar neighborhood assemblages in multidimensional space, which were then mapped onto physical space based on assemblage locations. The approach permits the visualization of connections in the assemblage between areas that are not necessarily adjoined while simultaneously reducing contributing variables into associated multivariate dimensions that explain differences and similarities in proportional assemblage data (Grier 2001; Baxter 2003; Munson 2015).

Real-life activities do not pattern neatly into the 50 x 50 cm quadrants in which HP22 was excavated. Larger units may better capture evidence of contiguous activities that radiate out from seated humans, so overlapping local neighborhoods were used as a unit of analysis in the CA. Neighborhoods consisted of a quadrant and the eight adjacent quadrants surrounding the central unit, resulting in 150 x 150 cm area. Because these overlapping neighborhoods or areas are not independent units, this has a smoothing effect on the data. Quadrants with large or unique assemblages impact the neighborhoods of all nearby quadrants. This approach prevents the presence or absence of scarce tool types from being the ultimate defining characteristic of a unit (Johnson 1984).

The first two multivariate dimensions of the CA, which included all debitage and tool types, identified a cluster of six neighborhoods that scored low on Dimension 1 and high on Dimension 2 in association with alternate flakes, Hard, and Abrader lithic categories (Figure 10). The neighborhoods in this cluster all fall on the north back bench of the house (North Bench Cluster) (Figures 11 and 12). While there are only a handful of alternate flakes in the assemblage, the only two utilized flakes produced from alternate flakes are located here, possibly indicating the production of this tool type in this area of the house.

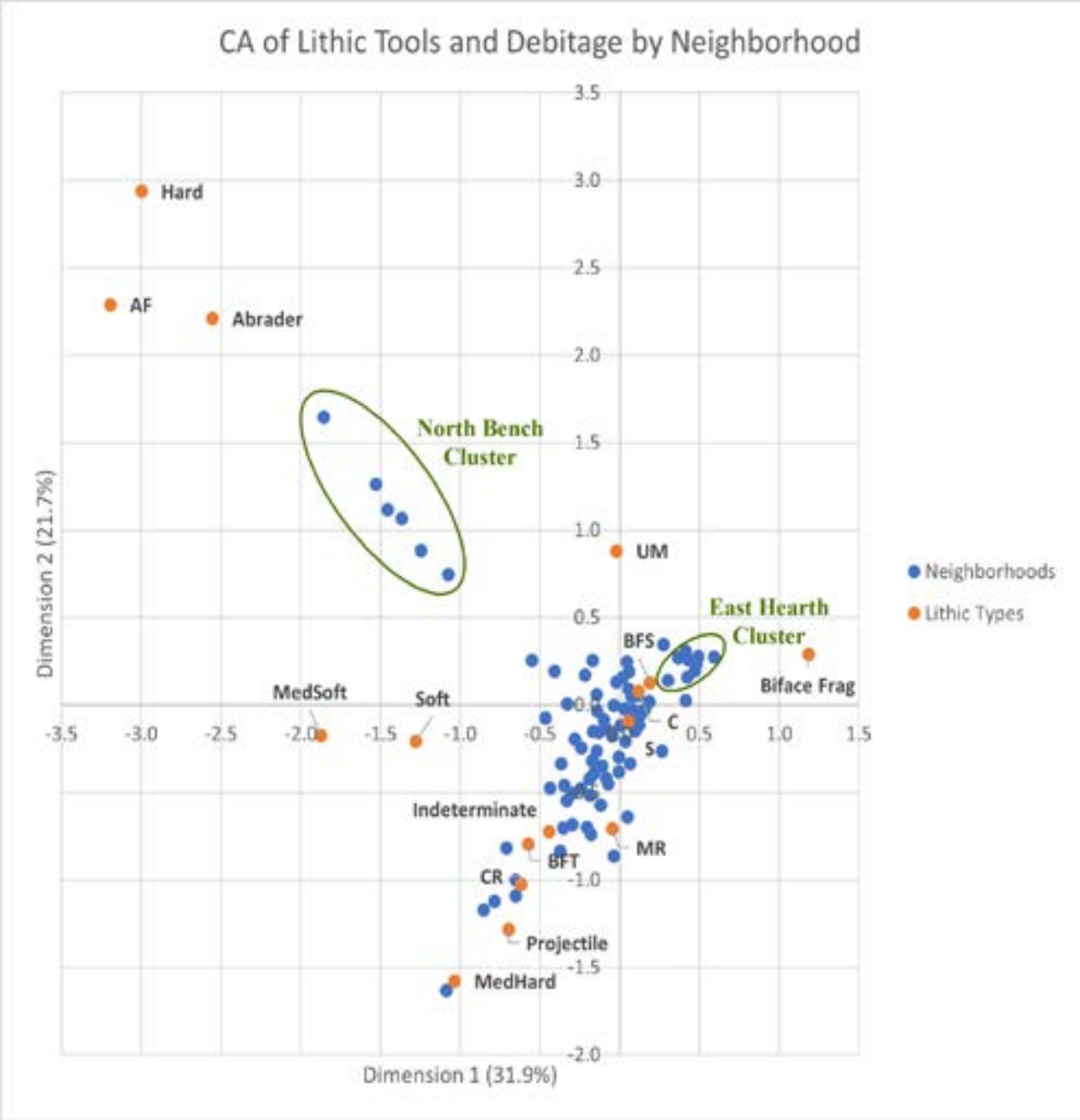

Figure 10. Biplot of the neighborhood and lithic type scores on Dimensions 1 and 2 of the CA (Scanlan 2020).

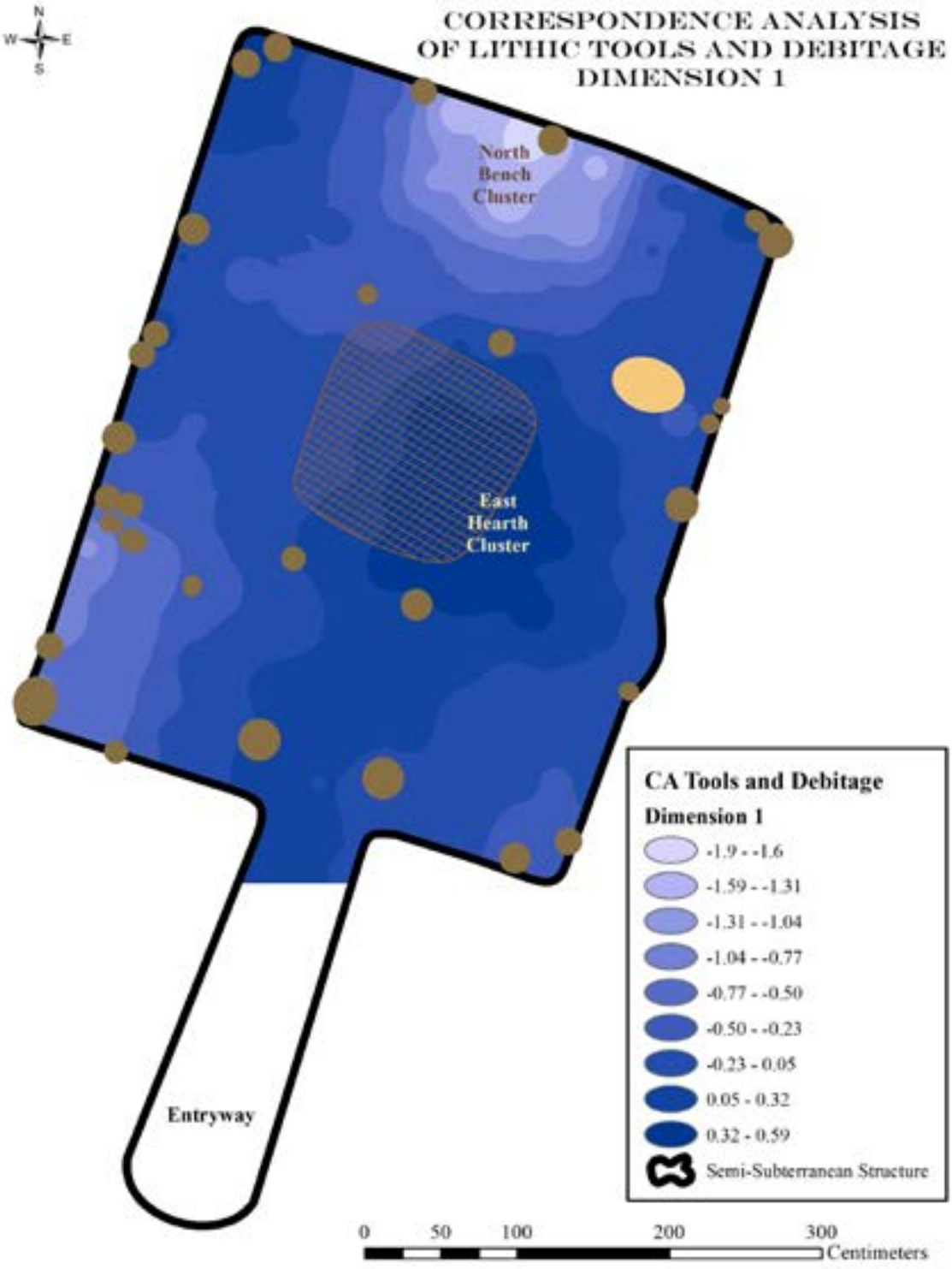

Figure 11. Dimension 1 scores from CA of Lithic Tools and Debitage plotted in HP22 (Scanlan 2020).

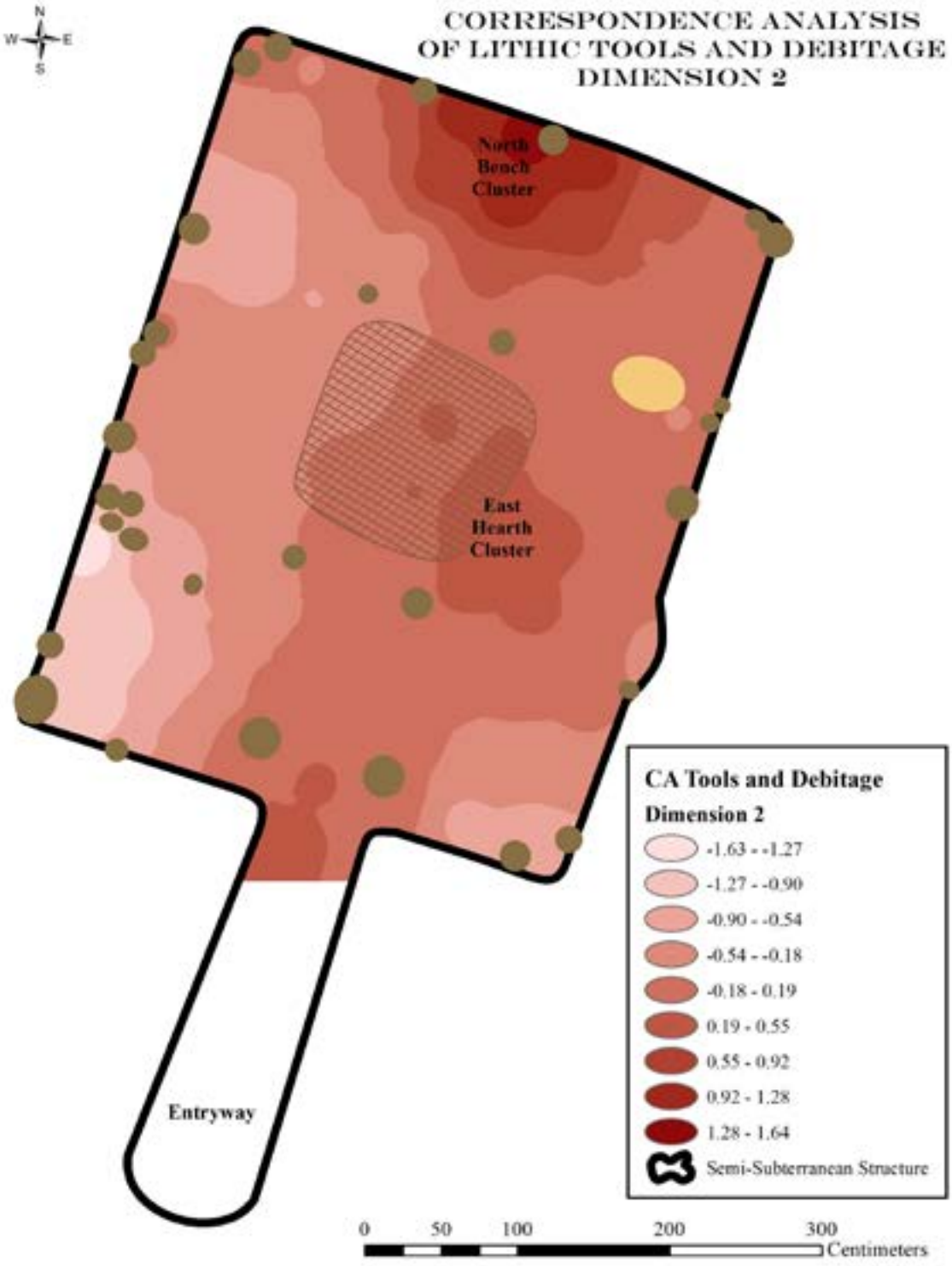

Figure 12. Dimension 2 scores from CA of Lithic Tools and Debitage plotted in HP22 (Scanlan 2020).

The North Bench Cluster also includes three of the six Hard tool types and three of the five abraders from the house assemblage. Figure 13 displays a selection of tools from this area of the house. One of the abraders has relatively thick, overlapping striations in a deep depression, indicating that this abrader may have been used for sharpening slender tools such as awls or needles for sewing activities (Figure 14). The second abrader has very shallow, thin striations and some polish (Figures 13 and 15). The wear on this tool is not developed enough to conclude use. However, these thin striations may be left by hair while working hide, which usually results in a polish developing, as pumice is a choice material for hide softening because the soft stone does not overly roughen the material being worked (Keeley 1980; Richards 1996).

Projectiles do not score near biface fragments on the first two dimensions of the CA. Considering the indications of use and impact fractures on projectiles, there is no substantial evidence to support the manufacture of projectile points in the household. Instead, non-projectile biface fragments occur near bifacial shaping flakes within the house and on the CA dimensions. The negative scores of core reduction flakes, bifacial thinning flakes, and all utilized tools and the separation of these lithic types from the high concentrations of bifacial shaping flakes and biface fragments indicate that the core reduction and bifacial thinning flakes do not represent a biface reduction sequence, but instead were likely intended for use as unmodified tools.

The CA identified a cluster where high concentrations of bifacial shaping flakes plot (Figure 10) that spatially occurs in the hearth and east of the hearth (East Hearth Cluster). The East Hearth Cluster, being near to the hearth and beneath the skylight, may represent an area where tools were sharpened, finished, or repaired (Binford 1983). Figure 16 displays a selection of tools from the East Hearth Cluster, including biface fragments which occur near bifacial shaping flakes along CA Dimensions 1 and 2.

Dimension 2 separates tool categories (Figure 10). Hard tools and abraders have high scores on this dimension, while tools for working MedHard materials, projectiles, and tools with indeterminate use all have negative scores. MedSoft and Soft tools fall near the origin of this dimension, as these tools are generally distributed throughout the house (Figure 17). Unifacial modification flakes also score high on Dimension 2, potentially indicating a slight association with neighborhoods where resharpening occurs. However, a slightly different picture emerges when considering the type of use found on this flake type, which Dimension 3 better explains (Figure 18).

Unifacial modification flakes score the highest of all lithic types on Dimension 3 and provide most of the dimension's inertia (30%). Inertia refers to the amount of variance in neighborhood proportions explained by a variable. Hard tools score near UM but only provide 2% of the dimension's inertia, indicating that this tool type is not a primary driver where neighborhoods score along Dimension 3. The ten neighborhoods scoring above 0.6 on Dimension 3 represent the southeast area of the house (Figure 19). Use-wear on unifacial modification flakes in this area primarily consists of rounding over feather terminations, and some wear included bright polish consistent with hide polish. Several of these neighborhoods overlap with the East Hearth Cluster, and wear of this type on unifacial modification flakes are found in that cluster as well. These flakes are likely the byproduct of resharpening tools that were used in working soft materials that result in polished and rounded use-wear. In contrast, wear on unifacial modification flakes in other areas of the house include step fractures and roughened edges and cannot be differentiated from platform/edge preparation involved in the manufacture of unifaces.

Figure 13. Selection of tools from the North Bench Cluster, clockwise from upper left corner: Uniface Fragment (Hard), Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Burinated Flake (MedHard), Utilized Flake (Soft), Utilized Flake (Hard), Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Abrader, Utilized Flake (Hard) (Scanlan 2020).

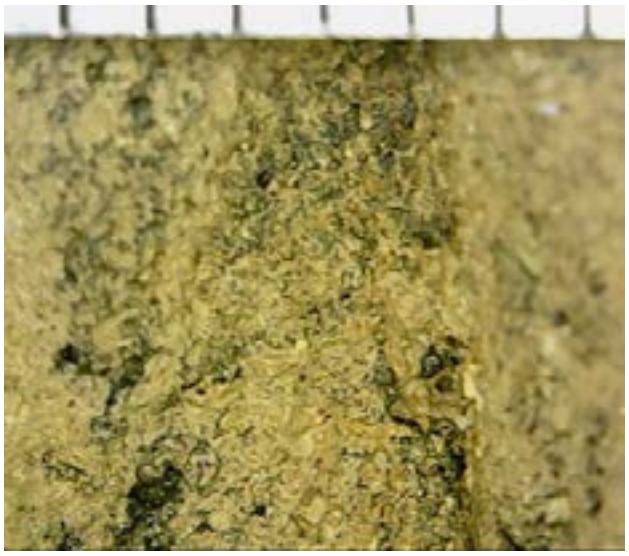

Figure 14. Pumice abrader with striated depression (Scanlan 2020). Scale in mm.

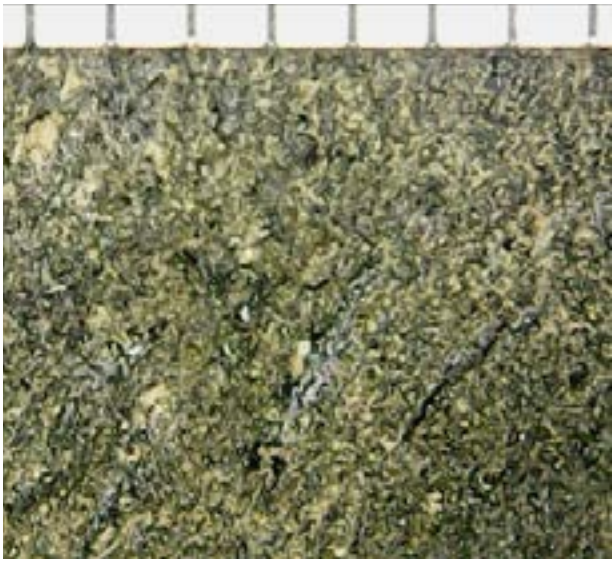

Figure 15. Pumice abrader with polished surface and thin, shallow striations (Scanlan 2020). Scale in mm.

Figure 16. Selection of tools from the East Hearth Cluster, clockwise from upper left: Bipoint I Class 29 fragment exhibiting impact fractures, Sideblade III Class 51 fragment (Indeterminate), Uniface (MedHard), Utilized Flake (MedHard), Biface Fragment (Indeterminate), Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Utilized Flake (Soft), Biface Fragment (Scanlan 2020). Projectile and sideblade classifications from Dumond (1981).

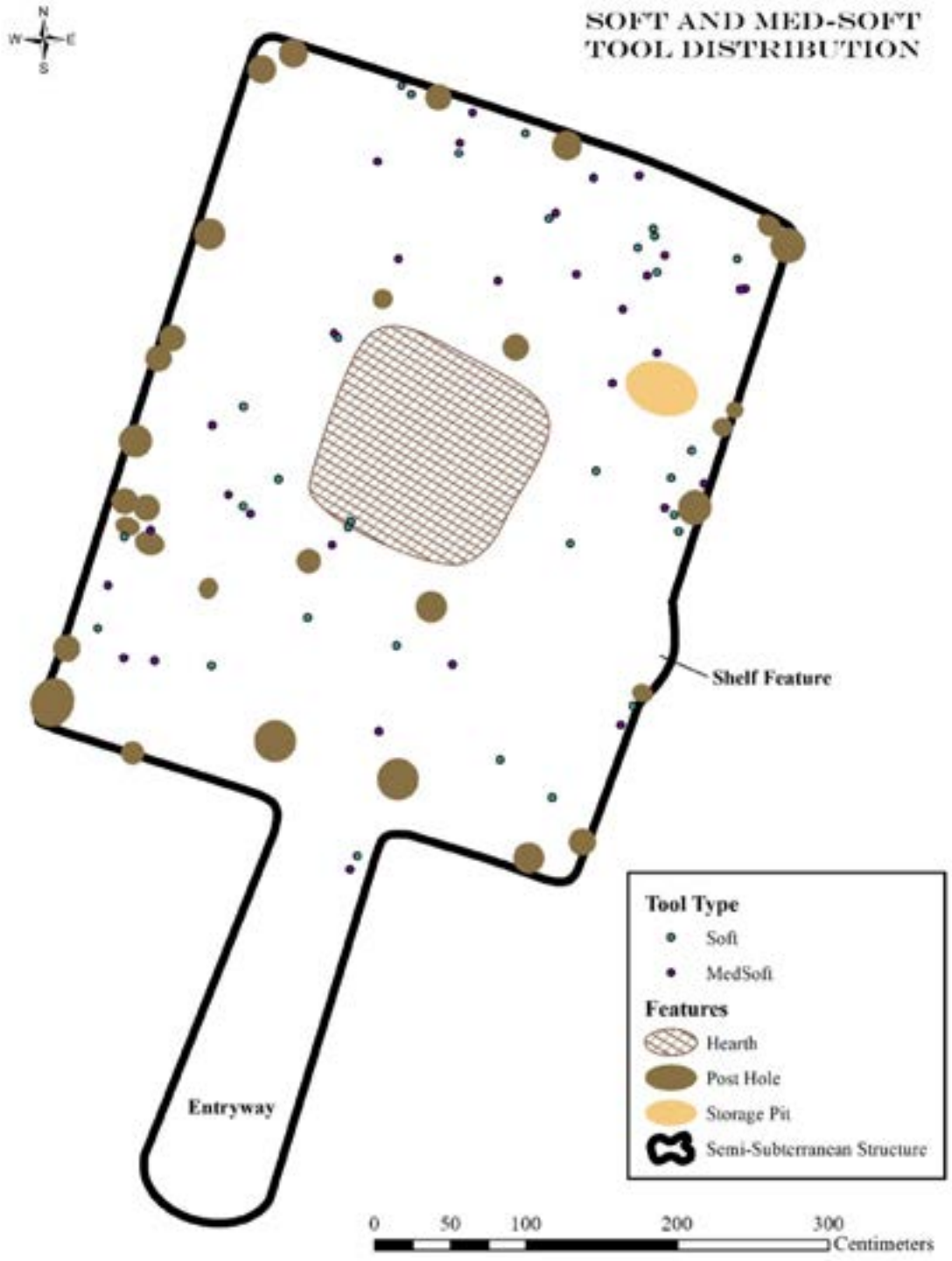

Figure 17. Distribution of Soft and MedSoft Tools in HP22 (Scanlan 2020).

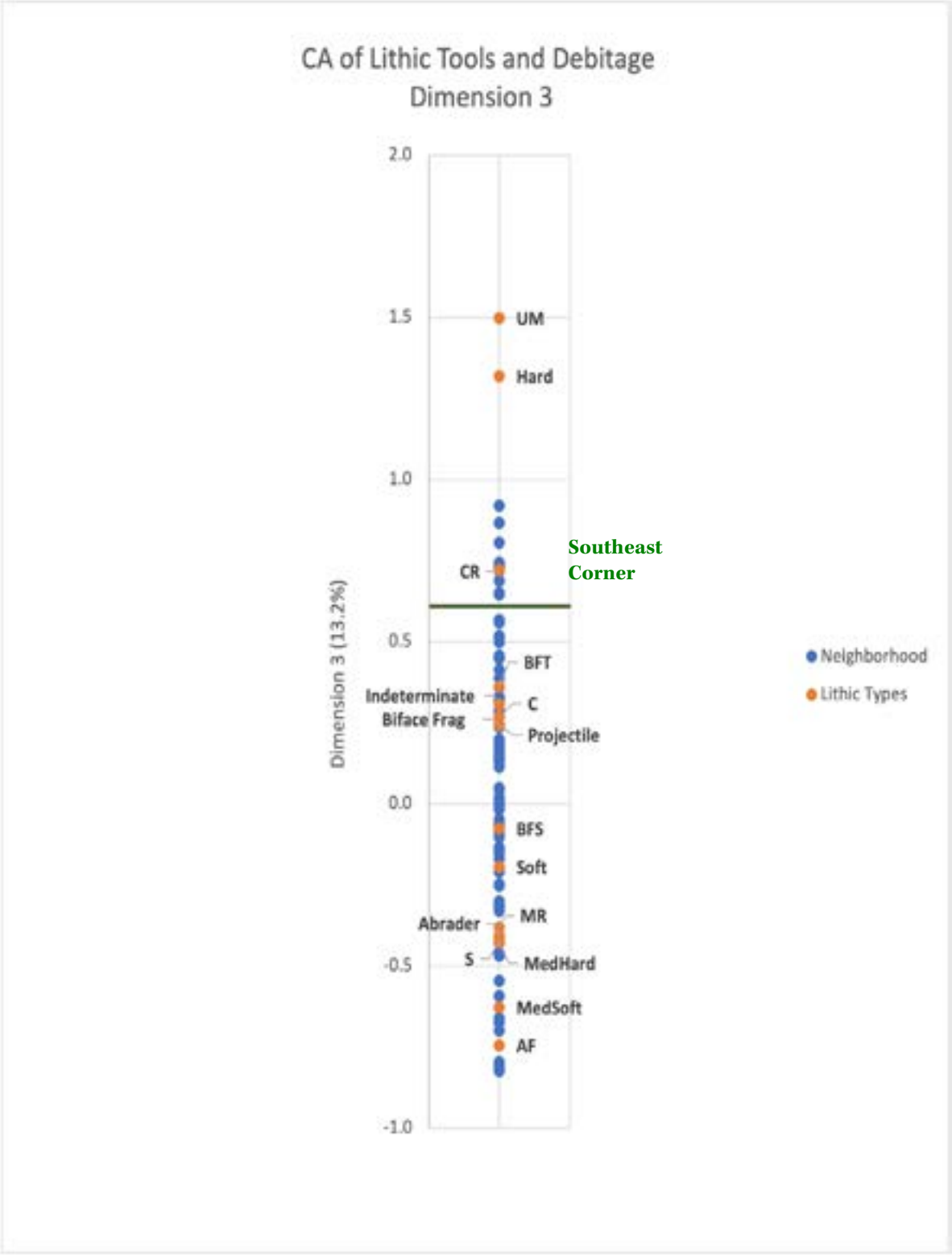

Figure 18. Plot of neighborhood and lithic type scores on Dimension 3 of a CA incorporating all debitage and lithic tool types (Scanlan 2020).

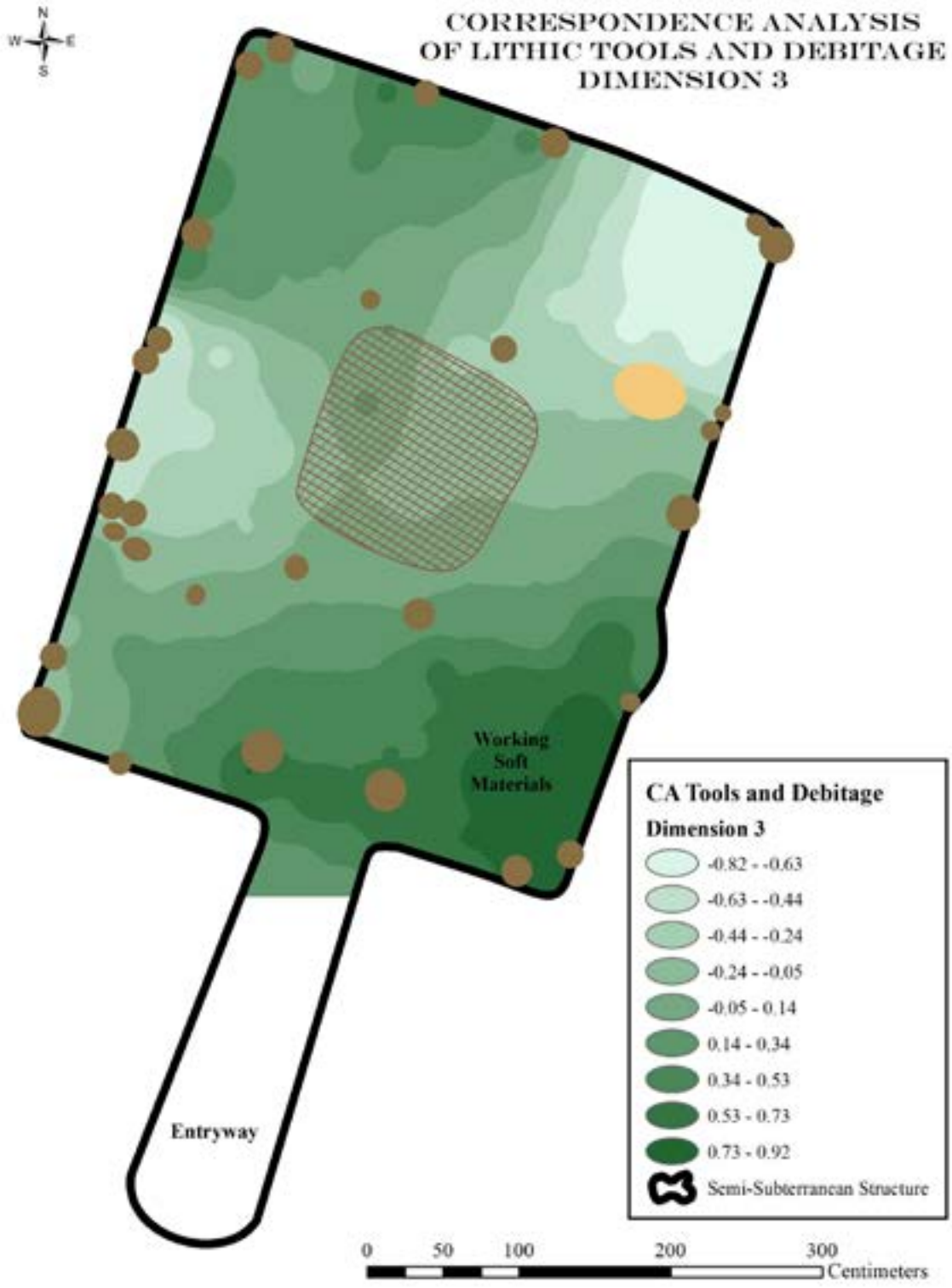

Figure 19. Dimension 3 scores from CA of Lithic Tools and Debitage plotted in HP22 (Scanlan 2020).

