Journal Of Northwest Anthropology

Journal of
Northwest Anthropology

CONTENTS

POLICY

The *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, published semiannually by Northwest Anthropology LLC, in Richland, Washington, is a refereed journal and welcomes contributions of professional quality dealing with anthropological research in northwestern North America. Theoretical and interpretive studies and bibliographic works are preferred, although highly descriptive studies will be considered if they are theoretically significant. The primary criterion guiding selection of papers will be how much new research they can be expected to stimulate or facilitate.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The subscription price is $55.00 U.S. per annum for individuals and small firms, $100.00 for institutional subscriptions, $30.00 for students with proof of student status, and $25.00 for all electronic subscriptions; payable in advance and online. Please visit the website for international subscription prices. Remittance should be made payable to Northwest Anthropology LLC. Subscriptions, manuscripts, changes of address, and all other correspondence should be addressed to:

MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts can be submitted in an electronic file in Microsoft Word sent via e-mail to the Richland, WA, office. An abstract must accompany each manuscript. Footnotes and endnotes are discouraged. Questions of reference and style can be answered by referring to the style guide found on the website or to *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 47(1):109–118. Other problems of style can be normally solved through reference to *The Manual of Style*, University of Chicago Press. All illustrative materials (drawings, maps, diagrams, charts, and plates) will be designated "Figures" in a single, numbered series and will not exceed 6 x 9 inches. All tabular material will be part of a separately numbered series of "Tables."

Editorial

Darby C. Stapp

I start with a piece of good news. Just as we were finalizing this issue of the *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* (*JONA*), we learned that our friend and colleague Ed Carriere—co-author of *JONA Memoir* 15, *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry: Fifty Years of Basketry Studies in Culture and Science*—had won a "Community Spirit Award." The award comes from the First Peoples Fund, which is sponsored by an Indigenous organization known as We the Peoples Before. This prestigious honor, along with a $25,000 stipend, is awarded to "exceptional artists who have worked selflessly throughout their lives to weave their cultural knowledge and ancestral gifts into their communities" (https://www. firstpeoplesfund.org/community-spirit-awards).

Mr. Carriere's nomination for the award was most certainly bolstered by the release of our 2018 *JONA* publication. It was in *Re-Awakening* that Ed and his co-author Dale Croes described their extensive personal histories with Northwest Coast basketry, and where they first coined their term "Generationally Linked Archaeology," which they defined as a new approach that connects contemporary cultural specialists with ancient and ancestral artists through the science of archaeology. In the book they showed how they could use basketry evidence from archaeological sites to discover details about materials and weaving techniques, some that have been lost and others that continue to this day. Throughout their book Ed and Dale show how they have been able to learn from 200 generations (4,000 years) of ancestors.

In addition to creating the opportunity for Ed and Dale to distill and present their ideas, the book became a vehicle for spreading their message. Soon after publishing *Re-Awakening*, there were book signing events, followed by newspaper articles announcing the book, and then local and regional tribal and archaeological conferences and meetings where Ed and Dale were featured speakers. The regional attention created by the new book further cemented Ed's reputation as a Master Basketmaker. In a spin-off article announcing the concept of Generationally Linked Archaeology we wrote for the SAA Archaeological Record, the quarterly magazine of the Society for American Archaeology, the editor, Anna Marie Prentiss, characterized the concept as "nothing less than a new paradigm for collaborative partnerships between indigenous groups and archaeologists"[2018, 18(5):2; see article at: https://www.academia.edu/48503826/ GENERATIONALLY_LINKED_ARCHAEOLO- GY_explained]. Comments like this have helped make *Re-Awakening* our best selling memoir. It is a good example of the benefits that come with publishing in the *JONA Memoir Serie*s.

With reports suggesting that COVID-19 may be subsiding, this is a good time to give a state-of-the-journal report. While all of our lives have been disrupted by the pandemic, I am pleased to report that no one on our *JONA* team suffered any serious health effects. The work of our parent organization, Northwest Anthropology LLC (NWA), was impacted early on; however, thanks to the government's Payroll Protection Program, we were able to keep our core team in place. We have been able to maintain our heritage preservation work associated with traditional cultural properties, but have had to abandon our archaeological assessment work. The status of NWA is important because NWA profits help cover *JONA* revenue shortfalls.