The southeast area of the house may have been used to work or process hides. Two tool fragments found in this section of the house had wear indicative of hide scraping, but not enough of the utilized edges remained to be conclusive. The most common tools found in this area of the house are those for working soft materials (n = 8). These also make up the majority of the complete tools (n = 5) in this section of HP22. Figure 20 displays a selection of these tools. There are two fragments of tools for working harder materials in this area, but these lie in the path from the entryway to the central hearth, where there is increased tool variation.

The coldest part of the house would have been near the entryway. In the southwest corner, excavations uncovered a bifacial knife utilized on softer materials and thin debitage inserted into decaying wood that may have formed a knife. These possible processing tools indicate that the cool southwest corner may have been ideal for processing and storing perishable materials such as meat and blubber.

Discussion

The HP22 assemblage resembles that which we would expect in a Central Yup'ik *ena*. We cannot assume that gender roles did not change considerably between the Norton occupation of HP22 and the first Russian documentation of Yup'ik communities in the region. Still, the relationship between the *qasgiit* and the *enet* and the ethnographic and ethnohistoric records provide a framework for interpreting the spatial distribution of archaeological materials in HP22.

The lithic use-wear analysis revealed that the activities which occurred in the house are indicative of women's activities. Over 50% of tools in HP22 were involved in processing softer materials, which are more characteristic of Central Yup'ik women's roles than men's roles, and these are encountered throughout the house. Of these, 26% were for cutting and scraping very soft materials. In contrast, only 16% of tools were involved in the processing of hard and medium-hard materials combined. The remaining tools were indeterminate in use.

A high frequency of thin, sharp, cutting implements used on softer materials comprise a substantial portion of the house floor assemblage, and the technological analysis of lithic tools and debitage indicates that core reduction and bifacial thinning flakes were present in the house for intended use rather than being the by-product of biface manufacture. Tools for working hard materials are only present in low frequencies. Projectile points are utilized and exhibit impact fractures, but evidence for the manufacture of these tools is absent. Other evidence of predominately male activities, such as notched net sinkers, is absent. Abraders indicate sharpening thin tools and softening hide, not edge grinding or straightening shafts for hunting implements. Evidence for scraping hide is present in use-wear on tools and debitage. Finally, ulus are absent, but hafted flakes and large sideblades may have filled the role of this tool in Norton tradition before widescale adoption of ground slate technology present in later traditions.

While the technological and use-wear analyses revealed assemblage level patterns that can effectively be compared to expectations set up in Table 1 regarding lithic materials encountered in ethnographic *enet* and *qasgiit*, the CA permits insight into activity areas within the house and how these relate to the activities performed by Central Yup'ik women. Characteristics of the North Bench Cluster include the presence of a few Hard tools, but these occur in conjunction with abraders indicative of buffing hides and sharpening sewing implements in addition to the manufacture of alternate flakes with protrusions ideal for puncturing soft materials as well as detailed graving. CA dimensions also grouped bifacial shaping flakes with bifacial knives and unutilized biface fragments rather than with projectile points, core reduction flakes, or bifacial thinning flakes. The East Hearth Cluster, which showcases this patterning, reveals an area where

Figure 20. Selection of tools from the Southeast Corner, from left: Utilized Flake (MedSoft), Utilized Flake (Soft), Utilized Flake (Soft) (Scanlan 2020).

tool modification and sharpening occurred, but no area in the house is indicative of the manufacture of projectile points of bifacial reduction from cores. Finally, the CA identified an area in the house specific to working the soft materials with which Central Yup'ik women are associated. By mapping multivariate dimensions onto space, a deeper understanding of the implications of the technological and use-wear analyses is possible, through which we can connect the activities of the Norton occupants of HP22 to those of the historical Yup'ik peoples of the region.

The appearance of *qasgiit* in northern coastal Alaska prior to the occupation of HP22 indicates gendered spaces may have developed before the construction of HP22, and the later Norton *qasgiq* at the site displays continuity of this tradition through the Norton period. Additional regional evidence of structures consistent with *qasgiit* contemporaneous with HP22 bolster the argument that HP22 represents an *ena*. The absence of a concurrent *qasgiq* at DIL-088 may be explained by the re-use of large depressions for construction of the later *qasgiq*. The material record of HP22, consistent with expectations of *enet* derived from ethnohistorical records, supports the hypothesis that gendered housing arrangements were present in Southwest Alaska during the Brooks River Weir phase of the Norton tradition (Scanlan 2020).

Although the use of ethnographic analogy over a 1,500-year time span is imperfect, it is reasonable to assume that the similar ideologies and gendered labor divisions encountered throughout the circumpolar Arctic share deep ancestral roots that may be tied to shamanism, evidence of which appears in coastal Alaska at least 2,000 years ago (LeMoine 2003; Mason 2016). Therefore, at least some elements of Central Yup'ik worldviews and their accompanying social roles are derived from belief systems that existed through the period of HP22's occupation. While the distribution of artifacts within HP22 cannot be conclusively linked to more ephemeral actions involved in navigating social space, applying analogy from Central Yup'ik society is

appropriate if archaeology is to move beyond discussions of technology and subsistence behaviors. One such analogy is the autonomy afforded women by the spatial arrangement of gendered housing and its corresponding negotiation of space (Ackerman 2002; Frink 2006). While men at times were bounded by and even isolated within *qasgiit*, women formed and maintained village-wide networks. In addition, they controlled subsistence resources, the processing of which is evident in HP22 (Lantis 1946; Zagoskin 1967; Fienup-Riordan 1986; Ackerman 1990; Frink 2002; Scanlan 2020). These networks and productive control over resources created spheres of influence in which women could negotiate for social, economic, and political authority (Ackerman 2002; Frink 2006, 2007).

Utilizing lithic use-wear and technological analysis in combination with ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts illuminates previously unknown attributes of ancestral groups present in Bristol Bay by accessing poorly explored elements of gender and social structure. If, as the results of these analyses suggest, the archaeological assemblage of HP22 represents Norton women as that of an *ena* did Yup'ik women, Norton women may have experienced autonomy within the domestic sphere created by the gendered division of the *qasgiq* and *ena* similar to that of Central Yup'ik women prior to the impacts of colonialism (Ackerman 2002; Frink 2006, 2007). Engendering the archaeological record can only be done by testing against a social framework relevant to the region rather than by relying on implicit assumptions about gender roles in hunter-fisher-gatherer communities. Further research into *enet* in the region employing these techniques and a comparable *qasgiq* assemblage may provide additional evidence regarding women and their roles in ancestral Yup'ik culture.

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"We Didn't Go Anywhere": Restoring Jamestown S'Klallam Presence, Combating Settler Colonial Amnesia, and Engaging with Non-Natives in Western Washington

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Abstract *On Washington's Olympic Peninsula, the Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe (JST) is implementing cultural heritage approaches to reclaim tribal histories threatened by nineteenth century settler colonial narratives of ethnic erasure. Exiled from their capital village of Qatáy in Port Townsend during the 1870s as a result of government-mandated arson and displacement, JST homelands also include Olympic National Park, popularly lauded as a pristine wilderness area. Emanating from the Tribe's previously unrecognized federal status, accusations of assimilation and extinction have simultaneously contributed to the non-Indigenous public's denial of JST existence. By restoring archaeological sites with modern significance and erecting counter-monuments to commemorate tribal leaders and events, the JST have embarked upon a journey of challenging their veiled history. Perhaps surprisingly, this resistance against historical amnesia has produced reconciliatory outcomes between the Tribe and non-Natives. Through a lens of resiliency and regeneration, this article documents one tribal nation's opposition to being consigned to the past, and their dedication to continued relevancy for future generations.*

Keywords
Coast Salish, S'Klallam, Olympic Peninsula, Washington, settler colonialism, ethnic conflict/coexistence, contemporary tribal presence, reclaiming, totem poles, public amnesia, cultural preservation, heritage studies, place-claiming

Historical and Contemporary Attempts to Dismantle Jamestown S'Klallam Tribal Heritage

In January 2020, President Donald Trump threatened to target 52 Iranian cultural sites "FAST AND VERY HARD" if Iran retaliated against the United States for the assassination of General Qasem Soleimani.[1] Millions grew outraged at this announcement, which, if accomplished, would qualify as war crimes in violation of 1954's Hague Cultural Property Convention. However, thousands of miles from Washington D.C., on the Pacific Northwest's Olympic Peninsula, cultural heritage destruction has proven a visceral reality for the Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe (JST), a Coast Salish nation whose homelands were settled by non-Natives throughout the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Based on over

1 Trump, Donald J. "Let this serve as a WARNING that if Iran strikes any Americans, or American assets, we have targeted 52 Iranian sites (representing the 52 American hostages taken by Iran many years ago), some at a very high level and important to Iran and the Iranian culture, and those targets, and Iran itself, WILL BE HIT FAST AND VERY HARD. The USA wants no more threats!" January 4, 2020, 5:52pm. https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1213593975732527112

a year of anthropological fieldwork in Western Washington spent conducting interviews and surveys, recording oral histories, creating maps, analyzing material and archival collections, and participating in daily tribal life, this study examines the JST's modern cultural heritage approaches to reclaiming and regenerating the tribal landscapes endangered by persistent nineteenth century settler colonial "tropes of erasure" (Trouillot 1995). Beginning in the 1800s, JST individuals were strategically denied access to their homelands in favor of expanding Euro-American settlements along the Southern Strait of Juan de Fuca/Sxʷčaɣʔuxʷ, replacing more than 30 ancestral S'Klallam villages and sites located primarily in what are now Port Angeles/ʔiʔínəs, Sequim/Sčqʷeʔyəŋ, and Port Townsend/Qatáy.[2] More recently, covert factors contributed to the public's denial of JST existence, including problematic claims of assimilation, extinction, and ethnic ambiguity derived from tribal intermarriage and a previous lack of federal recognition. Today, the JST challenge their veiled history by establishing interpretive trails to restore archaeological sites as places of modern significance, reviving cultural practices, and erecting counter-monuments to commemorate important Indigenous leaders and events. These efforts to combat tribal invisibility have produced unexpected reconciliation between the Central Coast Salish community and non-Native locales, as well as new anthropological considerations. The JST urges the anthropological imagination to view the Northwest beyond the "discipline's now-commonplace tropes" of Boasian salvage ethnography, Mauss' notions of potlatch reciprocity, and Levi-Straussian structuralism, and to instead consider historical trauma and reclamation as worthy of equal analysis (Campbell 2013:549). Through a lens of resiliency and renewal, this case study illustrates one tribal nation's resistance to being consigned to the past, and their dedication to continued relevancy for future generations. Though some tribal customs related to daily life have largely disappeared as a result of forced assimilation and chosen cultural adaptations to successfully balance S'Klallam existence in a majority white society, JST values of "self-sufficiency, political leadership in the region, and maintenance of the environment" remain strongly intact (Stauss 2002:45–46).

S'Klallam Routes and Roots

Clues pointing towards the Olympic Peninsula's ancient past are embedded within the landscape, as evidenced by bluff-embedded mastodon remains uncovered by fierce winds and slapping waves at Washington Harbor/Sxʷčkʷíyəŋ in Sequim and Port Townsend's Admirality Inlet (Schalk 1988). Pre-Clovis Native presence on the Olympic Peninsula dates to at least 13,800 years ago, as evidenced by the Sequim Prairie's/Spəłxən's famous Manis Mastodon site, which recovered a mastodon rib embedded with a bone projectile point of Indigenous manufacture

2 Throughout this paper, I provide S'Klallam place names for designated locations on the Olympic Peninsula to demonstrate that a defining characteristic of settler colonialism lies in its ability to re-designate, thus erase, Native landscapes. [Unless otherwise noted, cited S'Klallam place names originate from Timothy Montler's (2012) *Klallam Dictionary* and Pamela M. Brooks' (1997) analysis of John Peabody Harrington's linguistic work with S'Klallam and Chemakum collaborators.] Analyzing Tlingit geography, Thomas F. Thornton (2008) argues that Indigenous place names reveal community relationships to place (consisting of events, usually, that occurred onsite), in contrast to those of colonial settlements, which often use biographical terms referring to or honoring individuals who are unrelated to the place in question. Native place names have a "'stacking' quality" that employs identifying characteristics of environment, metaphor, and human interaction to create places that are a "*living* Indigenous geography" (Thornton 2012:xv, xxiii). These place names are sometimes "opaque," needing to be "unpacked" for others to understand their significance in a web of cultural, social, and environmental exchanges (Basso 1996; Thornton 2012:80). This web consists of oral histories, ancestors, environmental events, and site use, amongst other factors. Within my study, local towns, such as Port Angeles, include S'Klallam place names on city signage, though a majority of the Olympic Peninsula has not followed suit, with many locals unfamiliar with the seemingly unpronounceable Coast Salish lexicon known as Nəxʷsƛ̓ayəmúcən, or the S'Klallam language.

(Gustafson et al 1979; Waters et al. 2011).[3] This site, listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978, is located in a meadow identified by JST citizens as an important big game hunting ground for mastodon and elk in the distant and recent pasts (Brownell 2019). S'Klallam hunting camps on the Sequim Prairie were heavily utilized during 3000–8000 BP for staking out big game mammals, but remained in use throughout the 1850s to 1870s. The Sequim Prairie "represents one of the largest archaeological assemblages in western Washington," and its relevance to S'Klallam individuals extended beyond the immediate region, states David Brownell, JST Historic Preservation Officer. The S'Klallam village at Washington Harbor, located a few miles from the hunting site on the Sequim Prairie, was named Sxʷčkʷíyəŋ, meaning "a good place to shoot," or "a good place to hunt," and contained remains of big game processing. Because the shoreline village of Sxʷčkʷíyəŋ was certainly not an ideal place for hunting (but rather, was preferred for fishing), the village's name reflects the site's deep historical connection to the Sequim Prairie, which was visited by a trail system that connected the two locales.

S'Klallam individuals were caregivers to lands reaching from the Hoko River/Húʔquʔ mouth of the Western Olympic Peninsula (shared with Makah neighbors as a "neutral ground" for social outcasts or "dissident members" of either tribe) to Hood Canal's Hamma Hamma River/Xəmxəmáy' (shared with the Twana or Skokomish), as well as Esquimalt and Beecher Bay/Ciyánəxʷ of Southern Vancouver Island and the San Juan Islands (Suttles 1953, 1990; Fish 1983:23; Stauss 2002). As occupants of a vast and bountiful territory, the S'Klallam individuals naturally engaged in commerce, intermarriage, and conflict with neighboring tribes. Utilizing extensive trade routes throughout Coast Salish territory (reaching from the Nehalem, or Tillamook, of the Northwestern Oregon Coast to the Nuxalk Nation of Southwestern British Columbia[4]) allowed adept S'Klallam traders to procure currency-equivalent dentalium shells, valuable obsidian, and razor sharp California mussels, as well as to secure exogamous marriages with allied tribes to gain wealth and property rights to land (Wellman 2017; Brownell 2019). Although highly mobile via canoes and trail routes (used for elk hunting, trade, escape during times of war, and visiting with distant relatives) extending hundreds of miles into the Olympic Mountains (ʔáʔašit) and across the Cascade Range where local Chinook and Klamath "middlemen" facilitated transactions, S'Klallam villages were anchored on the Olympic Peninsula's waterways, consisting primarily of the Hoko River, Elwha River/ʔeʔɬxʷə, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Lake Crescent/Cəɬmət, and the Dungeness River/Nəxʷŋiyaʔawəɬc. Historically, the S'Klallam were known amongst local tribes for their prowess on the water, excellent wartime defense, and an unparalleled ability to conquer other tribal territories in pursuit of clamming and fishing opportunities (Miller 1971; Elmendorf 1993). Prior to European exploration of and Euro-American settlements on the Olympic

3 Evidence of human inhabitation from this time period challenges the Bering Strait Land Bridge Theory, which postulated that North America's first humans trekked into the region from Siberia 12,600 years ago—conveniently coinciding with Clovis dates of approximately 13,000 BP (Waters and Stafford 2007). However, the Bering Strait theory has encountered criticism in recent years by scholars and Native individuals alike who believe that sophisticated maritime (as opposed to land-based) navigation and increased access to oceanic resources likely allowed for human inhabitation of the Northwest coastline at a far earlier time (Fladmark 1979; Callaway 2016; Pedersen et al. 2016). Pre-Clovis sites and origin stories from North and South America reinforce these claims.

4 These southern (Nehalem) and northern (Nuxalk) Coast Salish boundaries represent two outliers within the Coast Salish world. Though both communities are considered Coast Salish, they occupy territories that extend beyond "usual" Coast Salish limits and co-inhabit lands with the unrelated Chinook/Columbia River (Athabaskan) and Kwakwaka'wakw groups, respectively. Kinkade (1990:204) speculates that Nehalem presence in Oregon "is quite old," though whether Nehalem lands constituted original southern Coast Salish territory or whether the Nehalem moved into the Chinook region at a later time is unknown. The Nuxalk language shows similarities to Wakashan, Interior Salish, and Central Coast Salish speakers, making the community's origins equally difficult to discern (Swadesh 1949; Suttles and Elmendorf 1963; Newman 1971; Kinkade 1991).

Peninsula, S'Klallam communities were skilled in negotiating agreements with non-S'Klallam friends and foes. No strangers to interacting with outsiders or taking land, the S'Klallam were feared and respected by Puget Sound and Vancouver Island Indigenous communities (Miller 1971).

Tribal nations managed to remain distinct, even as intermarriage and trade fostered elaborate social networks necessary for maintaining Coast Salish social organization and hierarchies. Because the Northwest Coast is home to a plethora of tribes, multiculturalism was not an unfamiliar concept to the S'Klallam, whose daily interactions revolved around constant contact and conflict with neighboring groups. Western Washington's Olympic Peninsula covers a 3,600 square mile portion of land, home to Coast Salish (S'Klallam, Skokomish, and Quinault), Wakashan (Makah), and Chemakum (Chemakum, Hoh, and Quileute) communities. Many languages were even spoken within Coast Salish territory, with neighbors (such as the Puyallup and Nisqually) sometimes speaking different languages. In addition to respective Indigenous lexicons, the Chinook trade language was adopted by Native individuals extending from Alaska to California and Montana (Lang 2008). Also known as Chinuk Wawa or Chinook Jargon, this pidgin trade language developed to ease communication difficulties and convey accurate meanings while conducting cross-cultural trade.[5] Though named after the Lower Chinook Native communities that greatly influenced the language as a result of their advantageous position on the Columbia River—an advantageous epicenter of trade—Chinuk Wawa also holds deep roots in the Nuu-chah-nulth language, some 400 miles north of Chinook territory (Swan 1859; Samarin 1988; Lang 2008). The language's dual origins imply a high degree of mobility and communication already in place prior to the dispersal of Chinuk Wawa amongst tribes farther to the south, north, and east. However, trade and travel did not occur only within local regions along the Northwest Coast. S'Klallam oral histories, as remembered by Timothy O'Connell (a JST carver), relate accounts of "Polynesians visiting here [the Olympic Peninsula]" prior to Euro-American settlement. O'Connell states that the Tribe also has records of "Coast Salish individuals [who] went down to California in canoes." The diaries of James Swan (1857, 1859), an amateur ethnographer, school teacher, and judge in Washington Territory, corroborate some of these memories of distant travel, with Swan (1857:205) documenting that

> the prevailing northwest trade wind of the summer season renders it very easy for canoes to come over from the northeast Russian coast; and in evidence of that fact, I can state that, during my residence in the [Washington] Territory, a canoe, with three sailors in her, who ran away from a vessel at Kodiak, arrived safe at Shoalwater Bay, after coming a distance of nearly 800 miles.

Though scholars of the past proposed that Northwest Coast tribes existed in relative isolation as a result of the western shores and eastern mountain ranges that enveloped the region—viewed as obstacles, rather than transportation routes—Native communities of the Pacific Northwest were anything but secluded (Kroeber

5 The Chinook trade language originated prior to European arrival, with many French, Spanish, Russian, English, Chinese, and Euro-American settlers, explorers, and immigrants learning the language when they arrived in the Pacific Northwest (Thomas 1935; Thomason 1983; Samarin 1986; Zenk and Johnson 2010). As the region became increasingly more diverse and populated by non-Native speakers, Chinuk Wawa adopted new terms and words reflective of European, Native Hawaiian, and Asian influences (Drechsel and Makuakāne 1982; Samarin 1988). Though spoken fluently by only a handful of individuals today, many "loan words" survive in regional English usage, such as "cheechako" (stranger/foreigner) "klootchman" (woman), "tyee" (leader/boss), "tillicum" (family, people, group), and "skookum" (reliable/strong/adequate/good) (Gibbs 1863; Thomas 1935). These words, amongst many other Chinook trade language phrases, are used as slang by people of all ethnicities and tribal affiliations along the Olympic Peninsula today. Many successful revival efforts of Chinuk Wawa have been made, most notably by the Confederated Tribes of the Grande Ronde Community of Oregon and Lane Community College (Pecore 2012; Zenk 2012).

1923; McFeat 1966). Like other Coast Salish tribes, S'Klallam territory consists of a unique environment characterized by montane, riverine, and marine ecosystems, allowing the S'Klallam to access the flora, fauna, and geography of Northern Coastal tribes, as well as those known amongst Interior Salish communities. Shellfish were just as important to S'Klallam diets and culture as land mammals, with seals and otters hunted, as well as whales procured in smaller quantities along the Strait of Juan de Fuca (Stauss 2002). The Olympic Mountains harbored bears, wolves, and cougars, whereas mountain goats, grouse, and elk were encountered while venturing across the Cascade Mountain range. Interacting with a variety of environments and species made the S'Klallam adept at adaptation and relating to their neighbors, eventually preparing the tribal community for new, non-Native communities who would occupy the region in the near future.

Non-Native Interactions

S'Klallam leaders grew acutely aware of the looming non-Native presence that came to stay in the 1820s. Previous smallpox epidemics of the 1700s to 1800s dramatically impacted the Tribe, with the deadly disease spreading north from Spanish missions along California's southern coast and south from Tlingit communities in Alaska (Boyd 1994). Likewise, Russian traders introduced guns to Haida and Tlingit communities, whose members were dying off at an alarming rate. Although Native Alaskan individuals took Coast Salish captives as slaves during pre-colonial times, the stress of Russian influence exacerbated this violence (Swan 1860; Malin 1986; Dean 1995). For villages subject to frequent raids and increased violence, such as the Lower Skagit settlement of Penn Cove, "the remains of defeated enemies, especially those of defeated Northern raiders, were sometimes scattered or staked out on the waterfront in front of fortified villages to discourage further attacks" (Deur 2009:95). Responding to this crisis and hoping to deter attacks, shoreline S'Klallam villages such as ʔiʔinəs in Port Angeles were fortified with wooden palisades in the 1840s, containing settlements for high-ranking individuals situated in protected areas abutting bluffs, with separate quarters for lower-class people, such as slaves, located outside the village boundaries in vulnerable positions on narrow spits (Kane 1859; Gunther 1927; Suttles 1958, 1966; Brownell 2019).

Soon, promises of logging primeval forests, steady employment at shingle mills, and rumors of railroad boomtowns attracted steady numbers of settlers to the Olympic Peninsula. Though formidable opponents, the S'Klallam initially viewed non-Natives as, at best, a new tribal community to be exploited for intermarriage, protection, and goods, and, at worst, an innocuous anomaly that allowed S'Klallam locals "a pleasant distraction from tribal life, an early nineteenth century 'tourist attraction'" (Jepsen and Norberg 2017:19). After all, unprepared settlers represented opportunities for S'Klallam control over the naïve newcomers, many of whom were unfamiliar with the S'Klallam monopoly of the Olympic Peninsula. Just as S'Klallam individuals vied for marriages to "Cowichan, Makah, Twana, 'Victoria Indians,' and Quileute" tribal members adjacent to S'Klallam territory (as evidenced by the 1880 census, which "revealed that approximately 200 of 500 [S'Klallam] marriages were outside the tribe"), they hoped for similarly fortuitous relations with non-Natives (Stauss 2002:36). Central Coast Salish communities, such as the S'Klallam, based social organization upon village membership and ever-expanding kinship networks obtained through either parent's lineage (Duff 1964; Suttles 1990). These ties were secured by exogamous marriages that enabled far-reaching alliances, access to resources beyond one's own immediate territory, and discouraged intermarriage with potential relatives (Fay 1964; Collins 1979; Wellman 2017). As opposed to clans, which are often small and inclusive (to retain wealth and prestige amongst a select number of members), Central Coast Salish kinship networks aspired to be as large as possible, in an effort to secure rights to immense quantities of land, resources, and labor.

To both parties' benefit, settlers hired S'Klallam canoe polers as guides to explore the Port Townsend region (where guides used their extensive knowledge to undoubtedly avoid enviable fishing holes and sacred places from the sight of prying white eyes), recruited S'Klallam men to deliver mail, and traded hundreds of pounds of salmon from S'Klallam fishermen (McCurdy 1937; Adamire and Fish 1991). These seemingly friendly encounters were quashed when military forts, like Fort Townsend and the now demolished Fort Plummer, emerged in the region to keep Indigenous populations at bay, as well as when Hudson Bay Company ships fired upon and destroyed the S'Klallam village at Dungeness/Sŋiyəʔaw'xł in 1828 (McCurdy 1937; Sequim Bicentennial History Book Committee 1976; Jepsen and Norberg 2017).

Cičməhán—also referred to as Chetzemoka and T'chitop-a-ma-hun in historical documents—a S'Klallam man of Skagit descent born in 1808, was chosen to fill the shoes of his tribal leader brother, Klow-ston (or "King George," as called by whites), who either ran away or disappeared, as recalled by different tribal histories. Their father, S'Klallam chief Lach-ka-nim ("Lord Nelson," a title mockingly bestowed upon him by non-Natives), witnessed Captain George Vancouver's May 1792 arrival in Port Townsend, and, identifying no imminent danger, traded watertight baskets and salmon in return for European knives (Hermanson and Simpson 1979; McCollum-Clise 2014). Perhaps influenced by and curious about his father's experiences with one of the first white men to interact with S'Klallam individuals, Cičməhán traveled to San Francisco in 1859 on a voyage funded by Port Townsend's city leaders in an attempt to persuade Cičməhán of his tribe's imminent demise. As noted by James Swan (1859), he returned from his trip with "very enlarged views of the number and power of the white man," stating to his fellow tribal members:

> "'Whose coats are you wearing? Whose guns are you using? Whose tobacco are you smoking? You get them all from the white men. They buy your fish and skins....If you wanted to kill off the whites, you should have struck long ago. Now it is too late. In the big city I visited, the people are thick as the leaves on the trees. They are like the grass which is cut down by the mower. It soon springs up thicker than before. Some years ago my people made a treaty on Port Townsend beach with Plummer, Pettygrove, and Hastings [referring to an informal agreement with Port Townsend's white founding fathers, in which settlers "assured the Natives that the government would pay them liberally for the land the settlers were to occupy. This promise was stressed during the conference although a definite date of payment could not be set"], and we agreed to be friendly with each other. We have all lived up to that promise and I and my people will not break it'" (McCurdy 1937:26–28, 103).

Combining his new insights with the S'Klallam history of marrying into other tribes, Cičməhán ensured JST survival by promoting a spirit of hospitality, both helping and hindering the Tribe. He attended the weddings of Port Townsend settlers, often bringing musical clocks as gifts, and oversaw the adoption of a local orphaned Native boy by Ann Hill, a white woman. Hoping to secure good relationships with non-Natives to avoid brutality and conflict, Cičməhán's actions allied white pioneers with the S'Klallam during times of conflict with fierce Northern tribes, such as the Haida, who frequented the region while seeking Coast Salish slaves (McCurdy 1937).

Taming the Wilderness

Despite collaboration with S'Klallam associates, settler colonists treated the region's mossy rainforests and daunting rivers as a wilderness in need of taming. Local wolf packs—considered by the JST and Quileute as original ancestors—roamed prolific prior to white settlement, though pioneers soon hunted or poisoned the "innumerable" creatures to extinction (Gunther 1925b, 1927; Dratch et al. 1975). A similar threat to progress, much of the mountainous terrain proved inaccessible for those uneducated in S'Klallam navigation, who instead chose to follow well-trodden "Indian trails" in search of suitable homesteading land (Lauridsen and Smith 1937:14). Settlers were not familiar with S'Klallam notions of familial land rights, ownership, or ranked social classes, instead romanticizing Native society as egalitarian and at one with the earth (Drucker 1965, 1966; Suttles 1966). Even James Swan, the non-Native confidant of Cičməhán who was invited to S'Klallam potlatches and private Tamanowas ceremonies[6] because of his reputation as a defender of Indigenous rights, erroneously stated that Native "property consists in movable or personal property. They never considered land of any value till they were taught so by the whites…. All such property is common stock, each member of the tribe owning as much interest in it as the chiefs" (Swan 1857:166). Because Native land claims extended along the entirety of the Northwest Coast, Indigenous communities conceived it impossible to increase one's social standing by "pioneering" unsettled or unclaimed areas (Drucker 1966). Instead, most Coast Salish societies, including the S'Klallam, practiced bilateral kinship, with group belonging, familial rights, and property inherited through either male or female lines (Suttles 1962; Duff 1964; Stauss 2002). This liberal means of determining identity and membership allowed individuals to "select, at different times in his life, depending upon the circumstances, one or another of the many descent lines available to him among his bilaterally reckoned ancestors" stretching back six generations (Collins 1979:244; Suttles 1987). When combined with fluid socio-economic classes, this relatively egalitarian approach to ownership led many scholars to classify the Coast Salish as occupying a "loose" or "lax" social organization (Jonaitis 2006). Further aggravating these misunderstandings, historic Coast Salish political leadership was "specific to an activity" and lacked "all-purpose leaders" (Suttles 1987). No overarching leaders existed to rule or control extended kinship groups, with villages maintaining political autonomy and familial leaders instead holding political sway over their immediate populations (Angelbeck 2009; Grier and Angelbeck 2017). Because villages were not obliged to "answer" to a ruling community or figure, Coast Salish society was misconstrued by outsiders as anarchic, disorganized, or dangerously harmonious (Grier and Angelbeck 2017).

Conquering and making the wilderness productive for white settlement meant eliminating supposedly dangerous wildlife, grazing pigs and cattle in natural prairie areas, damming the Elwha River (a main S'Klallam source of salmon), and building mills and clam canneries atop S'Klallam burial grounds (Gierin 1971; Fish 1983; Gorsline 1992). These processes of development and control had to be first achieved before actual segregation or dispossession of the "Other" took place, illustrating that renaming and resettling landmarks, territories, villages, and towns is one means of forming and asserting settler colonial identity (Byrne 2003; Preucel and Matero 2008). An example of this phenomenon, as well as

6 In some dated sources, the S'Klallam term for guardian spirits is synonymous with "tamanowas," a misleading term that emerges from Chinuk Wawa and is frequently used to describe pan-Northwest Native spiritual encounters, ceremonies, and entities (Hermanson and Simpson 1979). The term is broad, however, and functions as an all-encompassing label for non-Indigenous descriptions of Coast Salish and Chinook religious practices, much like "Great Spirit" is used when discussing some Great Plains' Native cosmologies. In historical literature, the S'Klallam are described as seeking a tamanowas (guardian spirit), holding tamanowas ceremonies, and even naming landmarks such as Tamanowas Rock. However, these events are distinct, despite sharing a pan-Native moniker.

how it can obliterate connections to ancient Indigenous pasts, is seen in the 2012 rediscovery of a S'Klallam creation site near a 8,000 year old village (Leach 2012). The location, named Spčú?—a large, flat rock formation containing two small pitted holes where water formed in small pools—was submerged by the Lake Aldwell reservoir created by the Elwha River Dam in 1913, and only recovered after the manmade lake was drained 100 years later (Waterman 1920; Wray 1994; Leach 2012). According to S'Klallam historians, the rock's depressions contained mud used to mold the first humans (Waterman 1920). Lower Elwha Klallam tribal citizens identify this Elwha River site as the place where the S'Klallam originated, rejoicing that living S'Klallam individuals can finally revisit the spot which remained underwater for 100 years. Elders remember the sacred rock as a place where the Changer created, washed, and blessed the S'Klallam, their T'sou-ke (Sooke), Sc'ianew, and Cowichan Vancouver Island relatives, as well as a landmark for S'Klallam individuals seeking spiritual power (Gunther 1925a). The former Elwha Dam was constructed by settlers wishing to control the mighty river's flow, protect newly established towns, generate hydroelectric power, and discourage S'Klallam presence along the river. The dam accomplished all of this and more. Most of the river's salmon population that supported S'Klallam diets died because they could not make it over the 108 foot dam, as well as because the pooled reservoir water created a warm environment not conducive to salmon life. Attempting to civilize this "wild" river meant starving and exiling S'Klallam individuals as part of the process, as well as denying access to creation sites essential to S'Klallam cosmology. Signaling other successful disconnections between land, Indigenous personhood, and settler conquest, Native cultural patrimony transformed into quaint objects of intrigue. It was not uncommon for Victorian pothunters to display their looted "finds" at local taverns in Port Townsend. One particularly disturbing example of this occurred in February 1891, when a bullet-pierced skull from a beachside gravesite was exhibited "on the backbar of the Merchant's Saloon" for inebriated longshoremen to marvel at (Camfield 2000:30).

Settler Colonial Nativism

Port Townsend's history includes many settler colonial Nativist fraternities, such as the "Improved Order of Red Men," whose local Chemakum Tribe No. 1 Chapter was established in 1872 (McCollum-Clise 2014; Murray 2019). A patriotic organization for white men, the Red Men would dress up in pan-Native regalia and adopt stereotypical names and titles ("Tyee Sachem," "Keeper of Wampum," "Great Pocahontas," "Tyee Eaglefeather") for their leaders (Fish 1983; Hermanson 2001). Themes of Nativism allowed for settlers to "produce a past," thus creating seemingly ancient connections to a foreign geography, as well as a manufactured Indigenous identity for newcomers seeking possession of place and control of the local landscape (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:220; Said 2000; DeLucia 2012). Stone monuments to S'Klallam individuals were raised in Port Townsend by the Red Men during the turn of the century, including Cičməhán's gravestone at Laurel Grove Cemetery, which reads, "CHETZEMOKA, June 21, 1888. (*The Duke of York*), 'The White Man's Friend,' We honor his name." Women also participated in these acts of memorialization, as evidenced by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and the Native Daughters of Washington, who traced their ancestry to pioneers arriving in Washington Territory prior to 1870 (Hermanson and Simpson 1979; Clallam County Historical Society 2003). The DAR dedicated a stone monument in New Dungeness remembering Captain George Vancouver's "discovery" of the region in the 1790s, as well as a similar plaque—subject to many instances of theft and vandalism—on a granite boulder in Discovery Bay in 1929 (Clallam County Historical Society 2003:27). In 1904, the Native Daughters of Washington founded Port Townsend's well-manicured Chetzemoka Park, accompanied by park signage describing Cičməhán

as a "friend of the whites" who saved settler colonists from "looming Indian attack" (McCurdy 1937; Hermanson 2001). One particularly notable site is the Port Townsend post office, whose tall sandstone columns depict stylized carvings of Cičməhán (referred to as "Duke of York" by white settlers) and his wives, Si?ám›itsə ("See-hem'itza" or "Queen Victoria") and Chill-lil ("Jenny Lind") atop the building (Figure 1). More of these plaques and portrayals exist at golf courses, prairies, and cemeteries around the region, all portraying the JST as a relic of the past. Unlike other institutions of memory (such as museums), encountering these public structures is often unavoidable, attributed to their ubiquitous presence in spaces frequented on a regular basis (Hein 2006; Doss 2010). Recurrent visitation to such sites promises that the monuments and their often veiled meanings become ingrained in the minds of the general public, thus creating a collective narrative that reinforces the supposed extinction of Native presence. Likewise, Indigenous visitors to these monuments inevitably "struggle with the memorialization of their own extinction" (Rubertone 2008b:213).

The Treaty of Point No Point and Forced Exile

In winter of 1855, S'Klallam leaders signed the Treaty of Point No Point with Washington Territory (founded in 1853), inadvertently ceding over 400,000 acres for white settlement and development. The Treaty was presented by Governor Isaac Stevens in Chinuk Wawa, the simple trade language incapable of properly translating the ceding of land and rights.[7] Resources were lost to encroaching settler homesteads, meaning that many high-status S'Klallam families did not maintain their rights to traditional lands and wealth sources that had guaranteed their prestige during the pre-colonial era (Suttles and Lane 1990). As a result of extensive social networks and politically autonomous tribal communities who used potlatching to reach political consensus, spread surplus wealth, witness legal agreements, and profess rights to specific claims, S'Klallam understandings of territorial boundaries and power hierarchies differed greatly from non-Native definitions (Thom 2009; Grier and Angelbeck 2017). Governor Stevens was no friend to Native leaders, construing the S'Klallam as "of bad character," "worthless...rascals," and "drunken" in his reports to officials in D.C., with other government officials describing Washington's tribes as consisting of "hideous, half-naked, drunken savages" posing an "intolerable nuisance" to local white communities (Stevens 1854; Jonaitis 2006:173). Commissioned to make treaties with all Washington Territory tribal nations as quickly as possible, so as to immediately open the entire frontier to non-Native settlement, Governor Stevens was known to forge signatures of appointed Native leaders and had previously threatened Yakama Chief Kamiakin to sign a similar treaty or "'walk in blood knee deep'" (Jepsen and Norberg 2017:100). Pressured, Chief Kamiakin "signed, but bit his lips so hard 'they bled profusely'" (Jepsen and Norberg 2017:100) With little choice, Cičməhán signed the Treaty of Point No Point, remaining under the impression that a S'Klallam reservation, governmental assistance, and a sum of $60,000 (equivalent to roughly $1.7 million dollars in today's currency) would be provided to his community in return (Gates 1955; Jefferson County Historical Society 2006). Shortly after, the S'Klallam were informed that they were to relocate 60 miles south to a shoddy "communal" reservation (housing all local tribes) located in Skokomish, or Twana, tribal territory (Stauss 2002). Though S'Klallam and Skokomish groups shared historical use of the Hamma Hamma River and some nearby village sites, the relationship could best be described as

7 Because the language was intended for use in commerce and trade, it was not an adequate form of communication for more complex dealings, such as treaty negotiations, religious matters, or everyday conversations (Lane 1977; Zenk and Johnson 2010). Many settlers did not understand this, and proceeded to use Chinuk Wawa (consisting of approximately 500 to 700 words) while discussing legal and governmental issues with tribal officials, thus ensuring that Indigenous speakers remained at a serious disadvantage (Gibbs 1863).

Figure 1. The Port Townsend post office, featuring decorated columns depicting carvings of Cičməhán (referred to as "Duke of York" by white settlers) and his wives, Siʔámʾitsə ("See-hemʾitza or "Queen Victoria") and Chill-lil ("Jenny Lind"), atop the building.

"tolerable," with conflicts occasionally occurring (McCollum-Clise 2014). Permanently sharing a reservation did not represent a favorable solution to either tribal nation.

Unwilling to leave their homelands for a distant reservation that could not support a large population, the S'Klallam refused the Treaty's terms (Stauss 2002). In response to the refusal, S'Klallam individuals were towed to the Skokomish Reservation in canoes chained to ships. These victims were said to have made an arduous trek back to S'Klallam territory by foot, while others defiantly left the Reservation to inhabit the forested periphery where they could live undetected by government agents. The Point No Point Treaty was not ratified by Congress until 1859, though most S'Klallam individuals would not even visit the Reservation to collect their treaty annuities, preferring instead to stay far from the bounds of what was viewed as confinement. In return, the federal government refused to recognize the S'Klallam and retracted any legal claims to Native identity or lands, with tribal members reclassified as "non-Indian" citizens who would receive no provisions for their community's lost lands and rights. This maneuver was implemented by Governor Stevens against other tribes who would not relocate to foreign lands, such as the Native people of Seattle, the Duwamish (Dxʷdəwʔabš). For those who agreed to treaty terms, Governor Stevens' offers were not much better: his treaties shared common elements intended to "kill the Indian and save the man"—such as designating lands with poor soil and drainage for overcrowded reservations, encouraging agriculture in an effort to quell hunting, gathering, and traveling; making payments to tribes in the form of rancid or useless commodities rather than currency; employing teachers, farmers, and missionaries on reservations as agents of Indigenous assimilation; and banning trade between tribal communities

in the United States and Canada (Stauss 2002). For the Squaxin Island Tribe of Southern Puget Sound, tribal citizens were shot at from the Washington State Capitol Building in Olympia if they attempted to leave the four-mile island reservation (named Klah-Che-Min by tribal citizens) for food, medical assistance, or travel without proper permits issued by Indian agents (Peck 2017). Government officials on reservations surveilled Native movement and bodies, often restricting trade, travel, and communication between historically mobile tribal nations who depended upon mobility to strengthen and maintain social order and class differences. Washington Territory treaties of the 1850s limited tribal mobility and required tribal citizens to hunt, fish, and gather within their "usual and accustomed grounds and stations"—which the federal government did not understand often overlapped and coincided with other Indigenous territories, or spanned distances far beyond the reach of immediate tribal lands (Bernholz and Weiner 2008; Harmon and Borrows 2008). With compromised access to wealth, social networks, and status symbols—not to mention bare necessities such as clean drinking water, fresh food, and adequate housing—Coast Salish social organization faltered, signaling the beginning of a very different world for Coast Salish communities.

Founding a Refuge at Jamestown

Wishing to avoid further conflict spurred by the coercive Treaty of Point No Point, Cičməhán advised his people to remain removed from white settlement and discouraged violence. Some S'Klallam men, such as the father of William Allen Kloweston, disagreed with this decision, wishing to take back the lands that were rightly theirs. Not bowing to tribal pressure, Cičməhán was treated as a local hero by settler colonists, who crediting him with saving them from perceived "Indian attack" by members of his own tribe. Despite the sacrifices made by Cičməhán and his now favorable reputation amongst the white population, S'Klallam individuals were exiled from their capital village and Cičməhán's birthplace of Qatáy in 1871—a result of government-mandated arson and forced relocation to the Skokomish Reservation—to establish Port Townsend. The village housed 500 S'Klallam at the time of settler arrival, many of whom were now officially homeless (McCollum-Clise 2014). Ordinances banned the S'Klallam from city limits, and a lack of federal recognition meant that hunting and gathering on traditional lands were barred. Although individuals of Native descent were outlawed from owning land at the time, the Tribe's newly bestowed "non-Native" identity unintentionally benefited their disenfranchised community, as their 1874 purchase of land illustrates (Wray 2002; Clallam County Historical Society 2003:8). This purchase, initiated by and named after a S'Klallam man named James Balch who encouraged his tribe to pool their funds of $500 in gold coin, established Jamestown/Stətíɬəm, where modern JST citizens trace their lineage. Jamestown, located on the Strait of Juan de Fuca near Sequim, was the site of an ancestral S'Klallam village, Nux'antc, or, "Place of the White Firs" (Figure 2) (Howard Harper 1971:130). However, the layout differed from that of a traditional Coast Salish settlement, in that the beachfront property was divided into long, narrow familial plots that ran perpendicular to the water—ensuring that each family had access to the Strait of Juan de Fuca for fishing and canoe docking, as well as to the mainland soil for building homes and growing potatoes or fruit trees. Not entirely egalitarian, the width of these plots depended upon the original families' donations to the overall purchase of Jamestown. Single family homes were built by tribal citizens using repurposed wood found on the shoreline from retired logging operations and abandoned ship material. As one of the first S'Klallam acts of reclaiming tribal land after the advent of settler colonialism, inhabiting their ancestral territory as property owners allowed the JST to practice tribal traditions under the radar. Jamestown provided an opportunity to practice agriculture, collect shellfish, participate in ceremonies, and continue to live with kin (Eells 1887). Even though

Figure 2. Jamestown property today.

nearby Olympic National Park was designated as a National Monument in 1909, leading to further restrictions on Native presence in what was now a wilderness preservation area, documentary evidence demonstrates that S'Klallam individuals continued to visit their homelands to camp, collect medicinal plants, hunt, and even vacation (Spence 1999; McNulty 2018). Maintaining relationships to space and place became a rebellious act for S'Klallam individuals. Slowly and covertly, S'Klallam presence grew stronger in the lands that the Tribe had recently been exiled from.

Though Jamestown represented an insular community thriving on the edges of white settlement, many outsiders accused the JST of assimilating into non-Native locales by working at mills, learning English, and attending public schools (Fish 1983; Stauss 2002; Vollenweider 2015). Presented in a more positive light, from 1885 to 1950, "the S'Klallam were increasingly recognized for their adoption of non-Native ways, good relations with neighbors (despite attempts to relocate them to the Skokomish Reservation), and, overall, economic well-being" (Stauss 2002:45). Marriages of Scandinavian settlers to S'Klallam women (and sometimes vice versa) were common, leading to an ethnogenesis of "Finndians" or "Scandinatives"—clever monikers used by many modern JST individuals to describe their own descent (Fish 1983; McCollum-Clise 2014). Elderly interlocutors recall that their parents' unions were not always pleasant ones, but instead, necessary agreements made to retain land, ensure a better future for their biracial children, and regain access to resources lost in the Treaty of Point No Point. An Elder confided that her Swedish grandmother refused to hold her grandchildren because they were "Indian," whereas JST men divulged that their white mothers were denied access to public places (such as pubs, grocery stores, and theatres) because their husbands were S'Klallam. Although an effective

tool of survivance, intermarriage rendered the JST absent from popular imagination.

Contemporary Presence

At long last, the JST attained federal recognition in 1981. This status legally classified the Tribe as sovereign, enabled the founding of JST enterprises in 1995 (such as a golf course, restaurant, and the Olympic Peninsula's largest casino), granted funding for Native language programs, and allowed the Tribe to file NAGPRA claims (Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe 2011; United States House of Representatives Committee on Government Oversight and Reform 2011). The second largest employer in Clallam County, the JST maintains a strong presence today (United States House of Representatives Committee on Government Oversight and Reform 2011). John, a JST Elder, resists the notion that his tribal community's recent success represents a "homecoming" to their traditional lands, stating,

> It's not a revival. It's not our fault that they [non-Natives] didn't acknowledge our existence. We didn't go anywhere, we were just sort of dormant. We had to exist 'underground' to survive, but now they recognize us for our sovereignty and our ability to thrive.

Though known for their financial wellbeing and self-reliance, the Tribe is most proud of its welcoming attitude towards outsiders, generating criticism from those who accuse the Tribe of "selling out" or being too eager to "smooth emotionally complicated... landscapes" in attempts to reconcile the past (Burk 2006:44). The JST now operates a reservation in Blyn on Sequim Bay (or, "Quiet Waters," in S'Klallam) along Highway 101, a former S'Klallam village and, in more recent years, home to Snow Creek Logging Camp (Figure 3) (Gierin 1971:128; Sequim Bicentennial History Book Committee 1976). Highway 101 forms a large loop around Olympic National Park, enabling tourists and outdoor recreation enthusiasts to stop on the JST Reservation for food, drink, souvenirs, and a soon to be completed resort. Although tourists travel from far and wide to experience S'Klallam Country's hospitality, it appears that many have come to stay. Continuing their long history of integrating those from other tribes, as well as non-Native visitors, a 1991 JST poll recorded tribal marriages to "Creek, Suquamish, Lummi, Port Gamble, Cherokee, Swinomish, Lower Elwha, Makah, Quinault, Umatilla, and Umpqua" individuals, as well as those from "a broad variety of ethnic backgrounds, including Scottish, Irish, Norwegian, German, English, Spanish, Scandinavian, French, Italian, Mexican, Russian, French-Canadian, Portuguese, and Filipino" (Stauss 2002:97).

While Olympic National Park encourages recreational tourism in JST territory, the Olympic Peninsula is steeped in other landscapes that promote leisure at the expense of JST heritage (Woods 2017). In a region where the mountainous topography is lauded as a pristine wilderness area unsullied by human inhabitation, maintaining and portraying JST presence is particularly difficult—especially when troubling, less idyllic histories of Native cultural trauma, "opposition, confrontation, subversion, and/or resistance" are invisibly embedded within the landscape (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003:18, see also: Jackson 1994; Schama 1995; Foote 1997; Spence 1999; Smith 2006). Even before Olympic National Park gained acclaim as a natural paradise, Port Townsend was marketed as a health resort town and tourist attraction beginning as early as the 1880s, with visitors attracted by its sunny, mild climate and supposed healing properties in an otherwise damp and rainy climate. Qatáy, the large S'Klallam village and burial ground in downtown Port Townsend known today as Memorial Field, now houses athletic fields, as well as an annual children's carnival. Port Townsend also hosts numerous festivals and fairs celebrating its Victorian (and, more recently, hippie counter-culture) history, where attendees gather dressed in nostalgic steampunk attire. Exotic roadside attractions near Olympic National Park include a wild animal safari park with lions, tigers, and bears; Eaglemount Rockery Cottages (featuring

Figure 3. Sequim Bay, as seen from the Jamestown S'Klallam Reservation in Blyn, Washington.

rotating dioramas, such as a Plains Indian village featuring neon red-faced mannequins and tipis); and the now-shuttered "Dinosaur Trails Park" ("where realistic models inhabit the woods") signaling that the Olympic Peninsula is imbued with an "other-worldly" fantasy identity revolving around mystery, wilderness, and whimsy (Fish 1983:37). While entertaining and certainly outlandish, these tropes distract from the region's violent history of JST removal, and instead depict the natural scenery as a Disney-fied landscape inhabited by fictional Indigenous characters and prehistoric creatures. Though such novelties are undoubtedly appealing to the "tourist gaze," they do not represent JST reality (Urry 1996).

The Cičməhán Trail

Approaches to combating this problematic imagery includes the recently completed Cičməhán Trail, a 13-mile multi-use trail that winds throughout Port Townsend. Initiated by the JST and allies, the trail provides informational signage for over a dozen significant JST sites along the path. These locations include old villages, remote beaches where exiled S'Klallam individuals retreated to, sites of violence, and places remembered in ancient JST cosmology—like Point Wilson/ Cixʷəqsən, where a S'Klallam woman married a whale to provide for her family (Burden and Dybeck 2019). Reflective of the amnesia common on the Olympic Peninsula, many of these sites would go otherwise unnoticed as a result of the Pacific Northwest's damp climate and the seasonal nature of JST travel. As Wessen (1978:27) notes, older village sites that once inhabited dry and sparsely forested areas are likely now "hidden in the dense vegetation of the lowland and temperate rainforests" (Bergland 1983:34). Dr. Josh Wisniewski, Port Gamble S'Klallam Archaeologist and Anthropologist, and David Brownell, JST Historic Preservation Officer, believe that many S'Klallam villages remain "a couple dozen to a couple hundred feet" underwater,

though without utilizing maritime archaeology, these sites may never be recovered (Thompson 1978). Wooden longhouses decompose quickly when faced with rain, wind, and rising tides. Similarly, JST communities inhabited separate winter and summer villages, leading early explorers to believe that local Native populations were extinct when they encountered "abandoned" shoreline villages during alternating seasons (Suttles 1963). Conversely, the Cičməhán Trail provides year-round reminders of JST history. By raising awareness of these important locations, the Tribe aims to prevent future archaeological conflicts, such as those encountered when Port Townsend city officials did not heed tribal warnings of a graveyard before construction at Memorial Field in 2019, as well as the building of the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory atop a S'Klallam village at Washington Harbor/ Sxʷčkʷíyəŋ (Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe n.d.; Haight 2019a). More than just an enjoyable place to stroll or bike, the Cičməhán Trail offers public education, tribal reclamation, and cautionary tales.

Camas Prairie Renewal

The JST is reviving cultural practices off the Reservation, including growing camas, shellfish farming, and using canoe travel. Camas, a blue flowering prairie bulb that once carpeted the Olympic Peninsula's dry lowlands and alpine habitats, was nearly exterminated by hungry livestock and settlers who viewed the native plant as a weed in need of eradication (Beckwith 2004). Camas bulbs were grown and tended to by S'Klallam women on family owned plots, with the root cooked in below ground ovens as a culinary specialty to be eaten plain, dried, preserved in oil, ground into flour, or traded for cedar bark baskets and halibut (Gunther 1973). Gathering camas was a social and educational activity for female family members, who traveled far and wide to help their relatives harvest the plentiful native plant. Such gatherings were undoubtedly important for the preservation and continuance of female knowledge and teachings, as Coast Salish women were considered the "culture-keepers" of their family stories, songs, and genealogies. As the landscape was gradually altered to accommodate white settlement by limiting camas growth, so too were the ways in which S'Klallam women related to each other and passed along skills and wisdom through the female line—serving as a potent reminder that "wisdom sits in places" and that land itself holds memories (Basso 1996). Today, the Port Townsend golf course contains one of the last remaining natural camas prairies in the area, and the JST are instrumental in preserving this 1.4 acre plot surrounded by the Qatáy Lagoon, a marshy wetland that previously caused settlers "considerable expense and annoyance" when establishing Port Townsend (Figure 4) (McCurdy 1937:16). The Tribe assists the city in regularly burning the prairie using traditional methods. Burning helps propagate camas, and was regularly used by Coast Salish communities to keep the brush low and camas in strong supply (Naylor 2014). In an act of tribal sovereignty, the JST recently established their own prairie, using seeds collected from local lands, on property purchased in Sequim near the Dungeness River Audubon Center and Railroad Bridge Park.

Continuing Maritime Traditions

Balancing the preservation of native plants, the JST conducts shellfish operations on JST Reservation tidelands on Sequim Bay. They grow oysters and clams for tribal citizens, as well as for sale to local restaurants. According to JST Chairman Ron Allen, the JST plans to open a public fish market on the Port Townsend waterfront, where Qatáy once stood. Descendants of mariners, the JST also participates in an annual Canoe Journey to reclaim their ancestral waterways. Water routes, such as rivers, the Pacific coastline, and the Strait of Juan de Fuca, once acted as "highways" for canoe travel. As described by Trey (JST), Coast Salish communities share "common stories and customs not just because we're interrelated," but

Figure 4. Port Townsend's Qatáy Prairie blooming with camas in the spring.

because canoe travel encourages "long journeys in short spurts, just like when you're in a wagon or on a horse." Multi-day (or week) canoe journeys did not require people "speeding across the interstate," but instead allowed for "stopping and starting and interacting with those around you in villages." Summer was a popular time for canoes to engage in trade across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, a waterway that stretches 15 miles wide from the Olympic Peninsula into what is now British Columbia—a short distance when compared to the hundreds of miles traveled annually in S'Klallam canoes (Sproat 1966). John Adams, ethnographer George Gibbs' (1877) S'Klallam informant, described longhouses built along the upper reaches of the Elwha River, reached when "canoes were poled upriver as far as possible" (Wray 2002:9). Supporting the theory that canoes were taken upriver, Olson (1936:87) describes the construction of "skids being used for sliding the canoe" across log jams that obstructed the river, with log jams "burned during the summer" to keep rivers and canoes flowing steadily.

Canoe Journey, a summer gathering for Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska tribes, was founded in 1989, consisting of ocean-going cedar canoes and paddling crews representing dozens of tribal nations that follow a planned route (Figure 5) (Johansen 2012). Crews paddle all day and stop at a different host tribe's reservation nightly while making their way to the final destination for a week of celebrations. The entire Canoe Journey lasts a month and hundreds of miles, with host tribes offering dinner, accommodations, and gifts for canoe crews and the general public alike. Feasts incorporate traditional foods, such as salmon, berries, jerky, and seaweed. Prior to arriving on shore, each canoe announces their tribe, asking permission to land on the host's beach. The event's protocol is rooted in the past,

when canoes were the primary means of travel for Northwest Indigenous communities, and when travelers were expected to state their intentions prior to visiting another's tribal territory. When one considers the delicate protocol still abided by at Canoe Journey and the numerous respects given from one tribal leader to the next during Canoe Journey speeches, it becomes apparent that initial interactions between Native and non-Natives were likely tense and confusing encounters for all involved.

JST Totem Poles: Controversy or Cultural Heritage?

The most impressive form of landscape reclamation undertaken by the JST is totem pole carving, a public art practice adopted as the Tribe's icon in the 1980s to celebrate federal recognition and generate tourist interest in the newly formed JST Reservation. Dozens of these counter-monuments occur both on and off the JST Reservation, with off-Reservation poles donated by the Tribe as a motion of "good faith" to white-majority towns. Although totem poles are not a traditional art form associated with Coast Salish artistic repertoire, the JST (and other Coast Salish tribes, such as the Lummi Nation of northwestern Washington) adopted the practice as an invented tradition from Native Alaskan communities—inciting some heated accusations of cultural appropriation of clan or family-owned crests. JST carvers work alongside non-Native artists to create poles at an impressive carving studio located at historic Jamestown, where visitors drop in during business hours to observe or ask questions about this unlikely union (Figure 6). Though many older JST citizens support totem pole carving as a "new" Coast Salish tradition that aims to unite Northwest Coast tribes as a form of solidarity via pan-Indian identity, some younger individuals have expressed discontent with the practice, citing that they do not support non-Native participation and instead wish to revive less elaborate S'Klallam carving (as well as female-led weaving) traditions associated with the ancient past. This is a common refrain amongst other Coast Salish artists from other tribal nations, who lament museum and academic promotion of Bill Holm's formline motif canon (popularized in the 1970s and based on Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian motifs now recognized as an iconic aspect of Northwest Coast art) over local Coast Salish traditions, which were generally treated as undesirable or less sophisticated to the well-trained curatorial eyes of fine art collectors (Kramer 2006; Bunn-Marcuse 2013).[8] Coast Salish artistic imagery is not as literal nor as elaborate as that of Northern tribes, but instead employs intricate patterns of elongated ovals, crescents, "u" shapes, and trigons (a type of triangle), which are preferred over exact artistic renderings (Ames and Maschner 1999). The significance of Coast Salish design motifs was often known only to the object's owner, depicting a unique spiritual encounter or private, personal knowledge (Suttles 1966; Carlson 1983). Compared to the strictly regulated and extremely embellished art forms found amongst the highly structured clan-based Haida and Tlingit of northern British Columbia and Alaska, the ambiguous and minimal nature of Coast Salish art—when paired with the dynamism and adaptability of Coast Salish culture—became unfortunately correlated with anthropological assumptions of a less complex or advanced society (Boas 1910; Chalmers 1995). Collectors and anthropologists of the past largely misconstrued Coast Salish communities as representative of a cultural "backwater," in which "the Northern maritime tribes… represented the cultural climax… with their impressive totem poles, chiefly systems, theatrical winter ceremonials, and large-scale art" (Miller 2013:204).

8 The assumption that Coast Salish society was underdeveloped or inferior did not originate in the twentieth century, however. Past anthropologists and archaeologists supported claims of cultural evolution by comparing the ornate art forms of the Haida and Tlingit to Coast Salish culture, thus framing Coast Salish society as occupying a "lesser than" material culture (Boas 1910; Chalmers 1995; Ames & Maschner 1999).

Figure 5. The Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe canoe landing at Jamestown during 2019's Canoe Journey.

Figure 6. The Jamestown S'Klallam carving shed, where a recently completed totem pole rests.