Manuscript submissions to the journal and the memoir series continue to be strong. The steady stream of quality material submitted to the journal allowed us to publish a record number of journal pages in 2021 (355 pages); we

will likely exceed this number in 2022. We've also managed to publish three memoirs during the pandemic, along with a collection of essays on sharing cultural and archaeological information. In 2021 we began publishing proceedings for the Northwest Anthropological Conference, something that we plan to continue in 2022.

JONA revenues have been stable. Institutional and individual subscriptions are the main contributors to revenue and remain steady. *JONA* Memoir sales contribute a smaller percentage of revenue, but continue to increase. Since 2012, when we re-started the *JONA Memoir Series* with the publication of *Festschrift in Honor of Max G. Pavesic* (#7), we have published 14 book-length manuscripts. All of these continue to sell in modest numbers, and revenue from Amazon royalties are increasing steadily. As the titles find their ways into the professional literature, and as we add new titles to our catalogue, this revenue stream will become more significant.

Various measures, such as website visitation and requests for past *JONA* articles suggest that more and more people are becoming aware of the journal and our memoirs. This is largely the result of our social media efforts. In 2022 we will be expanding our efforts to find and involve anthropologists interested in the Pacific Northwest.

This first issue of 2022 contains a nice balance of material. The opening article concerns Indigenous names on the Colville Reservation and reflects the type of original research for which *JONA* is known. Interestingly, the submission came from a team of researchers at the University of Michigan; we don't often see manuscripts from researchers located outside the Northwest, so hopefully this is the start of a new trend. The next article focuses on the historical settlement of the Olympic Peninsula using linguistic information; we encourage areal overview-type research like this that synthesizes recent research to keep our readers up to date. Our third article tells the story of the WARC, the Washington Archaeological Research Center (1981–1998), an innovative organization that

emerged to meet the evolving needs of archaeological management; this institutional history is part of our "History of Northwest Anthropology" series, which is designed to ensure that our readers understand how Northwest anthropology came to be. The WARC article is followed by the nineteenth century French-authored article on native masks from Alaska; this article continues our tradition of publishing important translated material from the past. We close with two responses from our readers to a critique published in volume 55, number 2; we were glad to publish these opinion pieces as we have been encouraging our readers to contribute commentaries on contemporary issues as a way to foster debates from which we can all learn.

Names Used Among Native Americans at the Colville Indian Agency: Perspectives from the 1885 Bureau of Indian Affairs Census

Jillian Gordner, Arland Thornton, and Linda Young-DeMarco

Affiliation
Public Interest Research Group

University of Michigan

University of Michigan

Corresponding Author
Arland Thornton

arlandt@umich.edu

Abstract   *In this study we examine the types and frequency of names used among American Indians in a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) census conducted by the Colville Indian Agency in 1885. In the 1885 Colville census both Native and Euro-American names could be recorded, and our analysis shows that one-quarter of the people were recorded with only a Native name, just under two-thirds were recorded with only a Euro-American name, and just over one-tenth were recorded with both a Native and Euro-American name. Of those Natives reported with a Euro-American name, just over five-sixths were recorded with a traditional Euro-American name. In addition to documenting the overall frequency of various types of names, we examine how these patterns vary by gender, birth cohort, and Native group. Our results show that the frequency of reporting a Native name declined from about seventy percent to just over ten percent across the birth cohorts from 1790–1815 to 1876–1885 while the reporting of traditional Euro-American names increased substantially from about forty percent for the birth cohort of 1790–1815 to about eighty percent for the 1866–1875 birth cohort. There were also sharp distinctions in the frequency of Native and Euro-American names recorded for the different groups. Whereas the names recorded by one specific group were entirely Euro-American, with no Native names, in another group, only a third were recorded with Euro-American names and nearly one-hundred percent were recorded with a Native name. We discuss possible explanations for the differences across gender, across birth cohorts, and across groups, with particular emphasis on the nature of interactions with Euro-Americans.*

Keywords   Columbia Plateau Indians, names, culture, developmental idealism.

Introduction

This article is motivated by an interest in the names recorded for American Indians as Natives were influenced by and interacted with Euro-Americans and Euro-American institutions. We are interested in the use of names because they provide a window into the ways in which Native people rejected, adopted, and resisted the introduction of Euro-American cultural patterns. We examine the use of names in one specific social setting—the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) census conducted in 1885 by the Colville Indian Agency among Natives living on the Columbia Plateau in the eastern part of the state of Washington.

More specifically, we document within the 1885 Colville BIA census the frequency of individuals enumerated with Euro-American names, with American Indian names, and with both Euro-American and Native names. For those recorded with Euro-American names, we document the types of Euro-American names that were recorded. We also examine how the frequency of different types of names varied across Native groups, gender, and year of birth of the individual people. Our investigation of group, gender, and birth cohort differences permits insights into how naming practices at the Colville Agency in 1885 may have been influenced by different patterns of rejection, adoption, and resistance across these dimensions of social position.

We interpret the results of our study within the conceptual and theoretical framework of the developmental idealism perspective formulated and disseminated by Thornton and colleagues (Thornton 2005; Thornton, Dorius, and Swindle 2015). The developmental idealism (DI) framework posits the existence of a DI culture that originated in northwestern Europe and a theory that the spread of this DI culture internationally has had the potential for great influence on the people and societies outside of Europe. The DI culture originated in northwest Europe and contains the beliefs that societies move through a series of hierarchical developmental stages from less to more developed, with Europeans being at the apex of development, even defining what it means to be developed or modern, and Indigenous inhabitants of other regions of the world such as Africa, Australia, and the Americas being at the lowest level of development. These Europeans—and subsequently, Euro-Americans—also believed that developed or modern societies were better than other societies and that the health and standard of living of non-Europeans would be facilitated by adopting the modern culture of Europe.

The theory associated with the DI framework posits that this DI culture has been disseminated widely around the world through many mecha-nisms, with great potential to disrupt and change the receiving societies. The receiving societies, of course, had their own pre-existing cultures with their own values, beliefs, styles of dress, family structures, and naming patterns that were often very different from DI culture. The introduction of DI culture into such receiving societies can lead to a clash of cultures, with the DI culture often being rejected. There may also be motivation for the acceptance of DI culture as it is often associated with lower mortality and greater wealth and technological capacity. Such adoption of DI culture in a non-European setting can also be facilitated by the power of Euro-Americans to force the adoption of aspects of DI culture. It is also possible for the pre-existing local culture and DI culture to be combined in various syncretic ways.

In our article, we consider how DI culture in the form of Euro-American preference for Euro-American names and antipathy toward Native names was introduced on the Columbia Plateau and how it played out in this setting through patterns of adoption, resistance, and rejection of Euro-American names. In addition, we recognize that adoption, resistance, rejection, and syncretism can be motivated by many different reasons. Also, a particular name pattern may be the result of entirely different interaction strategies. One Native person may use a Euro-American name rather than a Native name in a census setting because he/she truly identifies with the Euro-American name, has a personally positive connotation with the name, and the Native name has a negative meaning. Alternatively, another person may state a Euro-American name or acquiesce to the Euro-American name being recorded in order to curry favor with or avoid sanction from a Euro-American enumerator, to keep one's true name or names unknown to Euro-American authorities, and/or to feign acceptance of the DI culture being promoted by Euro-Americans.

We are not interested in the 1885 Colville Agency census because of its importance in Native history, but because it provides a window

into understanding one of the ways Natives represented themselves to Euro-Americans. We investigate the general issue of the overall use of Euro-American and Native names among those associated with the Colville Agency by focusing on one particular Euro-American institution—the 1885 BIA census. We consider both the distribution of such names and investigate how the recorded names varied by gender, year of birth, and group to obtain insights into how Euro-American names were adopted, rejected, and/or combined with Native names among residents participating in the 1885 Colville census. We also provide possible interpretations for the types of names recorded while at the same time expecting that the distribution of names used in the census would be very different from name usage when Natives were communicating with each other, as well as potentially different in other settings with Euro-Americans.