Though this controversy merits serious discussion for its potential to examine questions of Indigenous self-representation and sovereignty on the Northwest Coast, the stately, colorful JST poles are impossible to avoid while traveling along the Olympic Peninsula and frequently draw the attention of many locals and visitors. JST totem poles tell visual stories to celebrate JST leaders, events, and legends, with Slapu (a large, frightening "wild woman" who inhabits the forests and captures disobedient children in her woven cedar bark backpack) and Wolf Mother (a founding S'Klallam mother who birthed wolf-human children, each with their own gifts of weaving, singing, carving, etc, constituting the ancestors of the contemporary S'Klallam) artistically represented via JST totem poles (Gunther 1925b, 1927) (Figure 7). Totem poles act as an innovative means of architecture that "preserve oral histories using a house post sculptural format" similar to those that once existed inside Coast Salish longhouses (Peterson 2013:15). When viewed this way, totem poles and other Coast Salish acquisitions of Native Alaskan art represent "an argument…against the silent imposition" of colonialism and a monument to the "presence of living, contemporary people" whose cultures were previously only represented in erroneous museum displays, history books, archaeological site records, and biased anthropological ethnographies (Townsend-Gault 1994:103). Other JST poles mark noteworthy locations—including James Balch's gravesite located at the northeastern corner of Jamestown or the former village at Port Townsend's Point Hudson, where a mill ousted the S'Klallam from the area until 1901 when this "rough area of town" was reclaimed as a Native encampment by impoverished individuals living in tents and canoes (McCollum-Clise 2014:46). The poles are physical reminders of JST culture, serving as effective counter-monuments to draw attention to the Tribe's adaptability and modern livelihood, while also claiming the landscape as rightful S'Klallam territory. Though many forms of placemaking and place dedication exist within contemporary Native America (including the use of Indigenous place names and alternative cartographies), material reminders of place and community, such as JST totem poles, serve as mnemonic devices to reinforce the importance of heritage and identity in conjunction with physical sites of memory (see also: Mawani 2004; Rubertone 2008a, 2008b; Doss 2010). Monuments remind the public that the past contains contemporary relevance, and, because space alone lacks "the will to remember," sites require continued human interaction to uphold memory (Riegl 1903; Young 2000:62).

Cross-Cultural Inclusivity

JST attempts to reclaim their homelands and rebuild their cultural heritage in a public setting continue to grow stronger—and more controversial, given that many of their approaches include collaborating with local non-Native populations. The JST regularly include non-Natives in their place-claiming efforts. For example, the Cičməhán Trail Committee, headed by JST Elder Celeste Dybeck and Chinook Elder Barbara "Jo" Blair, includes five non-Native women belonging to the self-appointed Native Connections Action Group—an activist group in Port Townsend that lends support to environmental and political issues faced by Northwest tribes. Likewise, if there are extra seats on a canoe during the annual Canoe Journey, community members from outside the Tribe are allowed to participate in paddling festivities. Individuals who work for the JST or who have contributed to the preservation of S'Klallam culture in a particularly meaningful way are often appointed for these positions, with others volunteering to serve meals or help launch canoes. Totem poles are carved by JST and white artists alike, generating accusations of cultural appropriation from neighboring tribes and lively internal discussions of appropriate Jamestown S'Klallam cultural heritage practices amongst younger generations. When new

Figure 7. A totem pole on the Jamestown S'Klallam Reservation, depicting the legendary figure of Slapu, with her signature basket holding a wayward child.

monuments or totem poles are unveiled by the JST, the public is invited to attend the ceremonies, often appearing in the thousands. The most recent of these events occurred in June 2019, when the JST raised a 26 foot, 1,200 pound red cedar pole donated to the city of Port Townsend. The pole depicts Cičməhán at bottom, the spirit of the red cedar tree (the "tree of life" to Coast Salish tribes, with its waterproof bark employed for clothing or baskets and its rot-resistant wood used for longhouses, canoes, and carving) in the middle, and a carver holding metal tools at the top. Requiring patience and attentiveness, totem pole dedication ceremonies last hours, requiring many speeches and honorifics from tribal leaders. The JST proclaims attendees as "witnesses," borrowing from a pre-colonial S'Klallam practice of naming two witnesses for legal transactions. This Coast Salish practice ensures that leaders are held to their promises, bestowing a hefty responsibility upon witnesses to remember what happened on the momentous occasion (Boiselle 2017). If need be, JST leaders can call upon witnesses years later, asking them to recall in detail what happened during the occasion. JST integration of non-Native witnesses enables public participation in the continuance and remembrance of JST history, communicating that the JST are present and active within the community. For the JST, one of the most meaningful outcomes of non-Native collaboration took place in July 2019, when Port Townsend officially rescinded the 1867 city ordinance that banned S'Klallam individuals from entering the town without a white chaperone, outlawed S'Klallam inhabitation of the Victorian seaport, and shuttered S'Klallam businesses (Haight 2019b). Although the edict, which first appeared in The Weekly Argus newspaper, has not been in effect in many years and was long forgotten by many non-Native locals, Port Townsend Mayor Deborah Stinson's formal revocation held deep significance for the Tribe.

Changing Legacies

The S'Klallam are not opposed to acknowledging their territory's multicultural history, but instead, desire recognition as the primary stewards of their homelands. Cynthia, a JST Elder, emphasizes that

> our [JST] history…it's a history of Natives and non-Natives getting along and not getting along. It's not just about one group, it's about many communities competing and sometimes cooperating. In some ways, it's the same story today. We're not alone. We have to get along with lots of people who are not related to us and who are not like us. That's what we do. That's what we're proud of.

Troubling instances of displacement and historical amnesia reveal the deliberate destruction of JST presence and sacred landscapes at settler colonialism's hands. The JST have formed a distinct identity and creative means of preserving and developing their cultural heritage in response to attempted erasure of Indigeneity from the Olympic Peninsula. Because the production of history is largely determined by the influence of those with social privilege and power, resulting in "uneven contributions" and "unequal access" to producing and maintaining memory, the JST story is particularly noteworthy (Bodnar 1992; Trouillot 1995:xix). Today, techniques such as cross-cultural collaboration, education, monument raising, and renewal of traditional lifeways are implemented by the Tribe to reclaim tribal territory and reinsert tribal presence in what is thought of as a wilderness area. These approaches have proven largely successful for the JST and their neighboring communities, but have also incited criticism from those wishing to maintain false boundaries between "Native" and "non-Native" worlds. The boundaries transcended by the JST serve as reminders that strict divides between Native and non-Indigenous worlds are "neither permanent nor inevitable features of American history," but instead represent overlapping,

competing, and fluid experiences (Miles 2003:37). Rather than classifying liminality—the combination of roots and routes—as atypical or insignificant "thin slivers of land between stable places," such borderlands may in fact represent a majority of "normal," everyday lived experiences (Ferguson and Gupta 1992:18; Clifford 1997). Boundaries are more than "sites for the division of people into separate spheres and opposing identities and groups," and instead serve as creative and contentious spaces for interaction, "hybridization, creolization, and negotiation" (Lamont and Molnar 2002:184).

As a case study, the JST's unique history and current circumstances contextualize a complicated and traumatic past, while simultaneously offering a glance at the implications of modern tribal collaboration with non-Indigenous communities. These instances allow for better comprehension of how the JST—and Native America, more generally—is dynamic and multi-vocal in interpreting and representing tribal histories to the broader public. Tribal participation in local life also sheds light on how tribes are diverse entities where popular definitions and divisions of race, ethnicity, membership, and belonging are not necessarily applicable or easily explained, thanks to legacies of settler colonialism, unlikely partnerships, and intertribal relationships. Rather than treating this plurality of voices and experiences as messy webs that entangle and frustrate neat understandings of Native livelihood, the JST encourages outsiders to reconsider what constitutes Indigeneity. JST Chairman Ron Allen responds to these charges by explaining the duality embraced by his community as a demonstration of civic responsibility and tribal sovereignty:

> "Part of our tribal responsibility is to develop good citizenship as a member of the tribe, as well as a member of the community at large. I firmly believe that our community has to come to grips with the reality that you are a dual citizen, and therefore, you have responsibilities with both the tribe and the U.S./state communities" (Stauss 2002:177).

Perhaps outliers in Indian Country, JST strategies to resist forced removal and public amnesia mirror the Tribe's long history of maintaining Native continuity, adapting to crisis, and upholding cultural values of alliance and cooperation.

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The State of Oregon and Nine Federally-Recognized Tribes Forge a Path Forward

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Abstract *Today, state agencies in Oregon meet regularly and attempt to work closely with Oregon's nine federally-recognized Tribes to discuss shared issues and concerns in a variety of disciplines. While the authors of the articles in this volume focus their discussions on consultation and collaboration in regard to cultural resources, the State recognizes that tribal issues affecting many other fields exist and are meeting regularly to improve communication on a range of other topics. However, promoting communication and consultation between the State of Oregon and the nine federally-recognized tribes in Oregon has not always been in practice, and it is only in the last 35 years that state agencies have been seeking to actively contact and consult with tribes in general.*

Keywords
Tribal consultation, tribal partnerships, tribal relations, Oregon tribes, state consultation, repatriation, collaboration, LCIS

Recognizing the Value of Partnerships: A History of Dialogue in Developing and Improving Relations between the State of Oregon and Nine Federally-Recognized Tribes—An Introduction

Dennis G. Griffin

Abstract *This article is designed to serve as an introduction to the collection in which tribal and state agency authors highlight the history and success of recent efforts in Oregon to communicate, consult, and collaborate in topics of shared interest to cultural resources.*

Originally designed as a symposium for the 2020 Northwest Anthropological Conference, when the meetings were cancelled due to the coronavirus pandemic, the authors felt that the efforts that were currently underway between Oregon's nine federally-recognized Indian tribes and the State of Oregon deserved a wider forum in order to talk about shared state initiatives, cooperative groups, and collaborative projects that are bringing the State and Tribes closer together. These consultation efforts are improving the relationship between the groups, as well

as creating a stronger understanding of tribal culture among state agencies. It is hoped that knowledge of these efforts might encourage further collaboration between other Oregon state agencies, other states and tribes, as well as with members among our discipline (archaeologists/anthropologists) in addressing the future recognition and treatment of cultural resources from a wide range of direct and indirect agency/project effects. The articles that follow this introduction are designed to highlight the changing relationship between the State of Oregon and the nine federally-recognized Indian Tribes within its boundaries, in recognition of a variety of issues that are of concern to each group including our natural resources and historic properties.

Historic Background

In order to set the stage for discussing the collaborative efforts that are now occurring between state agencies and tribal nations in Oregon, I provide some important historic background on how such groups have interacted over time so that the current state of consultation can be seen through a more accurate light. Prior to the arrival of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the mouth of the Columbia River in 1805, contact between Native peoples in the region and Euro-Americans was largely confined to short-term interactions with fur traders from the British North West Company and an occasional trading or whaling ship that stopped along the coast for fresh water, supplies and furs. Interactions were usually limited in time and degree of contact with Europeans remaining more dependent on the Native traders for successful trade (Cole and Darling 1990). Such limited trading opportunities had little long term effect on local lifeways; however, the introduction of infectious diseases (e.g., small pox in 1775 and 1801) resulted in decimating regional Native populations by at least one third (Boyd 1990).

Federal Consultation with Tribes

Following the arrival of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, traders began to work their way out west to seek greater opportunities for fur and acquire land for new settlement. With the discovery and increased use of the Oregon Trail, by the early 1840s settlers from the eastern United States began to head west in large wagon trains (Coan 1921; Scott 1928). With the signing of a treaty (i.e., *Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America, for the Settlement of the Oregon Boundary*) in June of 1846 between Great Britain and the United States, which established a political border between the two nations along the 49th parallel (Commager 1927; Scott 1928), the westward migration of new settlers greatly increased. This was followed by the formal incorporation of the Oregon Territory in August 1848. The Oregon Territory declared that nothing in it "shall be construed to impair the rights of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said Territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians" (Library of Congress 1875a:323).

Treaty Negotiations

While informal trading agreements undoubtedly existed between both British and American fur trappers and local tribes (Fisher 1994), until the incorporation of the Oregon Territory, no formal consideration had occurred between the newly arriving settlers and the Indigenous native peoples who had occupied these lands for many millennia. In 1850, Anson Dart was appointed as the first full-time Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Oregon Territory, and he was assigned the mission to negotiate treaties between the federal government and the tribal nations within the territory. In June of 1851, the U.S. Government signed an *Act Authorizing the Negotiations of Treaties with the Indian Tribes in the Territory of Oregon for the Extinguishment of their Claims to Lands Lying West of the Cascade Mountains* (Library of Congress 1875b). This Act

authorized the establishment of the Willamette Valley Treaty Commission, which convinced the Indians of western Oregon to sign the first of six treaties between the U.S. Government and native peoples (Boxberger n.d.; Coan 1921). Later, other government spokesmen assisted in convincing area tribes to sign numerous other treaties in good faith, many of which were never recognized by the federal government in Washington D.C. A minimum of 27 unratified treaties and agreements and 19 ratified treaties and agreements (Table 1) were signed between the United States and tribal peoples living in Oregon between the years 1851–1901 (Kappler 1904; Clemmer and Stewart 1986:526–537; Beckham 1990:182, 1998:152–155; Deloria and DeMallie 1999). The U.S. Government's negotiating and signing of so many early treaties with tribes removed tribal access to and use of much of their traditional lands, and opened these lands for Euro-American settlement. Access restrictions and settlement occurred following the signing of each agreement, even with over half of the signed documents never being officially ratified, which did little to foster a spirit of trust, cooperation and consultation between the parties.

The earliest treaty negotiations (Figure 1) concentrated in western Oregon and were largely designed to convince western tribes and bands to give up their traditional territories in exchange for small reserved areas of land or reservations located east of the Cascade Mountains, thereby opening up western Oregon (i.e., lands east of the Cascade Mountains) to Euro-American settlement. Western Oregon tribes uniformly rejected such a move (Boxberger n.d.; Coan 1921) and argued to remain living on a portion of their traditional territory. Therefore, almost from the beginning, Dart and the Treaty Commission's efforts concentrated on the creation of numerous small reservations within lands familiar to the tribes with whom they were negotiating. Dart also recognized the continued importance of fishing and other activities to Indian survival, and he reserved such rights within six of the nine 1851 Tansy Point treaties. However, since such early treaties failed to fully clear western Oregon for Euro-American settlement, they were opposed by the Secretary of Interior and were never ratified by Congress. Later treaty making was conducted in an effort to establish peace among the western tribes and early settlers, which led to the creation of a few larger reservations to be used by a confederation of tribes, largely unfamiliar with the lands they were being moved on to. As such, concessions regarding the continued use of ceded lands were not considered, and the use of off-reservation natural resources was omitted from all ratified western Oregon tribal treaties.

Treaty negotiations with tribes from eastern Oregon and Washington took a different direction and culminated in the Walla Walla Treaty Council of 1855, led by Isaac Stevens, Washington's Territorial Governor, and Joel Palmer, Oregon's Superintendent of Indian Affairs (Coan 1922). Over several days in June, tribal members from the Walla Walla, Cayuse, Umatilla, Nez Perce, and Yakama met and negotiated the signing of three separate treaties. Aside from the creation of reservations, each of these later ratified treaties included the retention of tribal rights to lands ceded to the U.S. government, including the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering the reservations, as well as at all Usual and Accustomed (U&A) stations, and the rights to hunt, gather roots and berries, and pasture their stock on all unclaimed lands in common with citizens. Stevens and Palmer regarded the treaties as tools of assimilation, which would provide tribes the time to adjust to an agricultural lifestyle; however, in recognition that the tribes would need time to adjust to this change in lifestyle, allowing tribes to fish, hunt, and gather at their traditional sites would lessen the shock of the land cessions, while saving the government from having to provide provisions during this period of transition (Fischer 2010:49). Later that summer Joel Palmer negotiated a similar treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon and included the same reserved rights (Coan 1922). These are the only treaties in Oregon to

Table 1. Unratified Treaties and Agreements.

Year	Treaty	Location	Signer	Date	Result
1851	Santiam Band of Kalapuya	Champoeg	J.P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner & B.S. Allen	16-Apr	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Twalaty Band of Kalapuya	Champoeg	J.P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner & B.S. Allen	19-Apr	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Luck-a-mi-ute Band of Kalapuya	Champoeg	J.P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner & B.S. Allen	2-May	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Yamhill Band of Kalapuya	Champoeg	J.P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner & B.S. Allen	2-May	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Principle Band of Molale	Champoeg	J.P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner & B.S. Allen	6-May	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Santiam Band of Molale	Champoeg	J.P. Gaines, A.A. Skinner & B.S. Allen	7-May	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Rogue River Indians	-	J.P. Gaines	14-Jul	Peace
1851	Clatsop	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	5-Aug	Cession of lands, use of fishing grounds, reserved rights*
1851	Naalem Band of Tillamook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	6-Aug	Cession of lands, use of fishing grounds, reserved rights
1851	Lower Band of Tillamook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	7-Aug	Cession of lands, use of fishing grounds, reserved rights
1851	Nuc-quee-clah-we-muck	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	7-Aug	Cession of lands, live on land during life of chief
1851	Waukikum Band of Chinook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	8-Aug	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1851	Kathlamet Band of Chinook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	9-Aug	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Wheelappa Band of Chinook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	9-Aug	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1851	Lower Band of Chinook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	9-Aug	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1851	Klatskania Band of Chinook	Tansy Point	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	9-Aug	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1851	Rogue River Treaty [To-to-on, You-quee-chae & Qua-ton-wah Bands]	Port Orford	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	20-Sep	Cession of lands, live on land 10+ years, continue fishing
1851	Ya-su-chah	Port Orford	A. Dart, H. Spaulding & J. Parrish	20-Sep	Cession of lands, live on land 10+ years, continue fishing
1851	Clackamas	Oregon City	A. Dart	6-Nov	Cession of lands, peace, live on lands during lifetime, reserved rights*
1853	Rogue River Indians	Table Rock	J. Lane	8-Sep	Peace, reservation creation
1854	Tualatin band of Kalapuya	Wapato Lake, Oreg Territory	J. Palmer	25-Mar	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1855	Oregon Coast Tribes Treaty	-	J. Palmer	11, 17, 23 & 30 Aug, 8 Sep	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1864	Modoc	-	E. Potter, D. Keam, E. Steele	14-Feb	Peace, move to reservation
1867	Bannock	Long Tom Creek, Idaho Terr.	Gov. D.W. Ballard	26-Aug	Cession of lands, move to Fort Hall Reservation
1868	Shoshone	Fort Harney	J.W.P. Hunnington	10-Dec	Peace, move to reservation
1879	Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perces (Agreement)	-	-	31-Jan	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1898	Indians of the Klamath Reservation (Agreement)	Klamath Agency	W.J. McConnell	27-Dec	Reduction of reservation lands

* Reserved rights in unratified treaties restricted to use of Usual and Accustomed (U&A) fishing locales, pasturing stock, use of timber, and use of beached whales. Ratified treaties in Eastern Oregon noted exclusive right of taking fish in streams running through and bordering reservations, along with all other U&A stations, hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing of stock on unclaimed lands. Klamath treaty restricted reserved rights to lands within reservation.

Table 1 (cont). Ratified Treaties and Agreements.

Year	Treaty	Location	Signer	Date	Result
1853	Rogue River Tribe	Table Rock	J. Palmer	10-Sep	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1853	Umpqua - Cow Creek Band	Cow Creek, Umpqua Valley	J. Palmer	19-Sep	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1854	Rogue River Tribe	Table Rock	J. Palmer	15-Nov	Adding tribes to Table Rock Reserve
1854	Chasta, etc.	Rogue River	J. Palmer	18-Nov	Cession of lands, move to Table Rock Reserve
1854	Umpqua and Kalapuya	Calapooia Cr., Douglas County	J. Palmer	29-Nov	Cession of lands, move to temporary reservation
1855	Kalapuya, etc. [Calapooia, Molalla, Tumwater, Clackamas]	Dayton	J. Palmer	22-Jan	Cession of lands, move to temporary reservation
1855	Walla Walla Cayuse	Camp Stevens, Walla Walla	I. Stevens & J. Palmer	9-Jun	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1855	Nez Perces	Camp Stevens, Walla Walla	I. Stevens & J. Palmer	11-Jun	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1855	Tribes of Middle Oregon	Wasco, near The Dalles	J. Palmer	25-Jun	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1855	Molala	Dayton, Umpqua Valley	J. Palmer	21-Dec	Cession of lands, reservation creation
1864	Klamath [Klamath, Modoc, Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians]	Klamath Lake	J.W.P. Huntington & W.Logan	14-Oct	Cession of lands, reservation creation, reserved rights*
1865	Tribes of Middle Oregon	Warm Springs Reservation	J.W.P. Huntington	15-Nov	Restriction to reservation; Allotment of land
1865	Woll-pah-pe tribe of Snake Indians	Sprague River Valley	J.W.P. Huntington	12-Aug	Peace, cession of lands, move to Klamath Reservation
1875	Alsea and Siletz (Agreement)	-	18 Statute 466	3-Mar	New reservation boundary
1882	Umatilla Indians (Agreement)	-	22 Statute 297	5-Aug	Sale of land adjacent to Pendelton
1885	Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Cayuse (Agreement)	-	23 Statute 340	3 Mar	Allotment of lands and sale of surplus lands
1892	Indians of Siletz Reservation (Agreement)	Siletz Agency	R.P. Boise, W.H. Odell & H.H. Harding	31-Oct	Sell unalloted land on reservation
1901	Klamath, Modoc & Yahooskin Band of Snake (Agreement)	Klamath Agency, Oregon	J. McLaughlin	17-Jun	Reduce size of reservation
1901	Indians of Grand Ronde Reservation (Agreement)	Grand Ronde Agency	J. McLaughlin	27-Jun	Sell unalloted land on reservation

* Reserved rights in unratified treaties restricted to use of Usual and Accustomed (U&A) fishing locales, pasturing stock, use of timber, and use of beached whales. Ratified treaties in Eastern Oregon noted exclusive right of taking fish in streams running through and bordering reservations, along with all other U&A stations, hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing of stock on unclaimed lands. Klamath treaty restricted reserved rights to lands within reservation.

Figure 1. 1851 Sketch map of the Willamette Valley showing purchases and reservations by Board of Commissioners appointed to treat with the Indians of Oregon (Hayes 2011:58).

reserve such rights for tribal peoples, except for the Klamath Tribes' treaty (1864), which retained for them the rights to hunt, fish, and gather on lands within their reservation. All other Oregon treaties did not note the retention of such traditional rights within lands that were ceded or incorporated within their original reservation boundaries. Figure 2 highlights the major land cessions ceded to the U.S. government by past Indian treaties in addition to the reservations that were established.

State Consultation with Tribes

While the State of Oregon was officially recognized in 1859, the recognition for the need of consultation between the State of Oregon and local Tribes was not always apparent. At the time of statehood, until at least the mid-twentieth century, Oregon lacked any real recognition of the need to consult with tribes since tribal consultation was largely left to the federal government, which managed tribal issues from the reservations where tribal people had been relocated following the nineteenth-century wars and treaties. While federal treaties outlined provisions for the welfare of tribes and their rights to resources both on and off reservation lands, interaction between tribal members and the State was a confusing one. With the signing of subsequent treaties and agreements between the federal government and tribes, Indian reservations in Oregon were continually reduced in size with tribal lands being ceded to the federal government, which in turn made such lands largely available to the State for settlement. State laws took over the management of these lands and its resources where federal laws had earlier control. The recognition of where Indians retained off-reservation treaty resource rights, as compared with where the State managed such resources, was often unclear leading to major legal battles throughout the late nineteenth

Figure 2. Indian Land Sessions and Reservations in Oregon (Royce 1899, Plate CLVIII). [Numbers on the map refer to specific land cession agreements between the federal government and Oregon Tribes (Royce 1899:645–949).]

and entire twentieth century, predominantly along the Columbia River. Such battles greatly increased following the construction of several dams along the Columbia River which severely impacted the size of fish runs along the river and Indian's access to them.

In the 1950s, the relationship between the federal government and Oregon's tribes was to change drastically. Since the establishment of the reservation system, the federal government promoted a path of acculturation and assimilation when it considered issues that affected tribal nations. Tribal lands were consistently reduced through the passage of such laws as the Oregon Donation Land Act (1850), which offered Euro-American settlers up to 320 acres of land, and to settle on lands that often had not been negotiated from the original native peoples, to the passage of the Dawes Act or General Allotment Act (1887), which allotted each Indian up to 160 acres of land and required the selling of all remaining unallotted reservation lands. Reservations continued to be reduced in size through the sale of allotments and land grabs with sales of reservation lands not stopping until the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA or Wheeler-Howard Act) in 1934. Lands removed from tribal reservations, which by 1934 two-thirds of all Indian land had passed into private ownership, became part of the state either through subsequent private ownership or their management by non-federal public entities (i.e., state, counties, and cities). Such lands and their resources became subject to state laws without consideration of tribal use and importance. With the passage of the IRA, the federal government was able to purchase some earlier tribal lands back and restore them to the tribes while encouraging self-government. This federal policy changed in the early 1950s under the Eisenhower administration with the federal government attempting to terminate the special relationship that had been established between tribes and the federal government.

Termination

> *Termination. Missing only the prefix. The ex.* (Eldrich 2020:90)

In 1953, the federal government signed into law House Concurrent Resolution 108, known as the Termination Bill. This policy directive was aimed at ending the Indian's status as wards of the United States and assimilate the tribes into mainstream American society, subject to individual state laws. At the same time; Public Law 83-280 was passed, which placed Indian people in six states, including Oregon, under state government for criminal and civil jurisdiction. This law was viewed by both the federal and state governments as the initial in-road to terminating all tribal reservations. The federal government's termination policy was to have the strongest effect in the nation the following year with the termination of 62 tribes in Oregon. Sixty of these were terminated under a single act, the *Western Indian Termination Act of 1954* (Public Law 588). Two tribes from eastern Oregon, the Klamath and Modoc peoples, were terminated under the *Klamath Termination Act* (Public Law 587) leaving only two recognized Tribes in Oregon, these being the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation, and the Confederated Tribes of the Warms Springs Reservation. The effect of these acts on Oregon's tribes was said to have been so severe due to Eisenhower's head of the Department of the Interior Douglas J. McKay, the past Governor of Oregon, who used his state as a model of how the federal Indian termination policy should be enacted. Harvey Wright, McKay's earlier Indian Education Director stated

> Our national policy in Indian affairs has been a zig-zag affair. Our first policy was extermination; we then tried the idea of segregation; and the latest experiment was an attempt to get the Indian to return to the tribal autonomy that his fathers were presumed to enjoy, and to preserve his culture. To me the logic of present

> events is all in opposition to segregation. I believe that our final policy must be assimilation (McKay 1950 in Lewis 2009:224–225)

Termination did not affect the Burns Paiute Tribe in eastern Oregon since they had lost their reservation and formal recognition following the Bannock War in the 1870s. The Burns Paiute Tribe of the Burns Paiute Colony of Oregon were not formally recognized as a tribe by the federal government until 1968, and their reservation established by Public Law 92-488 on October 13, 1972, thus they were not a recognized tribal government at the time termination legislation was being considered.

Recognition of Tribal Rights by the State of Oregon

In 1970, President Nixon (1970) sent a message to Congress that the federal government needed to change their policy toward American Indians and assist in their efforts to become more self-sufficient. In 1971, state legislators in Oregon took up this message and attempted to establish a Joint Committee on Indian Affairs. This bill (HB 1460) died in committee primarily because the Indian community was not yet ready to support a formal relationship with the State of Oregon (Griffin 2009). Legal disputes over access to natural resources between the State and Oregon's tribes had been a major concern for many years, and a lack of trust between parties had developed.

Prior to 1971, the degree of interaction between the State of Oregon and tribal people residing within the state was negligible and what did occur was often very divisive, usually stemming from the State's attempts to restrict or control tribal hunting and fishing on off-reservation lands. The federal government primarily handled the limited tribal consultation that did occur and tribal concerns regarding non-federal public and private lands were generally ignored. Following the passage of federal termination legislation, Oregon's terminated tribes lacked both Federal and State recognition and were unable to regain tribal recognition for many years with the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians being the first to be restored in 1977, followed by five other tribes by 1989 (i.e., Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians; Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians; Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon; the Coquille Tribe; and the Klamath Tribes).

State Consultation

As summarized above, the state's concept of tribal consultation in Oregon began with a general lack of recognition for the need of it; instead generally relying on the federal government's promotion of a path of acculturation and assimilation. On lands that were ceded to the state, continued resource use, including that of fishing and hunting, was generally seen as in common with all other citizens of the state, managed and protected under state laws and regulations, without recognition of earlier rights to tribes that were retained from their original treaties. Such differing management views sparked multiple legal disputes throughout the twentieth century, which personified the State-Tribal relationship in Oregon. Disagreements over fishing, hunting, and water rights were often in the courts with the first major fishing case reaching the U.S. Supreme Court in 1905 (U.S. v. Winans) affirming Indian off-reservation treaty rights. Many major subsequent court decisions (Table 2) were fought in the Federal and U.S. Supreme Court (e.g., Winter v. U.S. [1908]; Tulee v. Washington [1942]; U.S. v. Oregon [1968]; Puyallup Tribe v. Department of Game 391 U.S. 392 [1968]; Sohappy v. Smith [1969]; U.S. v. Washington [1974]) where rulings served to better define tribal rights, but resulted in increased tension between the State of Oregon and tribal peoples.

Following the federal government's recognition of the need for a closer relationship with Tribes (e.g., Nixon (1970); Reagan (1983);

Table 2. Major Policies and Decisions affecting Tribal Rights in Oregon.