Our study of the use and reporting of names on the 1885 Colville census is useful because throughout history names have been associated with cultural beliefs, values, and identity. American Indian names often held cosmological, spiritual, and ancestral importance, and the substitution of Euro-American names for Native ones could mean that some of this meaning had been diminished (Ross 2011:127). In addition, the adoption or imposition of a Euro-American name could distance or appear to distance a person away from their Native culture and incorporate them more into Western culture. It is, of course, impossible for our Euro-American research team more than a hundred years later to get inside the heads of the people participating in the 1885 census to know their values, beliefs, motives, and strategies, but we do believe that it is possible through careful consideration of history and context to provide some insight into the pattern of names used in that census.

Before proceeding with the main body of our article, we make a note about our terminology for discussing Native people. Where appropriate, we refer to the individual groups

by their currently common specific names, such as Colville, Spokan, and Nez Perce. At the same time, we need more general terminology to refer to aggregates of Natives at the national and regional levels. For the national level, we use the language of "American Indian" or "Native American," and for the local level we use the language of "Columbia Plateau Native" or "Colville Native." We also frequently use the term "Native" as a shorthand term for "American Indian" or "Plateau Native." We recognize the difficulties presented by this language; for example, before Christopher Columbus, there was no "America," and India was in Asia. At the same time, vocabulary for aggregates is needed, and we are not aware of more accepted words for the concepts we need to express.

We recognize that the outsiders that came to the Columbia Plateau and Colville region beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries consisted of both Europeans and the descendants of Europeans who we refer to as Euro-Americans. For later periods we generally refer to these two groups as Euro-Americans, although sometimes distinguishing between British, French, Italian, and American. We also sometimes use the language of whites to refer to aggregates of Europeans and Euro-Americans.

We organize the rest of the paper into four main sections. The first section discusses the geographical, historical, social, and cultural background that is necessary to understand and interpret the patterns of name use that we document in the article. The first part of this background section focuses on the Columbia Plateau and the Native groups associated with the Colville Agency. This background section then discusses the coming to the region of Europeans and Euro-Americans, with particular emphasis on the fur trade, Christian missionaries, school teachers, government agents, and army troops. This background section then discusses ways in which the Columbia Plateau Natives may have been motivated to accept Euro-American culture and how Euro-Americans exercised power in attempts to coerce adoption of Euro-American

ways. The background section then considers how the introduction of Euro-Americans and their culture into the Columbia Plateau led to a clash of cultures and the rejection of Euro-American culture. The background section ends with a summary of various elements affecting the use of Euro-American names by Plateau Natives.

The background section is followed by a section concerning data and methods that summarizes our data source—the Bureau of Indian Affairs census program—and our analytical methods. The next section presents our empirical results. We conclude the article with a section of discussion and interpretation.

Geographical, Historical, Social, and Cultural Background

The Columbia Plateau and the Native Groups of the Colville Agency

The Colville Indian Agency in 1885 administered three reservations established by executive order: the Colville and Spokane in present-day eastern Washington and the Coeur d'Alene in present-day northern Idaho, established respectively in 1872, 1881, and 1873 (Ross 2011:71–76; Arnold 2012:3–7). In 1885 the groups "occupying these reservations and the outlying country adjacent thereto are the Colville, Upper, Middle, and Lower Spokanes, Lakes, Okanagans, Nespilums, San Puells, Joseph's band of Nez Perce's, Moses's band of Columbias, Calispels, or Lower Pend d' Oreilles, and the Coeur d' Ale'nes" (Waters 1885:183[1]). These twelve groups represented a subset of Natives historically occupying the Columbia Plateau of the Pacific Northwest in southern British Columbia, western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington and Oregon.