Year	Court Case	Focus
1855	Treaties w/Columbia River Tribes	Three Indian treaties signed ceding lands and formation of Indian reservations while retaining tribal rights to fish, hunt, pasture horses and collect plants on open & unclaimed lands within ceded lands.
1880–1920	Unalloted tribal lands sold	Diminishment of treaty rights by selling unalloted lands to non-Indian settlement (e.g., 1887 Dawes Act).
1905	US v. Winans (198 U.S. 371)	1st major fishing rights case to reach Supreme Court - affirmed right to cross non-Indian land to get to fishing sites. State ownership of beds and banks of navigable waters can not deprive Indians right of access to exploit fishing. Fishing not a grant of right to tribe but grant of right from them (not ceded to federal gov't in treaties).
1908	Winter v. U.S. (207 U.S. 564)	Reservations created with purpose of converting Indians to agrarian societies; however, on arid/semi-arid lands, irrigation necessary. Indian reserved water rights defined.
1937	Bonneville Project Act (Ch. 720, 50 Stat. 731)	Act led to the creation of 11 dams along the Columbia River within the US, starting with the Bonneville Dam and the destruction of the Cascade Locks.
1942	Tulee v. Washington (315 U.S. 681)	Treaty fishing rights over state licensing restrictions upheld; however, conservation issues need to be considered.
1948	Mitchell Act (Public Law 75-502)	1st passed in 1938, Act authorized federal agencies to use state agencies for fish and wildlife conservation work. In 1948, the Corps authorized funds to construct 25 new fish hatcheries, only two of which were located above the Bonneville Dam; lands that were accessed by tribes.
1954	House Concurrent Resolution 108	All western Oregon Tribes (Public Law 588) and the Klamath Tribe (Public Law 587) had tribal status terminated. Reservations were dissolved and Indians now subject to state laws and regulations.
1954	Public Law 280	Allowed state governments to assume criminal and civil authority over Indian reservations where earlier treaties were no longer recognized.
1957	Celilo Falls flooded	Destruction of Celilo Falls, a major fishery on the Columbia River, with the construction of The Dalles Dam.
1961	The Columbia Treaty	Treaty between Canada and the U.S. relating to cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin (primary focus on flood control and hydro power). Indian fishing rights not considered.
1962	Organized Village of Kake, et al. v. Egan, 369 U.S. 60, 75 (1962)	The United States Supreme Court has noted that "[i]t has never been doubted that States may punish crimes committed by Indians, even reservation Indians, outside of Indian country," including on lands where tribes have reserved hunting and fishing rights.
1968	U.S. v. Oregon (302 F. Supp. 899)	State conservation regulations can't discriminate against tribes. Addresses hunting & fishing as well as water rights.
1968	Puyallup v. Dept. of Game (391 U.S. 392; 414 U.S. 44, 48)	State may regulate fishing off reservation lands if necessary to conserve fish. Reaffirmation of 1942 Tule v. Washington.
1969	Sohappy v. Smith (302 F. Supp.899, 907)	Four river tribes entitled to fair share of fish. Fourteen Yakama tribal members filed suit against Oregon's regulation regarding off-reservation fishing.
1974	U.S. v. Washington (384 F. Sup. 312)	Reaffirmed reserved right of tribes to act along side of state as co-managers of salmon and other fish. Indians retain rights to fair and equitable share (50%).

Table 2 (cont). Major Policies and Decisions affecting Tribal Rights in Oregon.

Year	Court Case	Focus
1974	Settler v. Lameer (507 F. 2d 231)	Treaty fishing rights recognized as a tribal right not individual right. Tribes can regulate Indian fishing on and off reservation.
1985	ODF&W v. Klamath Tribes (473 U.S. 753)	Off reservation activities by Indians subject to state laws in the absence of federal or treaty law to contrary. Activities within ceded lands regulated by state unless treaty reserves rights.
1986	State v. Jim (725 P. 2d 365)	As a general rule, states have jurisdiction to enforce non-discriminatory laws against Indians off the reservation. State hunting and fishing laws do not apply to an Indian exercising his tribal right unless there is a conservation necessity. Ruling follows many previous cases that addressed similar restrictions (Mescalero Apache Tribe v. Jones, 411 US 145, 148-49 (1973) citing Puyallup Tribe v. Department of Game, 391 US 392, 398 (1968); Organized Village of Kake v. Egan, 369 US 60, 75-76 (1962); Tulee v. Washington, 315 US 681, 683 (1942); Shaw v. Gibson Zahniser Oil Corp., 276 US 575 (1928); Ward v. Race Horse, 163 US 504 (1896)).
1988	18 U.S.C. Section 1151	If non-member fee lands remain part of reservation, lands are considered part of Indian country thus subject to authority of Congress to regulate tribal & reservation affairs. If fee lands are no longer part of reservation, they are not Indian country and state courts prosecute crimes.
2002	U.S. v. Adair (187 F. Supp 2d 1273)	Klamath tribal water rights necessary to maintain in-stream flows and lake levels to protect treaty rights to fish, wildlife, and plants, has precedence over all others. Rights granted immemorial.
2007	State v. Watters, 211 Or. App. 628	Reinforced lack of reserved treaty right to hunt on private property located outside of a current reservation, but within the boundaries of the earlier ceded lands under treaty.

Clinton (1994)) and encouragement to states to also reach out, changes in state legislation began to be made in the 1980s and 1990s in this direction. The recognition of tribes as key players that need to be consulted when dealing with all policies affecting life in Oregon (Griffin 2019), including both natural and cultural resources, were initially highlighted by Governors Vic Atiyeh and John Kitzhaber (Griffin 2009) and continue to be recognized today under Governor Kate Brown (Rippee, this issue). Today consultation with tribes is strongly encouraged although every agency and archaeologist continue to have their own definition of what consultation really means. Today we find ourselves with nine strong federally-recognized tribes in Oregon, seven of which have their own archaeologists and operate their own federally-recognized Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) (i.e., the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation and the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation established their THPO offices in 1996, the Coquille Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians, and the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon in 2011, the Cow Creek Band of the Lower Umpqua Indians in 2013, and the Burns Paiute Tribe in 2017), while the remaining two Tribes (the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians

and Klamath Tribes) both maintain historic preservation offices and are active in trying to protect cultural resources important to their tribes.

Tribal Role in CRM

Since the late 1990s, the role of Tribes in state cultural resource legislation increased from zero to being a central player (Griffin 2009). The recognition of who a tribe is and what interests they have in Oregon history greatly expanded as Tribes became more economically self-sufficient and learned how the legislative process could work for them. The Legislative Commission on Indian Services (LCIS), created in 1975, served a central role in this awareness (Quigley, this issue). Galvanized by controversies that involved damage or desecration to human burials, Northwest tribes were able to form a united front to confront what they saw as a growing problem of the lack of understanding and consultation. Together they sponsored legislative changes to cultural resource statutes from 1979 to today.

In order for consultation with tribes to be effective, first and foremost, both state and federal agencies need to both recognize and respect the state's Indigenous people and their territory, both traditional and current (Fuller 1997). Once such a recognition is made, trust must be developed so that parties are able to enter into agreements addressing site preservation, proper mitigation measures, procedures for the disposition of human remains, and the recognition and treatment of cultural items, which reflects an understanding of cultural continuity. It is important that government agencies recognize the dignity and respect for tribal cultural and traditional heritage, even though such agencies may not fully comprehend their significance (Fuller 1997 in Swindler et al. 1997; Rice 1997; Burney 1991 in Burney and Van Pelt 2002). "The ability and desire of any tribe to collaborate with outside CRM professionals depend in no small part on the attitudes of the individual agencies involved" (Stapp 2002:xii).

To assist with the establishment of such a consultation process, in the 1990s the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation began to develop a tribal workshop for agency personnel to provide agencies an opportunity to work with Indian people. The tribe also provided recommendations regarding how consultations with tribes could be developed by creating a forum for tribal consultation to help participating agencies working in an area in order to try to understand their people, culture and reservation (Burney 1991 in Burney and Van Pelt 2002:28–30). The concept of a forum where tribes and agency personnel could sit down at the table and begin to understand each other in order to establish trust, in the short term, and a long-standing working relationship in the long term, has been embraced in Oregon and is reflected in the range of articles included within this issue.

Organization of this Collection

Karen Quigley, the recently retired, long-term Director of Oregon's Legislative Commission on Indian Services (LCIS), discusses the state's recognition in the 1970s to glaring gaps in the provision of state services to Indians in Oregon which led to the creation of the LCIS. Created in 1975, this commission provided Tribes a seat at the table in trying to address this inequality, while educating state agencies regarding Tribal sovereignty, and the development of a better understanding and communication between the State and Tribes. Quigley's article summarizes the importance of the LCIS in its 45 years of existence.

Stemming from the work of this commission and the increased interaction between state agencies and Tribes, Kassandra Rippee and Dennis Griffin each discuss different state/tribal working groups that have been established by the State of Oregon to help develop an understanding among agency personnel of Tribal history, culture, and current interests so that future areas of conflict can be recognized

before they become a problem, and by working together staff from the respective agencies and Tribes can identify solutions. Articles by Carolyn Holtoff and Nancy Nelson provide individual state agency perspectives on how their two agencies, the Oregon Department of Transportation and Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, respectively, have reached out in their own way to consult and work closely with each of Oregon's nine federally-recognized Tribes. To complete the issue, Dennis Griffin provides insight on other ongoing State/Tribal programs that are seeking new ways to improve communication and understanding between the people of Oregon and the nine federally-recognized Tribes within its borders. Recognition of existing problems and potential future directions that State agencies and Tribes can take to improve cultural resource consultation in Oregon is also highlighted.

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45 Years at the Table: The Creation and Role of the Oregon Legislative Commission on Indian Services

Karen Quigley

Abstract *Since its creation in 1975, the Legislative Commission on Indian Services (LCIS) has been Oregon's key 'table' for discussion of state-tribal issues. The goal of the 'seat at the table' approach is to promote discussion designed to minimize detrimental state action and help coordinate positive and effective interaction between state and tribal governments, whenever and wherever possible. This paper will focus on the history and statutory responsibilities of LCIS. It will touch on areas in which LCIS plays an active role in areas related to tribal cultural issues.*

When the Oregon Legislative Commission on Indian Services (LCIS) was created 45 years ago the situation for Tribes and tribal communities in Oregon was bleak. Only three Tribes far removed from the main population areas retained their lands, management of their resources, and federal support. The ill-conceived and harmful Federal Termination policy of the mid-1950s decimated the Klamath and Tribes in Western Oregon. The U.S. government unilaterally asserted that specific groups of Indians were fully assimilated in majority society, and the federal government was free to disregard its treaty and other obligations as far as these Tribes and tribal people were concerned.

From the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s there was no structure in Oregon to get the attention of the State to address the devastation the Termination policy left in its wake. Targeted Tribes and tribal people lost federal dollars for tribal government services like healthcare, public safety, and natural resources management and were essentially ignored by the State.

At the same time, the population on the Warm Springs and Umatilla reservations as well as at Burns Paiute—even though these Tribes had not been subjected to Termination—continued to be poorly served by the State and experienced disproportionately high unemployment and negative health outcomes compared to other Oregonians.

By the 1970s glaring gaps in the provision of state services for Indians throughout Oregon existed. It was as if the State was unaware of these citizens.

In response, Tribal Leaders and others advocated for a permanent mechanism for the State to learn about its Tribes, tribal people, and tribal priorities. Tribes wanted 'a seat at the table' especially during this period in which the relationship with the federal government was in flux, and it was obvious state action (or inaction) could jeopardize or negatively impact Tribes and tribal communities.

The original roster of LCIS members included a representative from each of three named Tribes (Warm Springs, Umatilla and Burns Paiute) and designated reps from "Regional Areas" (e.g., Northwest, Willamette Valley, and Portland Urban Area) to represent Indian populations which had moved away from tribal areas, Indians not associated with Oregon Tribes as well as Tribes that were in a suspended state due to Termination. In addition, two legislators were appointed including Vic Atiyeh (then State Senator and later Governor) who was perhaps the individual who had the deepest and most heartfelt relationship with Tribes and tribal people in Oregon history. As a legislator he championed the effort with Tribal Leaders and others to get the Oregon Legislature to adopt a bill in the 1975 Session that created LCIS. Later, as Governor, he continued stressing the importance of listening to and working with Tribes.

That's a little history about the context in which LCIS was created. From the outset the

goal was to develop better understanding and communication in Oregon between the State and Tribes. Importantly, Tribal Leaders would have direct representation. They were guaranteed a seat at the table by explicit statutory language in the bill creating LCIS.

The need for a larger table and increased communication accelerated as the Termination policy was repudiated and as six Tribes regained federal recognition and started to rebuild their nations starting with the Siletz in 1977.

Over the following decades, the need for the State and Tribes to sit at the same table, consistently and face-to-face in order to learn about each other and to learn how to work together where possible, became equally crucial with shifts in the federal government's relation with and funding for States as well as the federal government's approach to Tribes (devolution/block grants to States and supporting self-determination and self-sufficiency for Tribes). The underlying hope in this era of evolving relationships with the federal government was for both Tribes and the State to figure out how to talk and work with each other, where appropriate, rather than squander scarce State and Tribal resources in court battles.

This was especially true given the dramatic changes in terms of the restoration of federal recognition for several Tribes in Western Oregon from 1977–1989 and the interests of all tribal sovereigns to serve their people and exercise their legal and political authority.

LCIS served as the vehicle to accommodate some of the conversations this changing landscape required. LCIS remains valuable because it is a forum that acknowledges the State and its neighbor-Tribal sovereigns and their need to keep in touch.

The list of nine federally-recognized Tribal governments in Oregon today was set in state statute 30 years ago after the restoration of the Coquille Indian Tribe in 1989. In addition to the legislators (currently four), LCIS is composed of one representative from the following:

- Burns Paiute Tribe
- Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw
- Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians
- Coquille Indian Tribe
- Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde
- Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians
- Klamath Tribes
- Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation
- Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.

Growth in capacity and organizational structure of all nine tribal governments in Oregon is remarkable (especially in the past two decades in terms of tribal government departments, number of employees, and programs and services), but by no means have all Tribes developed at the same pace. Critically, LCIS meetings highlight the areas in which Tribes have similar concerns, but the meetings also serve as a reminder of their unique and distinct differences—just as states may come together for discussions as equals even though they maintain their differences in history, size, resources, structure, goals, and priorities.

Certain things were set out in the original statute creating LCIS that serve to make it such an effective mechanism for building positive State-Tribal relations today. LCIS remains the key advisory body dealing with Indian issues for the Executive and Legislative Branch of Oregon government. Its main charge is to monitor state agency action and make recommendations for improvement. The legislators on LCIS often serve as the chief sponsors of bills introduced after discussion at LCIS meetings of issues that require a 'legislative fix.' Other times, LCIS as a body specifically requests a bill be introduced, as it did in 2001 to have Oregon Legislature become the first in the nation to direct its state agencies to work with the nine Tribes in Oregon on a government-to-government basis (Oregon Revised Statute 182.162–182.168).

As governed by its own statute, LCIS gathers information and provides general advice but does

not supplant the individual decision-making authority of each of the nine distinct sovereigns and their Tribal Councils or Board of Trustees. LCIS does not interfere with the relationship each Tribe has with the State or specific state agencies nor does it interfere with relations between Tribes.

Many topics are brought up at LCIS meetings for each Tribal LCIS member to bring back to their Council or Board of Trustees for further deliberation. The goal is always to get as much useful information to Tribal and State decision-makers.

Here are a few examples of how it works. LCIS holds three or four formal meetings a year, usually in a hearing room at the State Capitol as well as special meetings, as needed.

Along with Commission member reports, the agenda focuses on a couple of areas like healthcare, natural resources, cultural resources, economic development, public safety, veterans, education, etc. Agency Directors or lead managers come to report to LCIS and discuss with LCIS members how they are working with Tribes, provide details on any new initiatives, agency reorganization, new legislation, proposed rulemaking, funding, or any other issues that may be of interest to Tribes (now or in the future).

For example, at one meeting several years ago, the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD) came to discuss a draft department policy, which would give access to Tribes and their members to perform ceremonies and gather cultural materials without a permit. OPRD asked for tribal input and guidance on how to proceed. Some Tribal Leaders said they wanted OPRD to make a presentation to their Tribal Council, others suggested OPRD talk to their cultural department staff, some said to go and listen to their elders, and some directed OPRD to run the draft policy by their legal department.

Sometimes LCIS meetings are a way to formalize the next steps on a topic that has been discussed for months or even years at previous LCIS meetings and/or in other settings, such as one of the government-to-government clusters or issue-oriented workgroups.

For example, a few years ago, LCIS members directed the LCIS Executive Director request the Governor sign an Executive Order to create a Task Force on Tribal Cultural Items. Because of its solid reputation as a body with representation and participation by leadership from all nine Tribal governments, requests such as this one, as well as direction or guidance from LCIS, are met positively and taken seriously by the Governor, Legislative Leadership and State Agencies.

LCIS made one such request that had huge ramifications for the State-Tribal relations we have today. In 1995 LCIS asked that an Executive Order be signed by then Governor John Kitzhaber that would direct state agencies to work with the Tribes in Oregon on a government-to-government basis and directed state agencies to explore partnerships in areas of mutual concern.

Significantly each state agency would be required to communicate with Tribes about their state agency policies and programs that may affect tribal interests (i.e., EO-96-30).

Monitoring state agency attitudes and behaviors regarding this State-Tribal government-to-government relationship is something LCIS continues to take as a very important part of its responsibility.

LCIS meetings and between-meetings communication include discussion about topics for the Annual State-Tribal Summit and annual state agency training required in the government-to-government Executive Order and statute. Because cultural issues are such a high priority for Tribes, LCIS has assured that the focus of Summits and trainings regularly include awareness of tribal cultural sites, items, tools, languages and traditions, and focus on ways to provide the tribal perspective, i.e., to relate the meaning and importance of all these things to Tribes so that State officials and employees have a better comprehension of why State-Tribal work matters for all Oregonians.

LCIS regularly discusses State responsibility in understanding the paramount importance of Tribal Sovereignty and Culture as the foundation for State-Tribal relationships. LCIS regularly

considers ways to educate and train state officials, public employees, the public, the media, and organizations about the importance of working effectively with Tribes by pursuing interactions built on respect for sovereignty and developing mutual trust, by pursuing interactions built on full communication and effective engagement with the Tribes who have lived on these lands and waters since time began.

As part of on-going education about Tribes and the significance of sovereignty, LCIS annually hosts Tribal Governments Day at the State Capitol for legislators, legislative staff, state agencies, Governor's staff, and the public (during the Legislative Session) and requests the Governor sign a Proclamation (in May) declaring American Indian Week in Oregon.

It is important to note that the establishment of LCIS in the Legislative Branch, as opposed to an Indian Affairs Advisor who works for the Governor (which is the model in many states), has been a unique asset. One reason why this is an advantage is there are times when the Governor's policy is in conflict with the position of one or more Tribes. For example, in Oregon, the Governor has the authority to sign gaming compacts. This has the potential to put Tribes and the Governor's Office in an adversarial position, as do some other situations involving natural resources co-management and other areas in which both the State and Tribes have governing and policy making authority.

LCIS—because it is focused on information gathering, discussion, and advising—remains a more or less neutral setting. As such, it has some advantage to allow for working on issues without a spotlight or potential negative political pressure.

The Oregon model with LCIS in the role of a State-Tribal advisory body in the Legislative Branch acknowledges the importance of the Legislature's impact and potential impact on Tribes.

It is the Legislature that sets policy through adoption of laws that can affect tribal interests. It is the Legislature that has authority to fund agency budgets whose work can either support or negatively affect tribal priorities.

The State Legislature uses LCIS as the vehicle to carry out various state laws. LCIS is charged with identifying appropriate Indian Tribes to be notified and consulted for archaeological permits and in the event of inadvertent discoveries suspected of being Native American.

Numerous state statutes (as well as agency regulations relating to various statutes) require consultation with and/or reporting to LCIS when state agencies are developing plans or implementing programs.

LCIS maintains an office at the State Capitol with a staff of two. The Executive Officer and Commission Assistant maintain a website www.oregonlegislature.gov/cis which contains some background information, a key contact directory, past agendas and minutes of LCIS meetings, as well as links to the websites of Oregon's nine Tribes. The LCIS Office is the place to start when there is a question about "who to call." LCIS staff may also provide basic guidance on ways to make contact, make suggestions about how to improve the likelihood of getting feedback, and point to ways in which a caller (or emailer) can get the information they seek. As an important first step, LCIS staff might suggest what Tribes should be contacted. If you need help, please contact lcis@oregonlegislature.gov, 503-986-1067.

Both LCIS and its staff are committed to assuring effective communication and meaningful engagement between the State of Oregon and the Tribal Governments in Oregon today and going forward. They invite you to join them in this on-going effort.

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Culture Cluster: An Oregon Approach to Good Faith Relationships

Kassandra Rippee

Abstract *Successful intergovernmental relationships rely on good communication that is adaptable, depending on the desired results and the participating governments. For decades, the State of Oregon has worked to promote positive relationships between the State and the nine federally-recognized Tribes of Oregon. Oregon's government-to-government "clusters," nine workgroups made up of representatives from each of the nine Tribes and state agencies, each focusing on key areas of concern including cultural resources, natural resources, and education. The Culture Cluster meets four times a year and has regular participation from the nine Tribes and nineteen State agencies. The efforts of this group have increased agency and public awareness of cultural resource issues and tribal history, and reinforced relationships between each of the Tribes and the State.*

Introduction

In Oregon, State and Tribal governments have worked for several decades to develop relationships built on trust through effective, collaborative communication to support our shared goals. Good faith efforts towards consultation and cultural resources management are based on an expectation of timeliness, honesty, and respect. These efforts also must acknowledge the special expertise held by tribes in identifying and addressing effects on resources significant to them.

"The relationship between Tribal and non-tribal people is challenged from the start by a difference in cultural perspectives. These challenges are not insurmountable, but change must come from a place of understanding the historical trauma endured by tribal nations and with a respect for their traditional cultural values and identities" (Rippee and Scott 2019:1).

Oregon's history long predates its colonization by Euro-Americans and the establishment of its statehood. Native people trace their ties to the land since time immemorial passing down the historic record through oral tradition. Euro-American arrival in the area and their introduction to tribes throughout the region spanned from the 1790s to the 1820s when soldiers, miners, and fur trappers began documenting their experiences and observations in journals and correspondence (Beck 2009). Later, others recorded Native histories and oral testimonies in journals and on wax recordings.

The mid-1800s saw Euro-American immigration and resource exploitation expand throughout the Oregon Territory resulting in conflict and massacre (Tveskov 2000; Cain and Rosman 2017). Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Oregon Territory Anson Dart (1850–1852) and Joel Palmer (1853–1856) negotiated at least 24 of 38 treaties signed in the Oregon Territory, the majority of which went unratified. Despite this, the federal government granted unceded tribal lands to Euro-American settlers through the Oregon Donation Land Act forcibly removing and marching many Native communities to reservations far from their homes (Bensell 1959; Cain and Rosman 2017; Lang 2020; Lewis 2020).

Federal Indian policy continued to adjust, disrupting life amongst the Native communities. Through the end of the nineteenth century, Native children were separated from their families and sent to boarding schools and vocational programs to speed assimilation into Euro-American society (Beck 2009). Reservations were diminished and/or disestablished in favor of allotments. The allotment system, established by the 1887 General Allotment Act, was set up for failure from the start by separating tribal families and imposing on allottees a taxation scheme with which they had no prior experience. Many subsequently lost their allotments.

In the 1950s, Tribal nations experienced a renewed era of federal infringement on their sovereignty. The goal of federal Indian policy in the mid-twentieth century was to eliminate federal oversight of Tribes through several acts of Congress. Enacted in 1953, Public Law 83-280 ("PL280") obligated six states, including Oregon, to assume jurisdiction over criminal and civil jurisdiction on tribal reservations effectively removing federal authority to prosecute crimes in Indian County (Prucha 1986). PL280 jurisdiction would go on to be extended to several more states between 1953 and 1968. In 1954, Congress passed two Oregon Termination Acts, terminating the federal recognition and oversight of the Klamath and over 60 tribes and bands in western Oregon (Fixico 2020). Holdings were sold off or lost, enrollment of new members was prohibited, and the federal government-to-government relationship (including services and the right to consultation) was abolished. Each of these acts, at their most base intent, was tactic for forced assimilation into Western society. Please note that this brief summary cannot adequately articulate the harm caused by federal Indian policy and only seeks to contextualize the history of government-to-government relationships with Tribes in Oregon.

Recognizing Relationships

The relationship between the federal government and tribes is one between sovereigns, and so it is important to understand that only federally-recognized tribes share a government-to-government relationship with the United States. Federal laws like the National Historic Preservation Act (1996) establish a requirement for meaningful consultation with federally-recognized tribes, but those without ratified treaties and terminated tribes are not eligible to consult at a government-to-government level on issues which affect them. After having endured termination, many tribes had to fight for the restoration of their federal recognition. Between 1977 and 1989, six tribes in Oregon successfully regained federal recognition of their status as sovereign nations (Fixico 2020).

The federal obligation to consult is not extended to the states. Acknowledging this gap, the State of Oregon became the first state in the nation to pass laws establishing government-to-government relationships between the State and Tribes. The Legislative Commission on Indian Services (LCIS) was created in 1975 to improve coordination and communication between the State of Oregon and the federally-recognized Tribes in Oregon (Oregon State Legislature 2020). LCIS set the stage for a cooperative government-to-government relationship between the State of Oregon and the (now) nine federally-recognized Tribes. Governor Kitzhaber (1996) formally acknowledged the unique relationship that exists between the State and the Tribes with Executive Order 96-30. Kitzhaber emphasized the need to build relationships with respect. A few years later, Senate Bill 770 (2001) established the framework of what would become the State of Oregon's robust government-to-government relationship with the Tribes. Under this framework, state agencies were directed to develop and implement a policy to promote communication between agencies and the Tribes, to identify programs that affect tribes, and to coordinate with Tribes in the implementation of agency programs which affect them.

"Cluster" groups were developed out of these efforts to improve the relationships between the nine Tribes and the State of Oregon. As of 2020, there are nine Cluster groups made up of representatives from Oregon's state agencies and each of the nine Tribes, each Cluster with a focus on key subjects of concern including cultural resources, natural resources, and education.

Culture as a Focus

Cultural resources were initially encompassed as part of the Natural Resources Cluster. It quickly became clear that culture and cultural resources, though intrinsically connected to Natural Resources and other key

subjects, is too important a topic to be limited as a subheading to another. Culture needed its own space to cover all necessary topics so that all voices could be heard (Don Ivy 2020, pers. comm.). Six agencies immediately recognized their participation as critical in this newly formed group: Department of Transportation (ODOT), Parks and Recreation (OPRD/SHPO), State Police (OSP), Department of Forestry (ODF), Department of Fish and Wildlife (ODFW), and Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) (Culture Cluster 1999). From there, the work began to bring other agencies to the table. The principle that culture pervades all subjects is embodied in the way the Culture Cluster functions today, covering a wide range of topics including archaeological resource management, natural resources of cultural significance, infrastructure planning, and more. The Cluster meets four times a year with regular participation from the nine federally-recognized Tribes in Oregon, nineteen state agencies, and one university. Occasionally, joint meetings are also held with other Cluster groups.

Early efforts focused on aligning common interests to improve how culture and cultural resources are addressed throughout the state. The Culture Cluster held its second meeting in 1999 hosted by the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Indian Reservation at Tamastslikt Cultural Institute and developed an action plan identifying four goals which are still common themes for discussion.

Education and Training

The State of Oregon has 35 agencies and over 40,000 full time employees. A few own or manage public land, others provide support and services, and several issue permits or authorizations. One of the primary objectives of the Culture Cluster is to improve agency representatives' understanding of the Tribal perspective to improve programs and policies and to support cultural resources protection. Through this work, agencies and Tribes have collaborated on educational videos and training opportunities including workshops, summits, and other educational aids such as the Preservation of Cultural and Historic Resources of Oregon brochure (available on the SHPO website). Some of these materials become available as educational material for the public. Presently, there is no one place where someone can go to view all this information, it is instead spread out on each agency's respective websites and databases.

The role of the public in cultural resources protection cannot be understated. Oregon has a long history of significant Tribal places (commonly referred to as archaeological sites) being looted and irreparably damaged, resulting in Tribal belongings and ancestors separated from the resting places and unceremoniously stored in museums, offices, and individual's homes (Rippee and Scott 2019). The problem persists in many ways; one only has to spend a few minutes on social media to see photographs of arrowhead collections or requests for identification of the object someone found while hiking to know that the public is interested in what came before. Therein lies a part of the challenge. Public attention is often directed at material culture, which leads to loss of belongings (a.k.a., artifacts) and destruction of place. The Culture Cluster seeks avenues for improved education and awareness at museums, universities, and schools to engage the public in learning about Native heritage, history, and how to be good stewards of cultural resources by integrating Tribal perspectives and respectful language. Awareness, understanding, and respect will always be our most effective way to protect cultural resources.

Site Protection and Planning

Cultural resources encompass a variety of resource types typically including physical places (commonly referred to as archaeological and historic sites or properties, designations which problematically emphasize a Western/Eurocentric

ethos), tangible materials such as objects, and natural materials of cultural significance. It is difficult to develop a comprehensive definition that encompasses all things considered to be cultural resources by all communities so the definition varies depending on the source and the purpose. Furthermore, many of these places and objects are understood by the Tribes to be sacred. The language used by scientists and governments to define them rarely account for their significance to the Tribes. Recently, the Tribal Cultural Items Taskforce (2020) developed a working definition which serves as a guide to help agencies evaluate what types of items/resources they manage or possess and which can serve as a starting point for others.

The Culture Cluster has served as a forum for Tribes and agencies to coordinate on how existing rules, regulations, and policies affect all cultural resources, evaluate how they are working, and identify how they can be improved. By looking at the issues from the experience and understanding of both agency and Tribal representatives, new processes are developed to establish accountability for the protection of those resources identified as significant by Tribal governments.

In a recent example, Tribal representatives recognized a gap in a state agency's construction activities where staging and disposal areas were not addressed as part of project development within the agency, but rather by contractors after the fact. Agency representatives did not specifically review these locations nor were they identified early enough in the process to be evaluated through Tribal consultation. To resolve the issue, the agency developed a pilot program to test a new process by which staging and disposal areas would be reviewed. While the pilot remains in progress, the agency reports out at Cluster meetings where Tribal representatives can provide feedback. The Cluster affords agency and Tribal representatives the opportunity to learn from one another by hearing how each addresses various issues and by lending the voices of additional perspectives and expertise.

Funding and Other Resource Needs

Protection and preservation of cultural resources is a long-term effort which must be incorporated into day-to-day operations and planning. Unfortunately, not all agencies have the staff to conduct cultural resources review. These agencies must have a plan for addressing cultural resources issues, regardless, though some of these plans are more effective than others. With this in mind, the Culture Cluster continues to work towards the original Action Plan objective which called for consistency across agencies (Culture Cluster 1999). Funding is, of course, necessary to conduct all of this work and cultural resources are often one of the last areas to receive it. Lack of funding, however, is never a reason not to do the right thing. From the beginning, representatives have highlighted the need for additional cultural resources staff to support cultural resources protection. Partnerships across agencies and collaboration between agencies and Tribes have been developed to fill a small part of this need, but are far from fulfilling what is needed. Recent events have resulted in a significant reduction to budget and staffing across the agencies. We have yet to see what the full effects will be or how they will be addressed.

Funding and staff are not the only barriers to cultural resource protection. Not all sites are known and not all known sites are recorded in the SHPO database. Data sharing remains limited across agencies and between agencies and Tribes, largely due to concerns about confidentiality. Some have expressed frustration that it is difficult to protect resources without knowing where they are located. Certainly agencies with cultural resources staff have higher levels of access to sensitive data than others, owing both to the credentials of the individuals with that access and to the trust built between Tribes and those agencies who have acknowledged the need for and dedicated staff to the protection of Tribally significant places and resources. Advances in technology

may provide solutions to some of these issues; however, agencies and Tribes alike still need staff and funding to successfully work through any solutions. These challenges and concerns remain as relevant today as they were in 1999.

Communication

Communication is a critical element in relationships. Government-to-government relationships are no different. Agencies and Tribes are not merely other jurisdictions we must deal with, they are partners with whom we get to work. That does not mean it is always simple. With thirty-five agencies and nine Tribes, how and when to begin notification, coordination, and consultation can be confusing. So much so that the State of Oregon has dedicated staff under LCIS to support agencies and local governments in conducting effective communications with the nine Tribes. It is important to keep in mind that each Tribe is its own sovereign government. As such, each has its own processes for communication and consultation. To that point, not all communication is consultation. Culture Cluster is one of the ways in which staff coordinate on significant issues which may be elevated to formal consultation with Tribal leadership. It is an opportunity for Tribes and agencies alike to gather information and to share experience and values. In doing so, we improve our understanding, develop positive relationships, and increase our opportunities for success.

Success is measured through positive actions acknowledging the significance of cultural resources. Clear and consistent communication is the most basic element to that success. Culture Cluster has served for over two decades as a bridge for collaborative work through understanding and trust. Our work is only beginning.

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Intergovernmental Cultural Resource Council (ICRC)—The Creation of a State/Federal/Tribal Working Group on Cultural Resources

Dennis G. Griffin

Abstract *Beginning in 2005, state and federal agencies' cultural resource staff began to get together three times a year in an informal group known as the Interagency Cultural Resource Council or ICRC. The brainchild of Roger Roper, Oregon State Historic Preservation Office's (ORSHPO) Deputy Director, this group was formed to promote informal but effective cultural resource management discussions in Oregon. ORSHPO recognized that state and federal agencies deal with cultural resources on a regular basis and share many of the same issues and concerns. Having regular contact with one another would provide a mechanism for generating workable solutions. In 2014 Oregon's nine federally-recognized Tribes were invited to join the ICRC with the name being changed to the Intergovernmental Cultural Resource Council. This article summarizes the results of the past 15 years of meetings, both in tracking the changes that have occurred in our discipline since the group's inception and those problems that were early recognized and remain with us today.*

Introduction

Roger Roper joined the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office (ORSHPO) as the Associate Deputy Historic Preservation Officer in 2003. Upon his arrival he noted that there was a general absence of dialogue between state and federal agencies outside of the normal Section 106 review process under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Since 1998, State agencies had regularly met and consulted with the state's nine federally-recognized Tribes regarding issues relating to cultural resources through the auspices of the Culture Cluster, a state/tribal working group that was formed following an Executive Order by Governor Kitzhaber in 1996 (EO-96-30), and later codified into statute in 2001 (ORS 182.162-168). Kitzhaber's Executive Order was inspired by President Clinton's earlier 1994 Memorandum on Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments (April 29, 1994), which instructed federal agencies to build a more effective day-to-day working relationship with tribes reflecting respect for their rights of self-government due to their sovereign status. EO-96-30 represented recognition for the need to improve relations between the State and Oregon's tribes in a similar respectful fashion.

This Executive Order and statute formalized a government-to-government policy with its nine federally-recognized tribes, whereby the state sought to try and improve mutual relations and conditions for both tribal and state citizens. Federal agencies routinely consult with tribes on the effects of undertakings on federal lands, projects that require a federal permit, or use federal funding under Section 106 of the NHPA, in addition to regular government-to-government consultation regarding all other issues affecting both peoples. However, there was no organized informal consultation forum regarding cultural resources occurring between state and federal agency staff. In an attempt to open up an avenue of communication between state and federal agencies, Roper suggested the formation of the Interagency Cultural Resource Council or ICRC.

In the fall of 2005, the ICRC was formed "to promote more effective cultural resource management practices in Oregon. The state and

federal agencies that deal with cultural resources on a regular basis share many of the same issues and concerns" (Roper 2005:1). Roper thought that having regular contact with one another would provide a mechanism for generating workable solutions. The ICRC was envisioned not as a forum to address project-specific issues and concerns that would normally be handled under Section 106. The ORSHPO and several federal agencies were already working under agency-wide and project-specific programmatic agreements (PAs), which offered a streamlined approach to the review of a range of specific activities; however, such PAs further reduced interaction between agencies, and participation in the ICRC was seen as an opportunity to provide staff with a chance to brainstorm about the broader issues affecting our discipline.

While new to Oregon, the concept of such a state-federal working group was already in practice elsewhere. Before joining the ORSHPO, Roper had served as the Deputy Historic Preservation Officer at the Utah SHPO where a similar state-federal forum had been established under an interagency cooperative agreement (Cooperative Agreement 1443-CA-1200-93-006—developed between the Utah Division of State History, the United State of America, and the State of Utah). They called themselves the Interagency Heritage Education, Heritage Tourism and Resource Enhancement Program, or more popularly known as the Interagency Task Force (ITF), and had been in effect since 1990, meeting for two hours four times a year, and they continue to meet regularly today. The formation of the ITF was the brainchild of Utah's long term Deputy SHPO Wilson Martin, with its primary goal seen as a way to try to reduce the cost, time, and all-around bureaucracy of the 106 process. Agencies there thought that there was too much money and too many resources being poured into the 106 process, without generating very meaningful results. Martin drafted up an MOU-type agreement that would be signed by the highest ranking person he could get from the state and federal agencies that agreed to participate. The Utah SHPO felt that it was important to get buy-in from the directors of each agency in order for the whole effort to be taken seriously (Roper 2020, pers. comm.).

In Oregon, Roger Roper took a more laid back approach of extending invitations to different agencies without any formal buy-in process and for the most part, setting up periodic meetings (three times a year) where agency staff were invited to meet, formal meeting notes were not taken, and people simply shared ideas about the issues affecting their agency. Meetings generally lasted all day, with participants responsible for their own travel and lunch. The full day meetings, as opposed to the much shorter ITF meetings in Utah, lent itself to a much different level of discussion than would have otherwise been possible. Roper considered one of the primary benefits of the ICRC was in just providing a forum where agency staff could get better acquainted with each other. This made it easier to get through some of the tough times when a project went south or an agency took a stance that was problematic. By knowing each other, he found we could call each other up and just chat about an issue informally, outside of the formal consultation process that sometimes forces unnatural and unhelpful communication (Roger Roper 2020, pers. comm.).

Agencies that were initially invited to join the ICRC included ten federal agencies (Bureau of Land Management [BLM], U.S. Forest Service [USFS], Army Corps of Engineers [USACE], Bureau of Reclamation [BOR], Bonneville Power Administration [BPA], Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA], U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service [USF&WS], Natural Resource Conservation Service [NRCS], National Park Service [NPS], and Federal Highways Administration [FHWA]) and five state agencies (ORSHPO, Department of Transportation [ODOT], Department of Forestry [ODF], Department of State Lands [DSL], and the Military Department [OMD]). The first meeting was attended by seven of the ten federal agencies and four of the five invited state agencies, so the idea of forming such a

council was both understood and supported by most agencies involved with cultural resource management issues in Oregon.

Participation in the ICRC was not contingent on an agency having an archaeologist on staff, but was directed toward agencies whose mission had the potential to affect cultural resources through regular activities (e.g., timber harvest, livestock grazing, wetland restoration, off-road recreation). Additional federal and state agencies were added to the group as time passed, some of whom later hired their own archaeologist. For example, in 2005 when the ICRC was formed, the only archaeologists working for state agencies were at ORSHPO and ODOT. With the ORSHPO being part of the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD), all OPRD archaeological issues were handled by ORSHPO staff. Once OPRD hired their own archaeologist in 2006, they were also invited to participate in the ICRC. In time, Oregon's DSL, OMD, and Department of Fish and Wildlife (ODF&W) followed suit by hiring their own archaeologists.

The need for many of these later state agency archaeological positions was recognized through the ongoing Culture Cluster discussions between state and tribal entities (Rippee, this issue). Aware of the existence of the state-tribal Culture Cluster, the ICRC sought not to interfere with its purpose, but rather to provide an alternative-like forum between state and federal agency staff, which did not regularly have an opportunity to talk together informally. However, in 2013, Oregon Tribes contacted members of the ICRC asking why they had not been invited to join the ICRC when it was formed. While Tribal-Federal consultation usually was confined to a more formal consultation process between agency leaders (i.e., Big "C" Consultation), tribal staff thought that their joining more informal discussions might benefit all participants. The inclusion of the Tribes was discussed in 2014 with Tribes formally joining ICRC later that year. With their arrival, the group's name was changed to recognize the different participant groups from Interagency to Intergovernmental Cultural Resource Council, which was able to use the same acronym. Today, invitees include 12 federal and nine state agencies, and all of Oregon's nine federally-recognized Tribes.

Following the inclusion of Tribes to the ICRC, the focus of meetings shifted from being a loose discussion forum of general topics of interest to a more specific theme approach to each meeting. Such focused discussions since 2015 have included: 1) Public Education—such as the Archaeology Roadshow and working with para-professionals; 2) Law Enforcement—at both the federal and state level; 3) Innovation and Mitigation—focusing on creative mitigation, programmatic mitigation, and innovative approaches to interpreting the past; 4) Planning —whether that be in the creation of site predictive models, preservation plans, or Historic Property management Plans (HPMP); 5) The recognition, identification and management of Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs), Cultural Landscapes, and Sacred Sites; 6) Assessing adverse effects (both direct and indirect); 7) Internships and Fellowships; 8) Emergency and Disaster Management; and 9) Natural resources as cultural resources—tribally sensitive plant recognition, protection, stabilization and reestablishment, to name but a few.

Participants in ICRC, both in its initial configuration and later following the addition of Oregon's Tribes, have consistently recognized seven general topics that have served as the primary drivers behind group discussions. These included: the recognition of existing heritage programs; improvement in the cultural resource consultation process; data management; training; public education; cultural resource laws and regulations; and site stewardship. While taken together these topics are quite broad, ICRC members have attempted to address each of these issues over the past 15 years with interesting results. This article highlights some of the products or directions our conversations in the ICRC have taken agencies since its inception, and how informal interagency/government forums can greatly assist cultural resource management

discussions when they are separated from project-specific agendas and timelines.

Joint Recognition of National Programs

As participating agencies have joined the ICRC, recognition of national, state, and tribal preservation programs, anniversaries, and training opportunities have been shared (e.g., the Preserve America Program; centennial of the Antiquities Act; USFS's volunteer cultural heritage program Passport in Time; the Oregon Preservation Conference; Pacific Northwest Field School; Oregon's 150 celebration; Oregon Archaeology Celebration; SHPOlooza; tribal awareness training workshops and celebrations). New opportunities for participation and education have been actively encouraged (e.g., PSU's annual Archaeology Roadshow). All agencies and tribes continue to seek an increase in public recognition of the strength of such programs and to encourage broader public participation.

Improvements in the Cultural Resource Consultation Process

Improvements in how federal, state, and tribal agencies address cultural resource management and review activities has been a primary focus among ICRC participants with discussion areas being quite varied. Topics have ranged from how project reviews can be streamlined, to the development of more effective PAs; from the range of data needed to make effective site eligibility determinations, to the use of technicians to conduct cultural resource surveys. Some discussions have yielded much progress while other topics continue to be discussed. Some of the highlights worth mentioning include:

Streamlining Project Reviews

While ORSHPO has assisted in the drafting and signing of many agency-specific and project-specific PAs over the last 15 years, such agreement documents largely take place outside of the ICRC forum. Some may have been initially discussed here, or their need recognized through discussions at our meetings that occurred three times a year; however, the ICRC has tried hard to remain an informal arena where discussions among members seek to involve topics of interest to all participating agencies, rather than focusing on one or a few. However, discussions regarding improvements in cultural resource standards (e.g., linear resource guidance, monitoring, site forms, recordation and evaluation of historic archaeological resource types) have been helpful in the design of several documents that have later been incorporated in broader agency agreement documents.

Site Eligibility Determinations

By 2007, the need to broaden discussions regarding the National Register of Historic Places' (NRHP) eligibility of archaeological sites beyond a singular Criterion D focus, to include an analysis of the four primary NRHP criteria (A-D), was recognized by both tribes and federal and state agencies. However, efforts to achieve such broader evaluation efforts continue with mixed results. Discussions surrounding the amount of information needed to formally evaluate sites, versus seeking a more general agency consensus approach to simply treat sites as eligible, and avoiding them from project impacts was discussed at length. Due to shrinking staff, reduced budgets, and increased duties, the consensus approach was largely adopted by many federal and state agencies in Oregon and formal site eligibility decisions became rare. This approach has more recently been questioned by some federal agencies who now find themselves with thousands of unevaluated sites that they are forced to manage, while knowing that many may not prove to be significant if funding was available for formal testing, or encouragement given to attempt evaluations when such sites were initially recorded. On the state side, the adoption of a general consensus approach to eligibility over formal determinations has more

recently drawn attention with Oregon's passage of HB 2329 during the 2019 legislative session. Effecting future energy projects in the state, this bill informs project applicants that only sites listed on the National Register, or formally recognized by SHPO as eligible or important, need to be considered in future project sitings. This House Bill's finding is in direct opposition with several state cultural resource statutes (ORS 358.920; 390,235; 97.740). Earlier efforts by state and federal agency staff to streamline the eligibility review process may now endanger those sites we once sought to protect. A discussion of this topic will undoubtedly continue into the foreseeable future.

Use of Technicians to do Archaeology in Oregon

In the early 2000s, the USFS and BLM were actively involved in offering yearly training opportunities (Rec-7 Training) to educate agency non-archaeological staff (e.g., foresters, range-conservationists, botanists) in how they could assist in archaeological compliance activities on agency lands, due to the small number of professional archaeologists employed by such agencies and the increasing project workload. Other agencies, such as NRCS, largely relied on non-professionals throughout the United States to conduct all of their archaeological reviews, although in Oregon, a single professional archaeologist was on staff to provide guidance and lead agency efforts. Discussions at ICRC meetings, and at other venues in the state, highlighted the many problems ORSHPO and other professional cultural resource personnel had in accepting investigation reports for projects that were solely conducted in the field and reports drafted by untrained, and often unsupervised, non-archaeologists in meeting agencies' federal obligations to conduct their archaeological surveys and complete Section 106 compliance activities. Within a few years of discussion, all agencies accepted that this policy needed to change and at a regional level, and by 2007 the yearly training course was discontinued, and districts and forests were discouraged from relying on such staff. The reliance on nonprofessionals to conduct professional investigations in Oregon has now largely disappeared, aside from NRCS' continued reliance of offering such participation as part of yearly, directly-supervised training opportunities to nonprofessional agency staff as a means to both educate their staff to the sensitivity of archaeological resources as well as handle their ever increasing workload, largely dealing with private lands.

Data Management

Data Management discussions have focused on a couple of main areas, these being the standardization of archaeological site forms and the management of site data into a single, protected, accessible database. The ICRC has often served as a primary forum to discuss approaches to such standardization and solicit financial support for such efforts.

Site Forms

The standardization of a single state site form used by all agencies was an initial focus of all ICRC participant agencies with efforts made to coordinate all site form fields. However, acceptance of One Form for All faded within a few years of discussion with the national office of the USFS choosing to adopt a nationwide standardized form, the BLM preferring their Oregon Heritage Information Management System (OHIMS) that later morphed into the Oregon Cultural Resource Inventory System (OCRIS) form, and the State of Oregon developing their own state site form which became available online by 2008 and remains the primary form accepted by ORSHPO. Efforts between the State, USFS, and BLM, however, continue to develop a process in the future that will ideally allow a seamless data sharing of site data over a secure system to facilitate the assimilation of site information in Oregon in spite of preferred agency form variations. We are not there yet, but stay tuned!

Database Management

Federal (BLM, USFS) and state agencies (ORSHPO, ODOT) invested money in helping to create and clean-up the state's master GIS archaeological site and survey database and to make this data available to researchers. Their assistance contributed to the ORSHPO's ability to place our GIS archaeological database online in 2014 (Oregon Archaeological Records Remote Access or OARRA), along with access to scanned copies of over 31,000 reports and 43,000 archaeological site forms. Granted, there are still many errors in both the spatial data and linked documents within this system; however, the ORSHPO has come a long way since 2005 and conversations at ICRC and investment by some of its agency members have greatly assisted in this process.

Training

Cultural resource (CR) training opportunities has always been recognized as an important component in assisting agency staff in recognizing the presence of and need to protect these fragile, nonrenewable resources. Impressed by CR awareness training opportunities offered by Washington's Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP), Washington State Parks, and their state's Department of Natural Resources, OPRD and the ORSHPO established a similar CR awareness training, in partnership with the Oregon Department of Forestry (ODF) in 2004. All nine federally-recognized tribes in Oregon participated in the training. While initially only offered to OPRD and ODF staff, and begun before the formation of the ICRC, this forum, as well as that of the state's Culture Cluster, has served to attract greater interest in participation in such awareness training (Nelson, this issue), and the once exclusive OPRD/ODF annual training has now been expanded to include personnel from many other state and federal agencies.

SHPOlooza

The ICRC has provided a good forum for representatives from federal and state agencies and tribal governments to discuss cultural resource management activities in Oregon; however, the need to involve contract archaeologists into such discussions was also seen as important. In 2016, ORSHPO established an opportunity, known as SHPOlooza, for all state, federal, tribal, and private CR staff to come together to talk about important cultural resource issues in Oregon. ICRC discussions helped to highlight this need, and it was used to broaden participation from all groups. Topics at past SHPOlooza events included state archaeology field and reporting guidelines, how to address archaeological site eligibility requirements using all four NRHP criteria, Oregon's state archaeological permit process, the recognition and recordation of TCPs, and mitigation. While sponsored by ORSHPO, participation by other ICRC member agencies enrich the dialogue and increase the effectiveness among archaeologists working in Oregon. These meetings provide a rare opportunity for all cultural resource professionals to sit in one room and discuss some of the most pressing issues to all.

Professional Archaeologists

Since the conception of the ICRC there has been a general increase in the hiring of archaeologists by state agencies over time. At the state level, while it is not possible to directly link this increase to the ICRC, when it started two state agencies employed archaeologists (ORSHPO (2) and ODOT (2)). There are now 16 professional archaeologists working for state agencies (OPRD-3; ORSHPO-4; ODOT-6; DSL-1; ODF&W-1; OMD-1). The need for other state agencies to have professionally trained staff in both archaeology and built-environment resources continues to be a topic at both ICRC and Culture Cluster meetings, with ODOT actively seeking to assist other state agencies in creating shared cultural resource positions, which will hopefully gain traction in the future. A similar

increase in archaeologists employed by federal agencies in Oregon, and within tribal cultural resource protection programs has taken place over this same period highlighting the growing recognition of the importance of and threat to such nonrenewable resources.

Public Education

Following the formation of the ICRC, it was suggested that a forum be established to provide a way to communicate between archaeologists in the state. Such a forum was seen as useful in providing a place to advertise employment opportunities among agencies, training courses being offered, state and regional conferences, and as a forum to discuss topics relevant to cultural resources. Within four months of the initial idea (February 2006), the Archaeology Listserve was formed and administered by ORSHPO, with over 100 members signing up by the end of the first month, and now serving over 479 members. Aside from the Listserve, ICRC members continue to seek to identify other ways that participating agencies could assist in educating the public.

Guidance Documents

The ICRC has proven to be a good forum for the discussion, review, and roll-out of numerous cultural resource guidance documents including revised standards for historic structure surveys, state archaeological field and reporting guidelines, linear guidance documentation, Archaeology Bulletins regarding sites on public and private lands and the state's permit process, and the creation of a historic sites database and architectural style guide. The state's online archaeological database (OARRA) went live in 2014, following some testing by participating ICRC agencies.

Playing Cards

Originally conceived as a means to help increase public awareness of the importance of Oregon's cultural resources, and to celebrate our state's Sesquicentennial Celebration in 2009, ORSHPO created a deck of playing cards that celebrated our state's heritage resources, both archaeological and historic. The cards were designed so that each suit in the deck highlighted a different area of cultural resources (Figure 1); with Spades drawing attention to the range of archaeological site types in the state, Hearts highlighting unique historic structures, Clubs focusing on artifacts and features remaining in the landscape that provide evidence of past human use and occupation, and Diamonds emphasizing the need for education and preservation (Griffin 2011a, 2011b). While ORSHPO conceived the playing cards as a great way to educate the general public regarding the

Figure 1. Four-themed suits in Oregon's Heritage Playing Cards.

state's rich cultural heritage, funding to print the proposed decks was not in the state budget, and the member agencies of the ICRC stepped forward to assist in the printing of 20,000 decks which were distributed to the public in 2010. In 2016, ICRC participating agencies again stepped up to print an additional 20,000 decks that were again distributed for free to the public through many forums.

Laws and Regulations

Discussions regarding changes to state and federal laws and regulations were never seen as a primary focus of the ICRC member agencies, with attention focused more on awareness of current laws. As federal agencies began assisting their neighbors in joint project developments, and began working off federal lands, the ICRC served as a forum to increase awareness of state laws and the state's archaeological permit process. To such agencies, differences in state and federal cultural resource laws were also highlighted with a recognition of where changes may be needed to existing state laws if the state later needed to attempt to mirror federal protection standards (e.g., DSL's proposed partial assumption of the issuance of federal 404 wetland permits which could require state laws to more accurately mirror federal law provisions, and the recognition that Oregon state laws do not currently recognize Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP)). Other law-related issues that have been discussed at ICRC meetings have included: 1) the definition of and current allowance for the collection of an arrowhead from sites on non-federal public and private lands in Oregon; 2) the need for a State Physical Anthropologist to deal with the many cases where human remains are encountered in the state; 3) the difference in age of site recognition (50 years on federal lands vs. 75 years on non-federal public and private lands); and 4) the number of artifacts that constitute an isolate vs. a site (i.e., isolate = one artifact vs. from one to nine artifacts; a site = two or more artifacts vs. ten artifacts).

Site Stewardship

In an effort to work more closely with the public and get extra attention in trying to help monitor and protect archaeological resources in public places, the development of a statewide stewardship program was first introduced at the ICRC by the BLM and later attempted by OPRD along the state's south coast. Both efforts were short-lived and have largely disappeared due to lack of funding and limited staff to coordinate such a program.

Summary

While I am not saying that the members of the ICRC have solved all of the issues highlighted above, this forum has provided an opportunity for staff from many different agencies and tribes to brainstorm around some of the more pressing issues affecting cultural resources today, offering many different perspectives. None of the conversations were necessarily tied to a specific project, funding source, timeline, or directed toward any one group. The opportunities offered through participation in this informal group have indeed met the goals initially set out by Roger Roper, to allow cultural resource practitioners the chance to get better acquainted with each other and chat about issues informally, outside of the formal 106 consultation process. The influence these discussions have had on subsequent agency participation and buy-in on project-specific and resource-wide decisions cannot really be known but they were undoubtedly more helpful than if such a group never existed.

The ICRC is just one opportunity for agencies and tribes to sit down together and discuss topics of mutual concern, but the broad representativeness of these meetings is rare and insightful. The authors of the other articles within this issue highlight other forums or paths agencies are taking to increase a dialogue between state agencies and tribes. What is currently missing from this type of forum is an opportunity to bring in private contract archaeologists who deal with the same problems. Contract

firms are by their very nature tied to project-specific demands, budgets, and timelines, while members of forums such as the ICRC are not always so restricted. The next step to increase the usefulness of such discussions is to provide discussion topics that are more broadly seen as useful to public, tribal and private archaeologists so that all cultural resource practitioners are able to learn more from each other regarding the primary issues of the day. One such topic currently being discussed is how to recognize, record, and evaluate lithic landscapes, which are found throughout much of eastern Oregon. The USFS, BLM, and ORSHPO are currently planning such resource discussions along with area tribal staff. The participation of private contractors, who spend much time in dealing with such landscapes, is considered essential. This and other such shared resource topics are beyond the scope of discussion groups like the ICRC, but it is here that the awareness and need for such discussions are often first recognized. The later successes from such meetings, whether they be in providing guidance to state and agency guidelines or assisting in project-specific management documents, will likely not be linked to early forum discussions but the existence of such groups remain invaluable.

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Journal of Northwest Anthropology

Encouraging Partnerships: Oregon Department of Transportation & Tribal Relations

Carolyn Holthoff

Abstract *The Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) has a long history of partnering with Tribes, and we continue to seek opportunities to honor and nurture those relationships. Starting in the early 1990s, ODOT organized regular face-to-face coordination meetings with Tribes. These efforts resulted in tangible outcomes which benefit both agency and Tribe, including intergovernmental agreements (IGAs) with Tribes to conduct cultural resources work for transportation projects and Tribal staff representation on agency hiring panels for new cultural resource staff. Building upon this tradition, ODOT is collaborating with our Tribal partners to develop our first Tribal Summit focused entirely on Transportation and Natural and Cultural Resources to strengthen current practices around Tribal consultation and project delivery, to expand relationships with Tribal leadership and staff, and to identify areas where we can improve and work more collaboratively. While this effort is on hold due to the COVID 19 pandemic, we believe that our program's history and development is worth exploring and sharing so that others might use it as a model.*

While ODOT conducts Tribal consultation as outlined in regulation and statute, we view Tribal Governments as partners in our statewide mission—to provide a safe and reliable multimodal transportation system that connects people and helps communities thrive. Our relationships have been built on trust demonstrated through years of outreach and transparency, and we believe this is a successful model for any government agency cultural resource program. This article will explore the history and development of our program, shining a light on the benefits of building strong relationships with Tribes based on partnership.

ODOT conducts government-to-government consultation as mandated under state statute ORS 182.164. This 2001 law, the first of its kind in the nation, requires state agencies to develop and implement a Tribal coordination policy outlining how each state agency works with federally-recognized Tribes in the State of Oregon. Importantly, each agency consults with Tribes on programs of interest and works with them on development and implementation of programs that might affect Tribes. While this law focused specifically on in-state Tribes, ODOT's mission and programs are deeply connected to federal processes and regulations, which require expanded consultations with any Tribe that "attaches religious and cultural significance to historic properties that may be affected by an undertaking" (36CFR800.2(c)(2)(B)).

The majority of ODOT projects are delivered on behalf of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). The FHWA provides funds to ODOT which in turn obligates ODOT to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) as well as a suite of other federal regulations. Importantly, the NHPA requires consultation with Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) and federally-recognized Tribes that attach religious and cultural significance to historic properties that may be affected by a federal undertaking. Our Programmatic Agreement with FHWA and the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office (OSHPO) provides that ODOT conducts Tribal consultation on behalf of the FHWA. FHWA retains its status as the lead federal agency, but ODOT handles the day-to-day consultation. ODOT archaeologists consult with all nine of the federally-recognized Tribes in the State of Oregon as well as with

seven federally-recognized out-of-state Tribes that have an interest within Oregon. ODOT's government-to-government policy, based on ORS 182.164, promotes and enhances these relationships through programs that include Tribal involvement in the development and implementation of transportation projects and other activities which may affect Tribal lands, resources, and interests. For example, we are currently running a pilot program on construction contractor-identified staging and disposal sites based on feedback from Tribes. The goal has been to better address possible cultural resources' concerns for these locations.

ODOT believes Tribal consultation must begin early in the project development process and continues throughout the lifecycle of the project, allowing tribes an opportunity to provide meaningful input, as well as avoiding unnecessary project delays and setbacks. Ideally, this would happen even during the planning stages, well before project development. As a way to keep open lines of communication, ODOT archaeologists meet with all nine of the federally-recognized Oregon Tribes, with a schedule and format unique to each Tribe. We also meet face-to-face with out-of-state Tribes when opportunities arise. Such meetings provide ODOT and FHWA the ability to present project information in a more personal setting on the Tribes' terms and needs. As soon as projects are identified for development, Tribal coordination begins. ODOT Archaeologists are responsible for kicking off Tribal coordination. This may happen in the form of a letter, email, or phone call, depending on how each Tribe wishes to consult, but it does not end there. Regardless of the method of communication, tribes are provided the pertinent project information and supporting documentation like maps and GIS shapefiles, if available at that time. Tribal coordination continues for the duration of all projects via phone calls, emails, letters, meetings, etc., and is not complete until the project is constructed. We have also extended this coordination to some of our maintenance actions as well.

Importantly, ODOT uses regular face-to-face meetings to stay connected to Tribal partners and to keep communication lines open regarding projects. Meetings are typically held at the Tribal Offices, but occasionally take place at ODOT facilities, in the field at various project locations, and now online as we navigate COVID-19. ODOT archaeologists, region environmental staff, construction managers, maintenance managers, project staff, ODOT's official tribal liaison (Director's Office), and FHWA staff are invited to attend Tribal meetings, as needed. Each Tribal meeting is unique, as each Tribe sets the tone for how it wishes to be consulted.

In an effort to stay organized and as a requirement of our 2011 Programmatic Agreement with OSHPO and the FHWA, ODOT archaeologists maintain project tracking spreadsheets for each Tribe. Project details are noted on the spreadsheets along with information on the status of cultural resources' surveys and excavations, past Tribal consultation efforts and concerns, if any, brought forward from the Tribes. Spreadsheets are sent to Tribes and FHWA before each meeting, allowing for an advanced review of the material. After the meetings, the spreadsheet is updated and provided to FHWA and Tribes.