Although cultural and social differences existed among the Indigenous Columbia Plateau groups, there were numerous similarities that have led anthropologists and historians to group them together as closely related "Columbia Plateau Indians" (Burns 1966; Miller 1985;

Walker 1998; Cebula 2003; Ross 2011). The many elements shared among these Native people include settlement patterns along rivers and lakes, with reliance on fish, game, and root resources for food; extensive kinship ties across the various groups; limited political integration; information and trade networks within and beyond the Plateau; and fairly uniform "religious beliefs and practices focused on the vision quest, shamanism, life-cycle observances, and seasonal celebrations of the annual subsistence cycle" (Walker 1998:3; also Frey 2001:22–49). Although the Natives of the Columbia Plateau had an extensive gendered division of labor before the coming of Europeans, they also had extensive "gender equality with equal access to power, authority, and autonomy" (Ackerman 2003:3; Cebula 2003:16–18).

The Native people of the Columbia Plateau also believed that the world was populated with numerous spirits associated with various objects, including animals, plants, rocks, the sun, and the wind (Miller 1985:15–17; Frey 2001:22–49; Cebula 2003:6–15; McWhorter 2020:295–300). Moreover, Plateau Natives believed that a person could obtain access to these spirits and receive from them protection, information, the curing of disease, control of the weather, and insights in making and implementing decisions (Jessett 1960:37–38; Miller 1985:15–17; Walker 1985:18–30; Josephy 1997:24–27; Cebula 2003:6–15; McWhorter 2020:295–300). Some of these spirits were believed to be strong and others weak, making the Plateau Natives flexible in following the spirit with the most power in positively influencing the lives of people. In addition, just as some spirits were believed to have more power than others, some individuals were believed to have particularly great ability to access the spiritual powers. This perceived universe of powerful supernatural beings who could be a person's helper made success or failure dependent on these supernatural powers.

Names held great spiritual and familial importance for Columbia Plateau Natives.

---

[1]   As spelled by Sidney D. Waters, the Colville Indian Agent.

Ross (2011:127) indicated that a name for a child was often revealed to a pregnant woman through some supernatural mechanism such as a dream, a vision, or an animal. Like in many societies, names were often passed down in one family through generations, with one common practice being to name a child after a relative who had died (Axtell and Aragon 1997:5–8; Ross 2011:127–129). Names were also linked to success; as Axtell and Aragon pointed out, "The old belief is to have an Indian name to get to The Good Land, The Good Place" (1997:7).

A Plateau newborn was typically given her/his name at the time of birth or soon thereafter. In addition, a person might acquire several different names across the life course. Name changes could occur based on the passing of a relative, a military success, a major life event, or a preference for a new name (Ross 2011:127–129). Name giving ceremonies involving the family and larger community were held at the time infants received their names, and additional ones occurred each time people changed their names (Axtell and Aragon 1997:6–8; Ross 2011:127–129).

The Coming of Europeans and Euro-Americans

The Columbia Plateau Native groups were influenced in many ways by the introduction of European and Euro-American people, horses, trade goods, economy, and diseases. The first wave of Europeans and Euro-Americans into the Columbia Plateau came in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, but European and Euro-American influence was felt much earlier. The expansive trade routes used by the Native Americans allowed European goods and information about Europeans to reach the Plateau by the early 1700s (Cebula 2003:33–36, 41–45). Horses also arrived on the Plateau before white people, broadening the reach of Native economic activities, trade, and information networks (Josephy 1997:28–32; Frey 2001:50–108; Cebula 2003:28–31; Pinkham and Evans 2013:18–23). In addition, the Natives experienced multiple rounds of deadly epidemics before Europeans

and Euro-Americans entered the Plateau (Cebula 2003:36–41).

The first Europeans and Euro-Americans to enter the Columbia Plateau traveled from the east—from Canada came the British exploring groups led by Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, and David Thompson, and from the United States came the American Corp of Discovery led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. These first groups came to the Plateau with a desire to understand the region and its Native inhabitants and to claim the Oregon Territory for their respective countries. Another important motivation of these early travelers was economic—to establish fur trading relations with the Natives. The importance of the fur industry in bringing these explorers to the Plateau is demonstrated by the fact that Mackenzie, Fraser, and Thompson were employees of the North West [Fur] Company headquartered in Montreal, and Lewis and Clark were directly commissioned by the United States government to expand the U.S. fur trade (Jefferson 1803a, 1803b).