One of the successful outcomes of these partnerships has been the development of IGAs between ODOT and a number of Agency Tribal partners to support cultural resources services. In the late 1990s, ODOT executed its first IGA with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR). This IGA allowed ODOT to partner with the CTUIR on a traditional use study for proposed enhancement projects along a specific highway corridor, and increased awareness to the value that such a study could bring to the project. It also allowed ODOT to rely on the Tribes' history, knowledge, expertise and the relationship with the land and resources and bring that into the project delivery process.

By the early 2000s, ODOT had negotiated an agreement with the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (CTGR) to provide monitoring services for various projects. This IGA functioned as a

price agreement, whereby ODOT issued work order authorizations for specific monitoring on specific projects—a different type of agreement compared to the one executed with the CTUIR, but still one that relied on the Tribe's expertise and knowledge.

Fast forward to 2020 and ODOT now maintains seven IGAs with various Tribes, all with a variety of services that only those Tribes can provide. With one exception, all of the ODOT agreements maintain a line item that would allow the agency to partner with the Tribes on ethnographic work and identification of Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) and Historic Properties of Religious and Cultural Significance to Indian Tribes (HPRCSIT). This provision gives us the flexibility to benefit from Tribal knowledge and expertise where such resources are concerned. Ideally we would have IGAs of this manner in place with all in-state and out-of-state Tribes with whom we work.

The IGAs have been utilized on projects where Tribal representatives have assisted with monitoring construction work, collected and documented information regarding TCPs, conducted survey work in culturally sensitive areas on and off reservations, and provided support for archaeological damage assessments. Recently, we utilized the ethnographic research provisions for a bridge replacement project by engaging three tribes with overlapping areas of interest to better assess cultural sites and potential impacts.

In addition, ODOT maintains project delivery contract provisions for ethnobotanical work to incorporate culturally sensitive plant surveys in early project delivery efforts. This new tool allows us to take a landscape approach to cultural resources reviews, beyond artifacts and features.

We have also worked on several efforts to engage with tribes on plant harvesting in advance of construction activities, something that has helped both the agency and the Tribe. This has included harvesting camas, celery root, whole trees, and sometimes just cedar bark. ODOT has encouraged and organized plant relocation efforts for dogbane along ODOT highways, and also partnered with Tribes on cultural sensitive plant propagation at one of our wetland mitigation sites.

To help us build a strong and diverse cultural resources team, we have included Tribal Cultural Resources Staff on our hiring panels. Tribes play an important role in our work and daily activities and incorporating this perspective during the hiring process has been very meaningful.

Partnership agreements, frequent meetings and consistent communications allow ODOT staff to build lasting and open relationships with Tribes. As such, and in an effort to build on those relationships, we recently applied for a federal grant to host a Tribal Summit on natural and cultural resources. Other State DOTs have held similar events focused specifically on cultural resources or on all DOT programs including engineering, Tribal transportation programs, etc. Our request to host a summit based on natural and cultural resources coordination with the Tribes stemmed purely from the desire to build stronger relationships and improve consultation efforts.

While ODOT was awarded federal grant money in the fall of 2019, we had been planning the summit for some time. We leaned heavily on sister DOTs for support and knowledge, and formed a planning committee composed of ODOT, OSHPO, and FHWA staff, and representatives from several Tribes. We conducted surveys to narrow topics and planned a dynamic agenda allowing participants to create a dialogue on Tribal coordination and open the door for program improvements. Agency funding sources provided enough funds for travel expenses for up to two Tribal members from all sixteen Tribes that we work with, both in-state and out-of-state. This step was critical to ensure attendance and participation. We also invited a variety of managers and staff representing ODOT's Delivery and Operations Division, with our guest list reaching 130 participants. Our

Summit was set for May of 2020. As we gathered momentum into the New Year, COVID 19 hit. The well-being of our Tribal partners and ODOT staff required we postpone this important Summit for a future date.

ODOT's Cultural Resources Program works hard to maintain our Tribal relationships on behalf of the agency. We are committed to listening to recommendations, remaining open to change, and striving for a better program, but none of that would happen without the Tribes. While the Tribal Summit is currently postponed, we are hopeful that it will soon be back on track. It is critical for the ODOT management structure to maintain their awareness of Tribal concerns for cultural and natural resources while strengthening their understanding regarding the mutually beneficial outcomes of a healthy Government-to-Government relationship. As a state agency, we have responsibilities to work on behalf of all Oregonians and working with Agency Tribal partners can help us be more effective at our jobs and holistic in our approach.

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Tribes and the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department—Partnerships in Training, Repatriation, and Traditional Plant Gathering

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Abstract *This article examines the results of over a decade of meaningful consultation between the Tribes in Oregon and the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD). The article traces the origins and evolution of the agency's present-day tribal consultation approach. With a thorough look at the archaeology awareness training for state employees, as well as repatriation and use of traditional ecological knowledge, the positive evolution of the culture of one State of Oregon agency is recognized. By examining the agency's interactions with the Tribes, and through conducting recent interviews with tribal leaders and staff, and OPRD management, successful relationships are discovered. This article presents several examples to provide ideas and avenues to improve future tribal consultations, and ways that other agencies in the United States can embrace a better understanding of meaningful consultation with tribal partners by creating collaborative opportunities for the management of natural and cultural resources, which can help heal historical wrongs.*

Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD), commonly known as Oregon State Parks, has been the stewards of Indigenous people's special places for nearly 100 years. The agency has gone through a long evolution of understanding its responsibilities to the descendants of the people who once lived on the lands now referred to as state parks. Given that most of the more than 250 state park properties have at least one precontact archaeological site, and that the parks are home to numerous natural resources that continue to be used by tribal members, it is imperative that the State of Oregon interacts and consults with the first peoples of Oregon in a meaningful way.

When a state agency creates an archaeologist position, it can be viewed as an authentic commitment to tribal consultation. Upon arriving in 2006 as the first land managing archaeologist for OPRD, it was apparent that the agency was just beginning to understand what tribal consultation meant and how to go about consultation. The new archaeologist position marked a change for the agency in three areas. First, park staff had never consulted with their own archaeologist. Second, most park managers had never consulted with a Tribe, and third, the agency's interactions with Tribes was limited to periodic letters and involvement after an inadvertent discovery of an archaeological site. As a result of having an archaeologist who served as a resource to help with the operations of the parks, the evolution of tribal consultation at the agency grew rapidly through training, repatriations, and access to traditional plant materials on park properties.

Training

Defining Meaningful Consultation for State of Oregon Employees

In 2005, OPRD held its first "Archaeology Training Conference," adapted from a very similar training facilitated by the State of Washington, which was supported and funded by OPRD and Oregon Department of Forestry (ODF). The training brought together the Native American and scientific communities to share each of their perspectives to understanding the archaeological record and history. There was also a tribal consultation aspect to the training, which proved to be incredibly valuable to improving communication between the agency and the Tribes.

In the first three years of the training, the agency had funded an out-of-state archaeologist to facilitate the training as well as provide flintknapping demonstrations. Beginning in year four, OPRD decided to shift that funding to help facilitate more tribal staff involvement. In turn, the OPRD archaeologist took responsibility facilitating the training, a tribal member taught traditional flintknapping and OPRD invited each of the nine federally-recognized Tribes in Oregon to attend with lodging, lunch, and a dinner, and participate in the 3 ½-day training. Speakers have included tribal members Esther Stutzman (Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians of Oregon; traditional storyteller and recipient of the Governor's Lifetime Achievement Award), Roberta Kirk (Confederated Tribes of the Warms Springs Reservation of Oregon; Simnasho Longhouse traditional food gatherer, former Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Coordinator, Oregon Folklife Network-Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Master Artist and recipient of the First Peoples Fund Community Spirit Award), Don Ivy (Coquille Indian Tribe; current Chief and former Cultural Resources Program Coordinator) and Armand Minthorn (Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation; chairman and member of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Review Committee). Each provided the Native American perspectives and stories on the precontact and historic periods in Oregon. It has been important to include tribal members' perspectives throughout history, from before contact through treaty times and right up to present day perspectives, which connects our shared history in Oregon.

Every year since the training's conception, OPRD has invited tribal Elders to the training. The Elders' presence grounded and humbled the participants with their prayers, songs and conversations. For several years, the late Viola Kalama and Fred and Olivia Wallulatum, enrolled with the Confederated Tribes of Warms Springs of Oregon, were amongst the Elders who provided their invaluable insight into working with Tribes (Figures 1 and 2). Dennis Comfort (2020), OPRD Coast Region Manager, who has been with the agency since 1989, attended one of the first trainings. It was there that he experienced his first tribal invocation with an Elder and Comfort (2020:5) recalled: "There we were honoring tribal spirituality and the American flag was there, too. It was a moving experience."

Figure 1. Adwai (late) Viola Kalama, Wasco Elder, at the 2008 Archaeology Awareness Training (Courtesy of Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, Salem).

Figure 2. Fred and Olivia Wallulatum, Confederated Tribes of the Warms Springs Reservation of Oregon Elders, at Tsagaglala (She-Who-Watches); 2017 Archaeology Awareness Training field visit (Courtesy of Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, Salem).

The sovereign Oregon Tribes have participated in a tribal consultation session over the last fourteen years at what is now called the "Archaeology Awareness Training." In turn, there have been over 500 state employees from 11 state agencies who have learned about tribal consultation. In order of the total number of attendees, the following state agencies have attended the training:

- Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (OPRD)
- Oregon Department of Forestry (ODF)
- Oregon State Police (OSP)
- Oregon Department of Water Resources (OWR)
- Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT)
- Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife (ODF&W)
- Oregon Department of Environmental Quality (ODEQ)
- Oregon Department of Geology and Mineral Industries (DOGAMI)
- Oregon Military Department (OMD)
- Oregon Department of State Lands (ODSL)
- Oregon Watershed Enhancement Board (OWEB).

In some cases, the training marked the first time a state employee had ever met a tribal member. Typically, the tribal consultation session included a panel discussion with each Tribe represented. Tribal representatives provided background on their tribe's homelands, their expectation of meaningful consultation, and the key contact person for their Tribe. The session provided the attendees with guidelines for when consultation could be handled by phone or email, and which types of projects

required an on-site visit. In the more recent years, the training included, break-out sessions by region so that state employees who worked at the Oregon coast, in the Willamette Valley, and on the east side of the Cascades, could have more specific discussions with those Tribes. The break-out sessions helped to answer questions about consultation as well as archaeological questions related to site types, and cultural resource methodology and protection laws. A state agency archaeologist and tribal cultural resources staff members were also a part of these discussions. To facilitate more tribal involvement, each year OPRD provides a scholarship to two different tribal staff members to attend the training. For example, the scholarship went to tribal member staff from the Burn Paiute Tribe and the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians, who were new to their respective cultural resource programs. Their participation proved to be valuable, as they were trainers who provided a fresh perspective in the consultation breakout sessions as well as being students and learning about current scientific archaeological thought in Oregon.

Bridging Consultation with Archaeological Site Protection

In 2009 and 2018, OPRD organized a training for law enforcement, including OSP. The "Archaeology Training for Law Enforcement" is an accredited training with the Oregon Department of Public Safety Standards and Training (DPSST) where officers receive formal credit for attending the awareness training. The training's presenters include professionals from Oregon Tribes, OPRD, Oregon State Historic Preservation Office (OSHPO), Oregon Department of Justice (ODOJ), United States Department of Justice (USDOJ), and university professors. Topics included an overview of the importance of archaeological sites to the Tribes; examples of archaeological sites with field visits; site protection scenarios and exercises; the process when Native American human remains are inadvertently discovered; and a thorough examination of cultural resource protection laws.

The 2009 Archaeology Training for Law Enforcement was provided in partnership with OPRD and the Coquille Indian Tribe. Three years later, the training was put to the test when one of the attendees, an OSP Fish and Wildlife Division sergeant (Figure 3), witnessed a looter collecting artifacts at a state park on the Oregon coast. The sergeant subsequently cited the looter with violating Oregon's archaeological protection law. The OPRD archaeologist consulted with Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians Culture Committee members, and tribal archaeologist about the seized artifacts and the looting case. The Tribe and OPRD worked cooperatively together to analyze the artifacts and collect data for evidence. This collaboration also included the Oregon DOJ who presented the case to the court using the evidence and successfully prosecuted the looter with the help of the sergeant who attended the training. It was strikingly apparent that the law enforcement training, and state and tribal collaboration was key to the success of the case.

Figure 3. (left) Robert Kentta, Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon Tribal Council Member and Cultural Resources Department Director; (right) Levi Harris, Oregon State Police, Fish and Wildlife Division Sergeant at the 2018 Archaeology Training for Law Enforcement Training field exercise (Courtesy of Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, Salem).

Throughout the years of the archaeology trainings, it became evident that one of the most important outcomes was building relationships between the Tribes and state employees (Figure 4). While OPRD has increased the number of archaeologists from one position to three, and it is those archaeologists who have typically conducted most of the agency's tribal consultation efforts, the Archaeology Awareness Training encourages and opens the door for park staff to get to know the Tribe or Tribes near the parks in order to cultivate successful consultation relationships. The Archaeology Awareness Training arguably helped shift agency culture; park staff who attend the training come away with a better understanding of why the agency protects archaeological sites and how those sites are connected to the Tribes.

Repatriations

Returning Ancestral Belongings

In 2008, during a State/Tribal Cultural Cluster meeting at the University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History Longhouse, an important discovery was revealed. The Klamath Tribes' Director of Culture and Heritage, Perry Chocktoot, shared an anonymous disclosure that Collier Memorial State Park was in possession of a large number of artifacts. After making a call to the park manager and later visiting the park with Mr. Chocktoot, the OPRD archaeologist confirmed several ground stone tools were housed at the park. This was the beginning of the agency's dedication to comply with Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).

After seeking support from all of the Tribes in Oregon, OPRD applied for a NAGPRA grant to create a summary of all of the Native American items housed at the parks and to provide funding to Tribes that wanted to travel to the parks to consult on possible NAGPRA items. The summary documented 5640 ground stone tools at Collier Memorial State Park. Most of the tools did not have specific provenience. However, notes made by early amateur archaeologists and looters documented the county where the items were collected. While the tools did not reach the threshold of a NAGPRA claim, they were clearly associated with the Klamath Tribes. In consultation with the agency, Mr. Chocktoot requested the "return of our ancestors' belongings" (Perry Chocktoot 2017, pers. comm.). After meeting with the University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History (OMNCH) Director, Dr. Jon Erlandson, and reviewing Oregon's Administrative Rule, which provides an avenue to deaccession items from the State of Oregon's control, it was decided that the 5640 ancestral belongings be repatriated back to the Klamath Tribes. In the spring of 2017, Klamath tribal cultural resources staff, UOMNCH Director of Anthropological Collections, Dr. Pam Endzweig, and OPRD staff, conducted yet another double check of every item (Figure 5). On June 23, 2017, Klamath tribal members assisted OPRD in moving their ancestors' items back home to the Klamath Tribes.

Since its origins, the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) has been based in human rights law. At the *NAGPRA at 20 Symposium*, Walter Echo-Hawk (2010:1) stated that "the right to a proper burial is a human right," and it is this sentiment that has guided OPRD. The agency goes beyond the requirements of NAGPRA and takes additional steps to honor the wishes of the Tribes in Oregon. For instance, some federal agencies have repatriated NAGPRA items back to Tribes, including Native American human remains, but will not allow for their reburial on the federal lands where they were discovered. The Tribes have subsequently requested reburial in different state parks that are near the original discovery sites. In turn, OPRD now has a policy that allows for reburial practices on OPRD-managed land in locations that the agency has designated for no future development. The OPRD archaeologist then creates an archaeological site form to document the reburial locations for future

Figure 4. Perry Chocktoot, Klamath Tribes Director of the Culture and Heritage Department, 2013 Archaeology Awareness Training flintknapping session (Courtesy of Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, Salem).

Figure 5. Klamath Tribes, University of Oregon and Oregon Parks and Recreation Department staff wrapping up the inventory process, May 18, 2017 (Courtesy of Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, Salem).

agency archaeologists. In turn, Oregon's state parks are the stewards of these significant and sensitive reburial locations, and are committed to their protection.

Traditional Plant Gathering

Traditional Ecological Knowledge Celebrated

OPRD has engaged with the Tribes in Oregon in a more meaningful way for more than a decade, which has resulted in an increased understanding about tribal connections to natural resources. In 2003, OPRD created a tribal use policy for the collection of natural resources for personal use and to use the parks for ceremonial purposes without paying a fee. Most of the nine federally-recognized Tribes in Oregon have continued their traditional use of natural resources and traditional ceremonies within the parks. While the policy formalized OPRD's process for collecting natural resources and use for ceremonial purposes, it was never intended as a permission for access to the parks. Coquille Indian Tribe Chief Don Ivy (2020:7) was an early proponent of the policy. "Whether it is accessing barnacles at the coast or pulling spruce root or collecting three-sided sedge at Sunset Bay State Park for basketmaking, the policy created that avenue for collection; it wasn't about the Tribes, it was about the resources and about understanding the past in the present."

In addition to tribal use of natural resources within Oregon state parks, the agency has collaborated with Tribes on natural resource restoration projects. One of those collaborations has been to restore the prairie at Champoeg State Heritage Area in the Willamette Valley in cooperation with the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon (CTGR) and the Institute for Applied Ecology. Champoeg is a culturally significant location to the CTGR,

and tribal Elders selected it as a location for restoration (Moore and Neill 2017; Celis et al. 2020). Early French settlers understood the Tualatin Kalapuya to have a word "Chempoeg" that is interpreted as "where the yampah [wild carrot] grows," which became the namesake of the state heritage area (Gibbs and Starling 1851; Ojua 2020:1; Figure 6). OPRD park manager, John Mullen (2020:3) noted, "It is important for the descendants to come back and use this place. The prairie restoration project is just one way the first peoples can come back to their home ground at Champoeg and celebrate their traditions."

In 2013, the grant-funded Plants for People program aimed to restore the Champoeg prairie (Moore and Neill 2017). Also, the CTGR native plant materials nursery was funded by the OWEB grant. It is there that Jeremy Ojua (2020), Native Plant Nursery Supervisor, cultivates not only yampah (*Perideridia gairdneri*), but also grows camas (*Camassia leichtlinii*) and other culturally significant plants for restoration projects (Figure 7). When asked what the most important and ultimate goal of the project is for him, he said, "I would like to see a healthy, successful grow out for the Tribe, a reduction of herbicide use over time from less to none, so there are herbicide-free plants in the prairie, and use of fire and pulling to maintain the area" (Ojua 2020:2).

OPRD and the project partners worked with CTGR tribal members to gain traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) about the Champoeg area. Lewis (2016) describes TEK as information regarding herbal and medicinal plants for healing or recipes; knowledge about when specific plants are ready to be harvested; predictions on when smelt, lamprey, salmon and steelhead runs have begun; as well as people's ability to "read" the land. This valuable information is a way for Native peoples to return to many of these cultural practices (Lewis 2016). One of these cultural practices was managing the landscape by applying fire, noted David Harrelson (2020), an

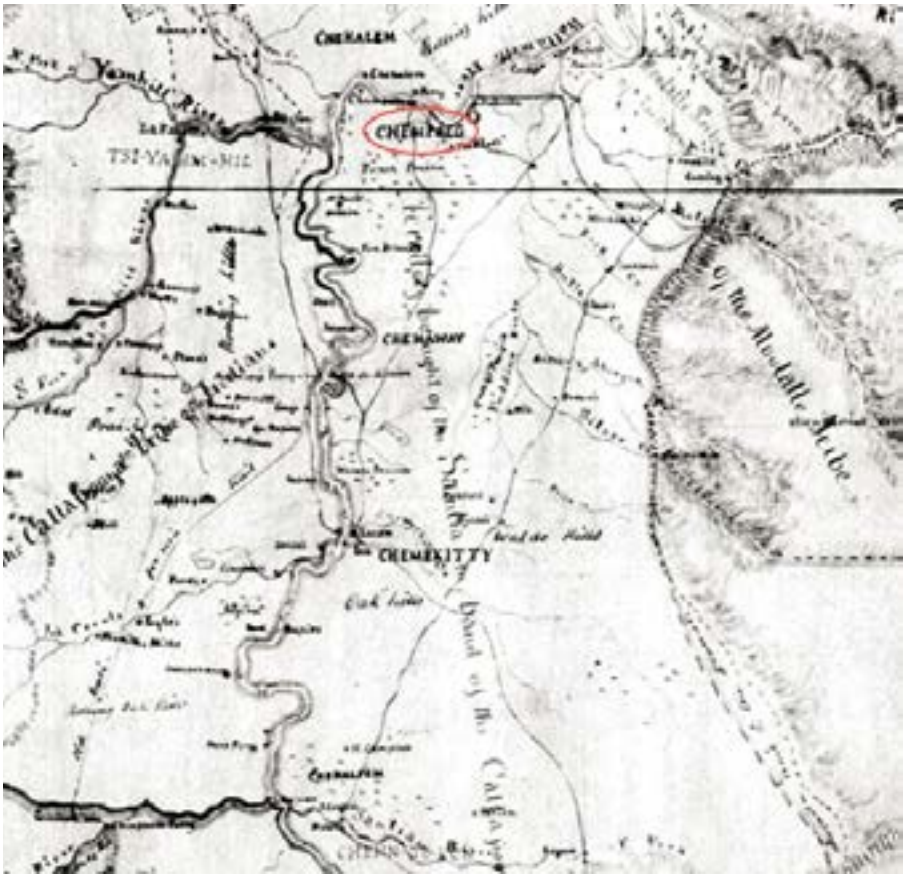

Figure 6. 1851 Gibbs and Starling map noting names of Kalapuya groups with "Chempoeg" (Courtesy of Oregon State University, Corvallis).

Figure 7. (right) Jeremy Ojua, Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon Native Plant Nursery Supervisor); (left) Malee Ojua planting native plants at Champoeg restoration area (Courtesy of Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, Salem).

8-year fire crew veteran and the CTGR's Cultural Resources Department Manager and Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. By utilizing valuable traditional ecological knowledge, particular plants were selected for planting and it was decided to use fire to assist in the restoration of the Champoeg prairie.

Conducting a prescribed burn in a state park proved to be technically challenging and cost prohibitive at $2000–$6000 per acre. However, the CTGR offered to do the prescribed burn at no cost to OPRD (Neill 2020). Coordination between all the parties was challenging. However, Neill (2020:3) recalls that they just needed "to pick a date and aim for that date and go for it." The day arrived in September 2017, and the weather was key to the success of the prescribed burn with no precipitation in the forecast. Subsequently, the CTGR fire crew arrived with three fire engines for protection and fire crew with drip torches (Mullen 2020; Neill 2020). With the first drip torch lit, it took 2 ½ hours to completely burn the 35-acre prairie and traditional prescribed fire proved to be a success (Neill 2020). The Champoeg prairie saw its biggest bloom yet in the following spring (Navarrete 2019).

In 2018, CTGR gathered at Champoeg for a community planting day. The event included cooking a traditional meal, creating an earthen oven to show how camas is cooked, and tribal members and staff planted plants from the Tribe's native plant materials nursery. Colby Drake, tribal member and the CTGR's Silviculture Fire Program Manager had never tasted the foods important to his ancestors until his crew became involved with the project at Champoeg and noted: "I was surprised. Camas, if prepared right, has this almost caramelized taste. You might mistake yampah for a carrot" (Navarrete 2019:2). Harrelson (2020:4) reflected on the event and said it "connected community to place and the prairie helped bridge the gap between different communities; what was lasting was connecting people to the land." Champoeg park manager, John Mullen (2020:4)

echoed these sentiments by noting that "they [tribal members] were back in their homeland."

Oregon Parks and Recreation Department's commitment to providing tribal access to traditional use areas continues. As the agency evolves towards more meaningful consultation, the traditional use policy is transitioning to "collaborative notification," which is hoped to engage more traditional ecological knowledge in the management of OPRD lands.

Oregon State Parks & Tribal Consultation

Working Towards Healing

OPRD has experienced several cultural shifts within the agency in regards to tribal consultation. One of those shifts occurred when the agency started the archaeology awareness training for park staff. Dennis Comfort (2020), Coast Region Manager, attended one of the early trainings and several years later when the agency needed to replace a bridge along the Amanda Trail near Yachats, Oregon, he reached out to the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians to be a part of the planning, fund raising, construction process, and celebration. The Tribe wanted to honor Amanda, a Coos woman who had been forced to march up the Oregon coast by the United States government along with thirty-one other Indigenous people against their will (United States 1860; Beckham 1977; Schwartz 1991; Kentta 1995, 1996; Whereat 1995, 1996; Scott et al. 2007; Beck 2009; Kittel and Curtis 2010; Phillips 2017). In the spring of 1864, they traveled by foot from Coos Bay to the Alsea sub-agency in Yachats, where they were incarcerated until the never-to-be-honored Coast Reservation Treaty was ratified. Amanda was blind, and her ordeal and physical injuries during the journey were so egregious that Corporal Royal Bensell noted it in his diary (Phillips 2017). Over 140 years later, Amanda's story brought the Tribe, the local community, and OPRD together to make the Amanda Bridge project happen (Figure 8). "Chief Warren Brainard [former Chief] was there, Doc Slyter [current Chief] was playing his flute and the tribal youth were there helping out, too. It was a metaphorical

Figure 8. Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians current Chief Doc Slyter at the Amanda Bridge 2011 commemoration (Photo by Greg Scott).

bridge between cultures. It was a healing time" (Comfort 2020:5).

It is the healing that underscores the term "meaningful" when defining "meaningful consultation" with Tribes. Echo-Hawk (2013) looks to the United Nation Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and highlights the need to heal the wounds of the past by summoning the accumulated wisdom traditions. It is this healing that OPRD seeks to embrace through Tribes' teaching state employees about meaningful consultation, the repatriation of ancestral belongings, or applying traditional ecological knowledge to help restore lands. Authentic collaboration is key to the positive and meaningful relations with Tribes. Oregon's state parks are located in some of the most special places in the state, which have always been the homes and traditional use areas of the Tribes. Coquille Indian Tribe Chief, Don Ivy (2020:7) notes, "A good place to live is a good place to live. The places that attract people will always be an attraction to people. We need to find practical and meaningful ways to continue to be there in those important places and how to take care of that place."

As stewards of many of these special places, OPRD hopes to heal the historical wounds of the past. In turn, it is the Tribes that know the land the best and for the longest, and who can provide the agency with best practices to manage the natural and cultural resources. By engaging in meaningful consultation for more than a decade, the culture within OPRD has seen a positive change, which is based in trusting relationships with each of the nine sovereign Tribes in Oregon.

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It is with sincere gratitude to the nine federally-recognized Tribes in Oregon that I am able to write this article and do my best work for the state of Oregon. Many thanks to the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department Director's Group and managers for supporting efforts for meaningful consultation with the Tribes. My appreciation goes out to my co-workers who assisted me with edits to the article.

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Future Directions in State-Tribal Cultural Resource Consultation in Oregon

Dennis G. Griffin

The articles included in this issue have highlighted several of the key ways that State agencies and Tribes in Oregon are currently working together to improve both an understanding of Tribal culture in our state as well as foster a stronger working relationship between each group in the future. While working groups have been established and some State agencies and Tribes are consulting regularly, there is always more that can be strived for. Existing cultural resource working groups are only as effective as the agencies that participate in them and the support and understanding that their representatives get in sharing the results of the discussions that take place between the two groups. That is why LCIS sponsors a yearly State-Tribal summit between the Governor, State agency directors, and Tribal leaders to increase awareness among state leaders and their staff about tribal culture, concerns, and ways that consultation can be improved. It is here that success stories of collaborative efforts are highlighted and new directions for future collaboration recognized.

One such on-going and future collaborative effort can be seen in the creation of the Governor's Task Force on Oregon Tribal Cultural Items. Created by Executive Order in 2017 (No. 17-12), Governor Kate Brown established a Task Force in 2018 of State and Tribal representatives to recommend a process for soliciting information from State agencies and other public institutions about cultural items (i.e., human remains and funerary objects, archaeological artifacts, and historic objects and archival materials) within their possession that are associated with Oregon's nine federally-recognized Indian Tribes. The Task Force was charged with assisting State agencies to develop a policy on tribal cultural items that would specify how each agency planned to communicate with Tribes regarding cultural items within its possession, how it planned to educate agency employees regarding their policy, and to designate and train a Tribal cultural items liaison who would serve as the key contact for establishing channels for ongoing communication with Oregon's Tribes during a survey process and beyond. An initial agency look-around survey in 2019 produced 35 agency reports of approximately 1500 pages of data regarding each agency's organization and possessions. Having completed the initial survey with most state agencies, the Task Force is now expanding their efforts to reach out to universities, community colleges, and public schools to encourage their participation in a similar "look around" for cultural items that may be in their possession. The efforts of this Task Force will continue to encourage increased cooperation among State agencies and Tribes, and assist Tribes in knowing of the existence of Tribal cultural items currently in the State's possession.

Participation in State working groups such as the Culture Cluster, as discussed by Rippee, has highlighted the limitations in some state agency directives that currently lack adequate language that recognize the importance of cultural resources so that agency permit review and staff funding to address potential project impacts to such resources is not currently available (e.g., ODF, DSL). The need for updating such agency directives has been highlighted by Tribes for future amendment and is currently being considered by DSL.

Current state agency (i.e., DSL) consideration for assuming the U.S. Army Corps' responsibilities under Section 404 of the Clean Water Act (i.e., permitting discharges of dredge or fill materials) has highlighted many differences in federal and state cultural resource laws that need to be addressed before such an assumption can

take place. Differences in federal and state laws exist not only in regards to the recognition and protection of archaeological sites, historic buildings and structures, and the state's lack of recognition of Tribal traditional cultural properties, but also the effects such an assumption would have on Tribal treaty rights to land access and resource protection which would not carry over to the state if the federal government removes their responsibility. Future discussions on equating differences in cultural resource laws and addressing the loss of treaty rights will determine the future of such proposals.