The fur industry dominated the interactions of whites and Plateau Indians during the first several decades of the nineteenth century, a dominance that followed the pattern previously experienced in much of North America (Wishart 1992:18–19; Dolin 2010:21–116). The French were very active in the fur business along the St. Lawrence River in the early 1600s, quickly moved across the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi River, and reached to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains by the middle of the eighteenth century (Dolin 2010:95–116; Barman 2014:15). With the French defeat in the French and Indian War in 1763, the vast French fur trade ended, but was soon revived with smaller enterprises that consolidated later into the large and powerful North West Company (Merk 1968:xi–xii; Barman 2014:18). Although most of the officers in the North West Company and other fur companies in western North America in the early nineteenth century were British or of British descent, large fractions of the non-leadership personnel were French

Canadians who shared "paternal ancestral origins in what is today Quebec, the French language, [and] adherence to Catholicism" (Barman 2014:5, 59–60). These French Canadians included men with only French ancestors, those with only Native ancestry, and individuals with both French and Native ancestry.

The English founders of New England early in the 1600s quickly became involved in the fur business (Dolin 2010:39–73). Another important British entity in the fur trade was the Hudson's Bay Company which was incorporated in 1670. A charter from the British government gave this private company a trading monopoly over all the land that drained into Hudson Bay and Hudson Straits, including eastward drainage from the Rocky Mountains (Merk 1968:xi). In 1821 it received British authority to expand west of the Rocky Mountains into Oregon Territory, including today's Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia (Merk 1968:xi–xii).

The United States was only recognized as a country in 1783 and was a late entry into the fur business (Dolin 2010:122–130). The War of Independence had also damaged the fur business in the new country, and the British refused to turn over important fur posts to the United States until 1796. Yet, when the United States received the Louisiana Territory in 1803 from France, it obtained the fur trading center of St. Louis and subsequently extended its presence far up the Missouri River and into the Columbia Plateau (Josephy 1997:44–45; Dolin 2010:176–180).

The British North West Company established the first fur trading post on the Columbia Plateau in 1807 and then expanded throughout most of the region (Josephy 1997:40–55; Belyea 2007:xvii). In 1811, the American-controlled Pacific Fur Company established Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River and posts on the Columbia Plateau (Josephy 1997:46–50; Dolin 2010:189–222). This 1811 American effort ended during the War of 1812 when the British took over American operations (Josephy 1997:51). Nevertheless, by the early 1820s, the American fur traders were penetrating the Plateau region,

initiating competition with the British, and holding a Rocky Mountain Rendezvous almost every year from 1825 to 1840 as a place for traders and trappers to meet and exchange goods from the east for furs from the west (Gowans 1985; Stern 1996:28–40).

The reactions of the Plateau Indians to the fur companies varied; some participated in fur trapping more than others (Merk 1968:54, 94–95; Nez Perce Tribe 2003:20–21). However, even for those Natives who did not participate in fur trapping, the whites offered a market for food and horses that attracted many (Cebula 2003:61–68).

The presence of the fur traders, trading posts, and rendezvous provided the Columbia Plateau Natives extensive interaction with whites and Christian Natives from eastern North America (Frey 2001:50–108; Cebula 2003:54–56). When the fur traders arrived on the Plateau, they introduced new forms of sophisticated technology, military weaponry, and material goods of various kinds such as production tools, woven blankets and clothing, and cooking implements. Many Natives were highly impressed with the technology, material goods, and living standards the whites conspicuously displayed; were motivated to obtain them; and spent many years trading their time and goods to the white traders for various commodities. The traders also had relatively low mortality, especially when compared to the contemporary health circumstances of the Plateau Natives who suffered terrible epidemics brought by pathogens from Europe (Cebula 2003:53–75).

The fur trade also provided the Plateau Natives observations concerning the cultural and religious beliefs, values, and practices of the whites. At least some of the trading posts conducted religious services, offered religious instruction, and invited Natives to participate (Stern 1993:110; Cebula 2003:70–72). Many Natives witnessed the religious practices of the whites, including prayer, Bible reading, and the singing of hymns, although often with only vague understanding (Evans 1976:10; Josephy

1997:81–82; Cebula 2003). As part of this experience with whites, the Plateau Natives likely heard some of the fundamental propositions of developmental idealism that Euro-Americans were more advanced or modern than the Natives; that modern society was good; and that the Natives could achieve the technology, wealth, and health of the whites by adopting attributes of white society.

Acceptance and Desire for European and Euro-American Knowledge and Technology

We now turn to a discussion of the range of responses of Columbia Plateau Natives to the coming of Euro-Americans and their culture and social systems exemplifying developmental idealism, looking first at motivations to accept elements of Euro-American culture and later focusing on clashes of culture and resistance to Euro-American culture. The Plateau Native belief system discussed earlier provided a clear foundation for Native understanding of the sources of Euro-American material possessions, technology, and health (Walker 1985:43–44; Cebula 2003:53–68, 131–133; Pinkham and Evans 2013:234–237). Given the Plateau worldview of spiritual forces providing worldly benefits, it was easy for many Natives to attribute Euro-American wealth, health, technology, and military prowess to their knowledge of spirits and ability to access them. The desire for Euro-American technology, armaments, health, and material goods combined with a belief that these attributes were produced by Euro-American spiritual knowledge and power led some Columbia Plateau Natives to accept, welcome, and even seek Euro-American spiritual knowledge and power.

We know that some Natives actively sought out white medical expertise and assistance from the early explorers to the Plateau such as Fraser, Lewis, and Clark (Meriwether Lewis and William Clark quoted in Moulton 2002:177–179, 211–214, 246–249, 272–273; Simon Fraser quoted in Lamb 2007:139; Pinkham and Evans 2013:123–128). This may have been motivated, at least in part, by the epidemics that devastated the Plateau Natives, calling into question the power of the Natives' spirits and/or the Natives' ability to obtain the spirits' assistance in the new disease world, a phenomenon reported elsewhere in the Americas (Sheehan 1980:166; Axtell 1981:251; Calloway 2003:156). The apparent immunity of whites to many of the diseases that devastated the Natives would have given the Natives reasons to believe that the whites knew of powerful spirits or ways of accessing the spirits that the Natives did not have and that there was power in the Christian religion that the Natives could access.

The desire for white spiritual knowledge and power was also likely reflected in the responses of some Plateau Natives to the organized proselyting efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had in 1821 incorporated within it the North West Company. As part of this 1821 merger agreement, the Company was charged by the British government to provide Natives religious instruction (Josephy 1997:82). In 1824–1825, George Simpson, the governor of the Company, made a cross-country trip to the Pacific Ocean that included discussions of the possibility of missionary and educational work; he reported that several Native leaders expressed delight at the prospect of having Euro-American instructors among them (Merk 1968:106–107). Although the Hudson's Bay Company never sent spiritual instructors to the Plateau, Simpson did request that the Natives send two youths to attend the Anglican missionary school at the Red River Settlement, which would later become Winnipeg, Manitoba. The Native leaders responded very positively to Simpson's request, and two teenage sons of important leaders accompanied Simpson to the Red River School (Jessett 1960:22–26; Josephy 1997:82–85). When the two boys returned home to the Plateau four years later in 1829, they had been baptized Christian, had short haircuts, had Bibles and Books of Common Prayer, dressed as whites, spoke English, and demonstrated knowledge of European society (Jessett 1960:30–33). They returned to the Red River School in 1830, bringing

with them five other Plateau boys (Oliphant 1937:239–240; Josephy 1997:88–89).