Efforts by a few state agencies to work closely with Tribes in reviewing future project proposals and develop agency Tribal protocols continue to bear much fruit, as noted in the articles by Holtoff and Nelson. Other state agencies are currently working on developing their own policies that will greatly increase a spirit of cooperation with Oregon's tribes. Federal land managing agencies working in Oregon (e.g., USFS, BLM, USF&WS) have their own existing tribal protocols and policies and regularly consult with Oregon's nine Tribes. By participating in state/federal/tribal working groups such as the ICRC, problems that arise between agency perspectives can be quickly discussed among participants and remedies sought. However, one problem that has been recognized, and will likely continue to result in potential conflict, deals with private, non-state agency projects that affect both State agencies and Tribal land and resources. Such projects (e.g., installation of natural gas pipelines, fiber optic cables) often have a federal nexus with non-land managing federal agencies (e.g., Federal Energy Regulatory Commission [FERC], USDA Rural Utilities Service), and while coordinated through state regulatory processes, are not controlled by state laws and regulations, and often fail to adequately consult with Tribes regarding potential impacts from proposed projects. This problem is especially apparent when Programmatic Agreements are signed by state and federal agencies; however, in some cases the lead federal agency has failed to adequately consult with all of the appropriate tribes before finalizing project approval. Such agreements affect the relationship between the State and Tribes even though the primary responsibility lies with the lead federal agency. More work is needed in the future to insure that federal responsibility to consult on project-related agreement documents is assured before the signing of such large project agreements, and that all parties are aware of their respective responsibilities and can work together toward a positive result.

One way to highlight the differences in perception of local history and issues dealing with the environment in Oregon, whether natural or cultural, has long been recognized as stemming from the need for better education about Native peoples in Oregon. In 2017, Oregon followed the lead of other states (e.g., Montana 1999; Washington 2015) in passing state legislation that mandated a new statewide curriculum on the history and culture of Native Americans in the state. With the passage of Senate Bill 13, all public schools are to receive locally-based curriculum of the Native American experience in Oregon, written by the Tribes themselves and incorporated in all grades, in order to unravel stereotypes and misconceptions about Native Americans and to provide professional development that would reinforce educators why the teaching of a full range of history is important. To date, curriculum is available for fourth, eighth and 10th graders but curriculum for all levels is expected in the coming school year (Brown 2020). It is initiatives such as this that may have the greatest long-term impact on State-Tribal relations in Oregon.

Taken together, improved education within the State's primary and secondary education system about the rich Native history in Oregon, education of state agency staff regarding potential impacts to natural and cultural resources from proposed projects, and finding ways to continue to develop a close working relationship between state agencies and Tribes in Oregon, provide a

blueprint for increased success in consultation and collaboration among each group. It is hoped that the sharing of such successes in Oregon will encourage other States and Tribal nations to seek ways to improve communication in their State so that potential problems can be identified before future project approval will occur that could negatively affect important resources.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While building on the cooperative work exemplified by the authors of these articles, I want to acknowledge that consultation and collaboration between state agencies and tribal nations in Oregon continues, thanks in part to the strong support of Oregon's Governor Kate Brown and the work of leaders such as Coquille Tribal Council Chairperson Brenda Meade and Danny Santos, Willamette University College of Law (retired), co-chairs of the Governor's Task Force on Oregon Tribal Cultural Items, who continue to seek new directions that will increase awareness and cooperation between state agencies and tribal peoples.

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Whistlin' Dixie? Comments on the Association for Washington Archaeology's Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion

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Abstract *I comment on the Association for Washington Archaeology's 2020 Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion. While its authors and many readers will hold up the AWA statement as a transformational document and evidence of change, I position it as virtue signaling and co-optation. I conclude that the biggest impediment to change—and what makes the AWA statement status quo—is the inability of archaeologists to be critical of archaeology.*

Keywords
Association for Washington Archaeology; Black Lives Matter; racism

Introduction

In July 2020, the Board of Directors for the Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA) drafted, approved and published a "statement in response to the recent Black Lives Matter [BLM] protests over police brutality and racism" (AWA 2020a). According to its authors, the AWA Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion is intended to serve as a guide for the AWA's future "work to address racism and colonialism in Washington State archaeology."

I deconstruct the AWA statement and pose some uncomfortable questions. My perspective is unique because I have spent the greater part of the last decade writing about social inequality and institutional racism in North American and Pacific Northwest archaeology (Hutchings 2017, 2018, in press; Hutchings and La Salle 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019a, 2019b; La Salle and Hutchings 2012, 2016, 2018). While I support some of the ideas in the AWA statement, I find the overall proposal tenuous and misguided.

The AWA is an almost exclusively White non-profit organization "committed to the protection of archaeological and historical resources in the State of Washington" (AWA 2020c). Its membership consists of professional, university-trained archaeologists, and it funds travel and research for students and professionals working toward "the study of Washington State's cultural heritage." Founded in 1981, the Mission of the AWA is to:

- Encourage the appreciation, protection, and preservation of the archaeological resources of Washington State;
- Promote public education, research, and interpretation of the archaeological resources of Washington State; and
- Promote, publish, and disseminate scientific research on the archaeological resources of Washington State.

Black Lives Matter, on the other hand, was founded in 2013 in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer, George Zimmerman. Black Lives Matter is a decentralized movement that works against police brutality and racially motivated violence against African-American people. Black Lives Matter Foundation, Inc. is a global organization within the larger BLM movement whose mission is to "eradicate White supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes. By combating and

Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion*

7/18/2020

Dear Association for Washington Archaeology,

Like you, we have witnessed the violence and oppression directed against Black lives, particularly those committed by police. These events lay bare a traumatic reality that has long haunted Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), including many of our colleagues. The horror of this violence is compounded by police efforts to criminalize and brutalize protestors who are challenging institutional racism. Fighting to change unjust systems should not be a crime.

The Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA) Board of Directors stands in solidarity with the communities impacted by and protesting this violence. We join a number of our colleagues in denouncing the systemic racism directed at Black Americans in the United States. We mourn the deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Manuel Ellis, Walter Scott, Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, Charleena Lyles, Said Joquin, and so many others killed. We acknowledge that these murders are not isolated incidents, but are parts of a pattern of oppression, violence, and de-legitimization woven throughout the history of the United States. We decry the failure and unwillingness of our institutions to address the violence and abuse that Black members of our communities face. We recognize that this harm manifests in our government, businesses, neighborhoods, and communities, all of which is disproportionately compounded by the very pandemic now sweeping the nation.

Our own discipline was formed in the context of white supremacy, as part of European and Euro-American colonialism, imperialism, and expansion. Archaeologists, most of whom have built their careers studying the heritage of non-white and Indigenous peoples, have both benefited from and perpetuated these structures of oppression and inequality. Our discipline was built upon the idea that excavating sacred sites and putting artifacts in museums far from descendant communities was important for history and science. That these issues are not merely historical, but haunt and affect our present, is especially obvious when considering archaeology's traditional treatment of human remains. […]

Archaeology has the potential to be a transformative discipline that can challenge hegemonic narratives of the past and create spaces for collaboration and healing. However, we recognize that doing so requires reflecting on our own privilege and capacity to act. We must listen, we must learn, and we must act in both our personal and professional lives, so that we can move archaeology towards equity and justice. The AWA Board of Directors calls on our members and all archaeologists in Washington State and beyond to join us in working towards dismantling racism and white supremacy, both in archaeology and in our communities. To such an end, we, the AWA Board of Directors, commit to the following:

1. Funding and sustaining yearly scholarship(s) to financially support BIPOC individuals. […]
2. Diversifying the AWA Board of Directors and the general membership. […]
3. Sponsoring facilitated anti-racism trainings and/or workshops. […]
4. Amplifying the voices of AWA community members who are working for social and racial justice. […]
5. Financially supporting cultural heritage-related causes and organizations that operate in Washington State to address racism and promote anti-racism. […]
6. Educating ourselves on racism, anti-Blackness, settler colonialism, and white supremacy in the United States. […]

**Excerpted from AWA 2020b*

countering acts of violence, creating space for Black imagination and innovation, and centering Black joy, we are winning immediate improvements in our lives" (BLM 2020). Black Lives Matter is "working for a world where Black lives are no longer systematically targeted for demise… The call for Black lives to matter is a rallying cry for ALL Black lives striving for liberation."

The five issues I raise below emanate principally from the great chasm—topically, socially, economically, philosophically, culturally, educationally, and geographically—that separates AWA and BLM. If asked, I would be hard pressed to come up with a stranger pair of bedfellows.

Issue 1: Timing and Virtue Signaling

The AWA and BLM are poles apart, theoretically and practically, and their uncomfortably brief association in the AWA Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion begs the question: Why? Why attempt to connect two such disparate organizations/movements/ideologies when such a link is not required to discuss institutional racism and White power in (Washington) archaeology? I believe the answer lies, in part, in the historical timing of the AWA statement.

The Black Power movement began in the 1960s, as did the Red Power movement and the American Indian Movement. From the 1960s until his death in 2005, Indigenous lawyer, scholar, and activist Vine Deloria, Jr. (1969) criticized anthropology and archaeology as imperial and oppressive. Deloria, in fact, began his academic career at Western Washington State College (now Western Washington University) in Bellingham in 1970 and went on to write a book about the early history of the Indigenous rights movement in Washington State (Deloria 2012).

The Association for Washington Archaeology was founded in 1981. In 2004, Laurajane Smith wrote her groundbreaking book on archaeology as colonial statecraft (Smith 1999, 2004). The BLM movement started in 2013. Seven years later, on July 18, 2020, the AWA published its statement. Why did the AWA pick that historical moment to take up the mantle of Black lives and social inequality, and not some time in the forty years before July 2020?

The Association for Washington Archaeology's statement's timing is not random, nor is its focus on BLM. Rather, it is historically situated in the wake of the national protests and civil unrest spawned by the videotaped death of George Floyd at the hands of Minneapolis, Minnesota police officers on May 25, 2020. The George Floyd protests and concomitant rise in popularity of BLM led to many White proclamations of sympathy and support—akin to the AWA statement—for Black protesters generally and BLM in particular.

In fact, the AWA statement was not the only proclamation of its kind to be published by Pacific Northwest archaeologists that week in July. On July 28, 2020, just four days after the AWA statement was released, the article "Why Diversity Matters in Archaeology" was published in British Columbia. Expressing a sentiment parallel to the AWA statement, the author writes:

> Go to any gathering of archaeologists in this province [British Columbia] and you will look upon a sea of white faces. Visit archaeological sites and you will overwhelmingly see white people in charge. Deal with the Archaeology Branch in Victoria and you will learn the staff that manages a 15,000-year-old archaeological record that is 99 percent Indigenous lacks representation from those communities. Archaeology […] has a diversity problem. (Hammond 2020)

The AWA statement was drafted, approved, and published in a short amount of time (less than three weeks) at the crest of the BLM's post-George Floyd wave in July, alongside so many

other similar pro-diversity statements by White organizations and societies. This raises the specter of White co-optation (Coy and Hedeen 2007; Alfred 2009) and virtue signaling.

Oxford (2020) defines *virtue signaling* as the act of publicly expressing ideas or beliefs intended to demonstrate one's good character or the moral correctness of one's position on a particular issue. When one posts a public list of their favorite books on Facebook, for example, "you're aware of what that list says about you" (McClay 2018).

> When, around 2015, "virtue" began to be appended to "signaling," its main function was to make the *unspoken* aim of the signaling in question explicit. Whereas before you might have been signaling that you were smart, now you were signaling that you were a good person. But whatever you're doing, it is, and will always be, about what people think about you, either to the exclusion of any other reason or before any other reason.

Virtue signaling is difficult to diagnose, however, because it involves ascertaining people's motives and because every public act potentially involves virtue signaling. Like hypocrisy, then, virtue signaling as a concept best functions "as a reminder to people that what they say or write should be more than empty words" (McClay 2018). While the degree to which the AWA statement is virtue signaling can be debated, that it is *performative* cannot, as "all actions can be understood to be *only* performative" (McClay 2018).

Issue 2: White Co-optation of Black Power

The authors of the AWA statement do not provide a clear or legitimate reason for connecting themselves—thus the AWA and Washington Archaeology—to the Black Power movement. In some ways, this is not surprising. In July 2020, White support for the Black Lives Matter movement was at an all-time high (Blake 2020):

> People are buying so many books on antiracism that booksellers are having trouble keeping them in stock. A commentator said the George Floyd protests that erupted this spring may lead to "audacious steps to address systemic racial inequality—bold, sweeping reparative action."
>
> Yet any attack against entrenched racism will run into one of the most formidable barriers for true change: Good White people. The media loves to focus on the easy villains who get busted on cell phone videos acting like racists. But some scholars and activists say good White people—the progressive folks in Blue states, the kind who would have voted for Obama a third time if they could—are some of the most tenacious supporters of systemic racism. Many are such dangerous opponents of racial progress because their targets can't see their racism coming—and often, neither can they.

One dilemma presents itself in the form of corporations and brands co-opting the BLM cause for profit (Myeni 2020):

> In an article for *The Conversation*, Bree Hurst insists that by expressing their support for the Black Lives Matter movement or similar sentiments, brands like Nike and Netflix are somehow showing leadership, writing, "It's easy to dismiss these statements as low-cost tokenism or politically correct wokism" when in fact, brands are taking up "political corporate social responsibility."

Hurst's assessment, Myeni (2020) responds, "cannot be true."

> In fact, the easy thing to do here is to praise White-owned establishments for acknowledging that indeed Black lives matter and throwing chump change to Black organisations. What they do is less about dismantling systemic racism and more of a ploy to appease a quick-to-forget public; it is *performative*. If we are moving towards change, reform and justice, White-owned establishments need to be held to a higher standard than posting on Instagram. Substantive change begins where decisions are made, in boardrooms, where often the only thing of colour is a pen. (Myeni 2020, emphasis added)

Another dilemma is when White protestation and action threatens to eclipse not just individual Black voices but the larger movement. Such was the case in America's largest White city, Portland, Oregon (McGreal 2020). As observed by E. D. Mondainé (2020), the president of the Portland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

> I do not believe it is a time for spectacle. Unfortunately, "spectacle" is now the best way to describe Portland's protests. Vandalizing government buildings and hurling projectiles at law enforcement draw attention—but how do these actions stop police from killing black people? What are antifa and other leftist agitators achieving for the cause of black equality? The "Wall of Moms," while perhaps well-intentioned, ends up redirecting attention away from the urgent issue of murdered black bodies. This might ease the consciences of white, affluent women who have previously been silent in the face of black oppression, but it's fair to ask: Are they really furthering the cause of justice, or is this another example of white co-optation?

Apart from providing some basic historical context in the second paragraph, the AWA Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion does not actually engage with the Black Power movement generally or the BLM movement specifically. Rather, BLM is a stepping stone upon which the authors tread and pivot on their way to their main conversation about how archaeology can help Indigenous people, who, like Black people, are subject to systemic racism. The AWA statement is thus principally about archaeology and the Indigenous liberation movement, not archaeology and BLM.

Issue 3: White Co-optation of Red Power

Yet the authors of the AWA statement do not provide a clear or legitimate reason for connecting themselves—thus the AWA and Washington Archaeology—to the Red Power movement, despite the fact that archaeology does negatively impact the lives of Indigenous peoples (Smith 2004; Gnecco and Dias 2015; Hutchings 2017; Hutchings and La Salle 2017; Gnecco 2018; Van Dyke 2020). Compare, for example, the AWA Mission with that of the Red Power movement (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014) (Figure 1) or, for example, The Council of the Red Nation (2015:1):

> We [The Council of the Red Nation] are a coalition of Native and non-Native activists, educators, students, and community organizers advocating Native liberation. We formed to address the marginalization and invisibility of Native struggles within mainstream social justice organizing, and to foreground the targeted destruction and violence toward Native life and land. The Red Nation is dedicated to the liberation of Native peoples from capitalism and

Figure 1. A group led by American Indian Movement (AIM) members tore down this Christopher Columbus statue outside the Minnesota State Capitol in St. Paul, Minnesota, on June 10, 2020.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christopher_Columbus_Statue_Torn_Down_at_Minnesota_State_Capitol_on_June_10,_2020.jpg

> colonialism. […] The Red Nation rises in the spirit of the countless Native ancestors in the last five centuries who gave their lives resisting the onslaught of invasion.

The mission of The Council of the Red Nation is: 1) the reinstatement of treaty rights; 2) the full rights and equal protection for Native people; 3) the end to disciplinary violence against Native peoples; 4) the end to discrimination against Native youth and poor; 5) the end to the discrimination, persecution, killing, torture, and rape of Native women; 6) the end to the discrimination, persecution, killing, torture, and rape of Native lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit people (LGBTQ2); 7) the end to the dehumanization of Native peoples; 8) access to appropriate education, health care, social services, employment, and housing; and 9) the repatriation of Native lands and lives and protection.

To summarize, the purview of the AWA, as delineated in their Mission, does not intersect with either the Black Power movement or the Red Power movement. Recall that the AWA Mission is to 1) encourage the appreciation, protection, and preservation of Washington State's archaeological resources; 2) promote Washington State's archaeological resources; and 3) disseminate scientific research on Washington State's archaeological resources. There is no explanation for how the AWA Mission intersects with the top concerns of the Black and Red power movements to end systemic violence and oppression.

Issue 4: Naming and Representation

The AWA statement—which includes no signatories but whose authorship is inferred to be the AWA Board of Directors—makes frequent use of the *royal we*, or majestic plural (*pluralis majestatis*). In some instances, the we is clearly identified insofar as the authors describe, for example, how "The Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA) Board of Directors stands in solidarity with the communities impacted by and protesting this violence," and how "The AWA Board of Directors calls on our members and all archaeologists in Washington State and beyond to join us in working towards dismantling racism and white supremacy" (AWA 2020b).

More often, however, it is unclear who (or what) the authors mean when they use the terms "we" and "our." They write, for example, that "Our own discipline was formed in the context of white supremacy;" that "Our discipline was built upon the idea that excavating sacred sites and putting artifacts in museums far from descendant communities was important for history and science;" and that "We must listen, we must learn, and we must act in both our personal and professional lives, so that we can move archaeology towards equity and justice" (AWA 2020b). Probably like most readers, I presume that the terms "we" and "our" here refer to "archaeology" and "archaeologists" (or "Washington archaeology" and "Washington archaeologists"). Yet, contrary to what is being inferred, I believe the author's beliefs are not widely shared.

I believe, for example, that few Washington archaeologists subscribe to the idea that archaeology was/is a form of "white supremacy." Having written and presented on this subject, I can say from experience that nothing makes a roomful of White archaeologists more disagreeable and upset than the suggestion that archaeology was/is a tool of a larger White power movement (Hutchings 2013, 2015; La Salle and Hutchings 2016, 2018, 2019).

While I agree that most Washington archaeologists probably subscribe to the notion that archaeology "was built upon the idea that excavating sacred sites and putting artifacts in museums far from descendant communities was important for history and science," most also subscribe to the notion that archaeology is fundamentally different today. I suspect that most Washington archaeologists—the majority of whom (>95%) work in the cultural resource management industry—believe that archaeologists *save heritage* from the ravages of modernity.

I also believe that Washington archaeologists are unlikely to adopt the credo that "We must listen, we must learn, and we must act in both our personal and professional lives, so that we can move archaeology towards equity and justice." In my experience, archaeologists have a strong disdain for serious discourse about equity and justice, especially when the conversation involves capitalism, elitism, racism, and the deconstruction of professional, state-sanctioned archaeology (Smith 2004; Hutchings 2017; Hutchings and La Salle 2017).

The *royal we* is a powerful linguistic tool that allows those in power—be it an individual or a small group—to universalize and normalize their ideas, despite the fact that those ideas are not widely accepted by the members of their society. The *royal we* problem is exacerbated in the AWA statement by its use in conjunction with the terms "Washington State" and "Washington archaeology." In this light, the AWA statement, written by a very small number of individuals, may be seen by some to reflect not just the views of the AWA membership, but also "Washington archaeology" and "Washington State." Intentional or not, the *royal we* problem means that the AWA statement has a problem with misrepresentation (Hutchings and La Salle 2015).

Issue 5: Academic Archaeology

One key group that does not align with the AWA statement is academic archaeology. While most Pacific Northwest academic archaeologists may concede that archaeology *was* racist in the past (but probably not "white supremacy"), none that I am aware of have claimed in print that archaeology *is* racist today. Indeed, I am not even aware of any academic archaeologists who have acknowledged in print that Pacific Northwest archaeology *was* racist. The AWA statement doesn't make much sense if Washington archaeology isn't racist today, and there appears to be no scholarly recognition of this.

Instead, academic archaeologists maintain that archaeology transcended colonialism and racism when they developed and implemented community archaeology, collaborative archaeology, Indigenous archaeology, and decolonial archaeology (La Salle and Hutchings 2016, 2017). Unlike the old archaeology, the new works in the service of Indigenous people (Hogg et al. 2017). Today, "Collaborative, open, participatory, community-based, public, and Indigenous archaeologies are frequently discussed collectively as a paradigm shift for the discipline" (Van Dyke 2020:41).

In a nutshell, the authors of the AWA statement infer—albeit subtly—that archaeology is racialized and/or racist, yet there is no acknowledgment of this in the academic literature. Further, the authors want to make archaeology transformative, but academics believe that it has been transformative for decades (Hogg et al. 2017: 184, Table 1). Academics and non-academics need to get on the same page before proceeding. This includes agreeing on a definition of archaeology, as discussed below.

Discussion

> Where we once signaled we were good,
> now we signal that we are virtuous.
> B. D. McClay, 2018

In reality, Washington archaeology is not liberatory (except, maybe, for the archaeologists themselves), and the Association for Washington Archaeology is not a liberation movement. However, the AWA Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion suggests otherwise. But to unlock Washington archaeology's "transformative" powers in order to "create spaces for collaboration and healing," the authors have co-opted two minority movements and misrepresented their practice. I address these issues below in the form of three challenges for archaeologists.

Challenge #1. Stop misrepresenting archaeology and its alliances

Archaeologists should stop assuming that an agreed-upon definition of archaeology exists. Academic archaeologists, for example, routinely omit CRM from their definitions (Hutchings and La Salle 2016, 2018), particularly when they are extolling the virtues of collaborative, open, participatory, community-based, public, and Indigenous archaeologies (Fredheim 2020; Van Dyke 2020), and they routinely ignore definitions that are critical of archaeology (Hutchings and La Salle 2019a). Some, for example, define archaeology as a technology of government designed to control Indigenous peoples' identities (Smith 2004) and lands (Hutchings 2017, in press).

It is one thing for archaeologists to misrepresent archaeology. It is something else when they misrepresent their alliances with Black or Indigenous communities.

> For most archaeologists 'collaboration' is more a way of alleviating their guilt (and getting on with their work) than a way of embarking on the path of different practices; more of the 'political correction' that reaches out to marginalized peoples, frequently with an arrogant naiveté built upon selected criteria of authenticity and purity. Many archaeologists are content with offering to local communities cultural crumbs (a local museum,

> a video, a school booklet) while preserving their control over critical issues […]. (Gnecco 2012:398)

Because they study Indigenous people's pasts, and because they are trained to believe they are experts in that pursuit, archaeologists assume and routinely present themselves as allies of Indigenous people. Washington Archaeology's first step toward becoming an ally will, therefore, be its most difficult (MUACSN 2019:2):

> Step #1: Be Critical of Any Motivations
>
> When getting involved in this kind of work, one should ask themselves:
>
> - ***Does my interest*** derive from the fact that the issue is currently "buzzing"?
> - ***Does my interest*** stem from the fact that the issue will meet quotas or increase chances of any funding?
> - ***Does my involvement hijack*** the message and insert my own opinions or values instead of respecting those of the Indigenous communities?
> - ***Am I doing this*** to feed my ego?
>
> These movements and struggles **do not** exist to further one's own self-interest, nor are they there as 'extra-curricular' activities. […] At the end of the day, being an ally goes beyond checking actions off a list and it is not a competition. Being an ally is about a way of being and doing. This means self-reflection, 'checking in' with one's motivations and debriefing with community members is a continual process; it is a way of life. (MUACSN 2019:2)

Steps two and three in becoming an ally are 2) Start learning and 3) Act accordingly (MUACSN 2019:2).

Challenge #2 Language matters

Archaeologists need to stop using the past tense when talking about archaeology's problem with racism and colonialism. While archaeologists can admit that archaeology was unethical in the past, few can (or will) say it is unethical today. Step #1 in becoming an ally (i.e., being critical of archaeology's motivations) involves not just admitting there is a problem but naming the people and organizations involved. What, for example, is the role of Washington State? What is the role of academic archaeology? Of CRM? Of the AWA? Who holds the political power in those organizations? Who funds them?

I suggest the Association for Washington Archaeology should change its name and write a new mission statement. Washington is a colonial name and Indigenous heritage landscapes are not 'Washington archaeology.' As it stands, the organization gives primacy to Washington State and Washington archaeologists. Issues of ownership and allegiance need to be reflected in the Association's new name and mission.

Finally, the authors should consider capitalizing the *w* in White, as they do the *b* in Black (Izadi 2020; Post Report 2020). Doing so reminds White people that they, too, have a racial identity, whether they like it or not (Painter 2020a, 2020b). "The capital W stresses 'White' as a powerful racial category whose privileges should be embedded in its definition" (Painter 2020a). The National Association of Black Journalists recommends that whenever a color is used to appropriately describe race, then it should be capitalized. Painter (2020a) concludes that "One way of remaking race is through spelling—using or not using capital letters. A more potent way, of course, is through behavior."

Challenge #3 Stop (doing) archaeology

If the AWA Board of Directors believes in dismantling racism and White supremacy, as they claim, then they need to stop promoting archaeology (La Salle 2014). As Fredheim (2020:8) observes, "Archaeology has manouvered itself to be perceived as good and of relevance to everyone through its association with 'heritage'" (Waterton and Smith 2009). Yet, archaeology remains a deeply political endeavor that is inextricably

tied to imperialist and colonial ideology and dispossession. So long as this remains true, the right thing is to stop archaeology.

Conclusion

The colonial phrase Whistlin' Dixie refers to something that sounds too good to be true. I have found this to be the case for recent proclamations of archaeology's virtuousness, especially those made in response to institutional anxieties around systemic racism and exclusion. While I cannot tell the future, I can read the past, and Pacific Northwest archaeologists have shown little interest in truth-telling (i.e., Step #1). They are far more interested in rebranding, which involves skipping Step #1 and proceeding directly to what archaeologists think Steps #2 and #3 ought to be (for discussion, see La Salle and Hutchings 2016, 2018; Hutchings and La Salle 2018, 2019a). For example, the only solution the AWA considers for the problem of exclusion is inclusion, which invariably involves creating more archaeologists and growing archaeology. In this way, the AWA statement ensures the survival of archaeology and the livelihood of its practitioners, rather than engaging meaningfully with racism.

To view the statement by the AWA Board of Directors in its entirety, please visit: https://www.archaeologyinwashington.com/awa-news/category/antiracism

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RESILIENCE THROUGH WRITING

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDE TO INDIGENOUS-AUTHORED PUBLICATIONS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST BEFORE 1960

By Robert E. Walls
Darby C. Stapp, Editor and Alexandra Martin & Victoria Boozer, Design

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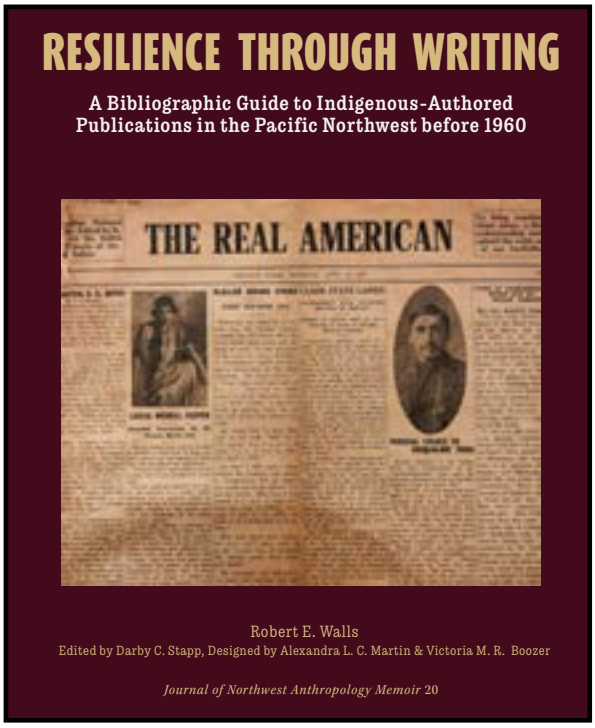

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Alexandra J. Harmon
University of Washington

What Bob Walls has produced here is an indispensable new research tool that will immediately enable Indigenous and settler researchers alike to be better informed about, and able to access, the breadth of pre-1960 Indigenous-authored writings from the Pacific Northwest. But it is much more than that. Each time I turn to it to look up one source I end up finding others that I never anticipated, and each of these, like a portal through time, brings me to another Indigenous voice that offers fresh glimpses into Pacific Northwest Indigenous culture, politics, concerns, and ways of knowing.

Keith Thor Carlson
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Resilience Through Writing: A Bibliographic Guide to Indigenous-Authored Publications in the Pacific Northwest before 1960 is an invaluable, unprecedented guide to published work by Native and Indigenous writers in a broad range of genres. Such writings complemented and extended Native oral traditions, advocated for their peoples, and contributed to the Indigenization of the Northwest print world. Together with Robert E. Walls' introduction and notes, the almost 2,000 entries deepen our historical understanding of these voices. Representing only a fraction of the Indigenous-authored material published over the last 150 years, may this volume stimulate further research into the complexity and depth of PNW Indigenous writing, history, culture, geography, and literature.

M.E. Braun, Retired Editor
Oregon State University Press

What a wonderful piece of work! From start to finish, it feels like such a labour of love. There is a feeling of huge respect all through this document. There is so much there that will be completely new to people. Much was completely new to me. Walls contextualizes the bibliography so beautifully in his introduction. It clearly took a huge pile of work just to find all those obscure pieces of writing. The annotations are equally as important. I love the way the bibliography crosses the USA-Canadian border. So few publications of this nature do this. Indigenous scholars and community members from both countries will find so much of interest and value. There are more potential graduate theses in this document than I can count (on topics that range from gender and politics to ethnography and folklore). It was exciting to see so many female-authored items. Thank you so much for sharing this with me. I can't wait to share it with friends and colleagues.

Wendy Wickwire
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