By the early 1830s, many Columbia Plateau Natives had learned and implemented substantial amounts of Christian practice (Jessett 1960:47–62). These adopted Christian practices included sabbath observance, Sunday worship, including prayer, confession of sins, holy days, and morning and evening prayers (Jessett 1960:47–62; Cebula 2003:52–87). Although the lack of literacy among the Plateau Natives prevented them from recording their own beliefs, motivations, and practices concerning Euro-American religion during this time, fur traders and missionaries provided extensive documentation that such practices were widespread in the 1830s before the coming of Christian missionaries (Jessett 1960:61–71; Josephy 1997:90–113, 123–127; Cebula 2003:52–87).

The 1830s also witnessed outreach of Columbia Plateau Natives for Euro-American knowledge, expertise, and power (Bischoff 1945:9–11; Josephy 1997:96–98; Frey 2001:62–63; Pinkham and Evans 2013:235). Between 1831 and 1839, the Nez Perce of Northern Idaho and the Salish of Western Montana combined to make four very long and dangerous trips from the Plateau to St. Louis, Missouri, to obtain teachers to bring Euro-American knowledge and technology to the Plateau. The Nez Perce and Salish travelers also indicated that the Spokans, Cayuses, and Kutenais wanted white teachers (Cebula 2003:97).

The 1831–1839 trips to St. Louis by the Columbia Plateau Natives generated a flurry of interest among both Protestants and Catholics, but getting missionaries to the region took several years. In 1836 two Presbyterian missions were established on the Plateau—one among the Cayuses at Waiilatpu in present-day eastern Washington by Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and one among the Nez Perces at Lapwai in present-day northern Idaho by Henry and Eliza Spalding. These missionaries were welcomed by many and received requests from some Spokans, Pend d'Oreilles, and Coeur d'Alenes for teachers

in their own areas (Drury 1936:191–201; Josephy 1997:180–181). These missionaries requested additional missionaries, and in 1838 four more Presbyterian couples arrived and established a mission among the Spokan at Tshimakain near present-day Spokane and one among the Nez Perce at Kamiah about sixty miles east of Lapwai (Jessett 1960:74–86; Miller 1985:85–86; Ruby and Brown 2006:62–68).

In 1840, the Jesuit Father Pierre Jean De Smet and his party made an exploratory trip to the Plateau and reported very strong interest among many Salish and Pend d'Oreilles (Evans 1976:26-27; Carriker 1995:31-37). In 1841, De Smet returned to Plateau country with a small team of Jesuit missionaries who established Saint Mary's Mission in western Montana (Bischoff 1945:29–31; Carriker 1995:48). People from other groups, including the Coeur d'Alene, Sanpoil, Kalispels, Kootenai, and Okinagon also expressed interest, and in 1842 the Jesuits established the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes (Bischoff 1945:38–41; Evans 1976:36–49; Kowrach 1999:29–37; Frey 2001:63–66; Cebula 2003:98). By 1847, the Jesuits had established a dozen missions on the Columbia Plateau, including missions among the Kalispels, Kutenais, Okanagons, Pend d'Oreilles, and at Kettle Falls, bordering the yet-to-be established Colville reservation (Bischoff 1945:50–63; Cebula 2003:98). These missions resulted in hundreds of baptisms and Native involvement in the construction of mission buildings (Bischoff 1945:50–63; Burns 1966:44–46; Frey 2001:63–66; Fortier 2002:54–65). Many of the Catholic missionaries on the Plateau were Italian, introducing Italian culture and language to the region (McKevitt 1990, 2007; Burns 1966:54–55).

Another example of what appeared to be, at least on the surface, an acceptance of Euro-American ways can be observed in 1878 with the formation of the Deep Creek Colony. This group consisted of Spokans that were included in the BIA Colville Agency census of 1885 (Drury 1949:165–166; Mann 2007:170–172). The Deep Creek Colony was established under

the leadership of William Three Mountains roughly 15 miles away from the main location of the Spokans who resided near the present-day city of Spokane (Mann 2007:169–171).

The Spokans had received extensive Anglican influence from the time that the two Native students had returned to the Columbia Plateau from the Red River School in 1829. And, as mentioned earlier, the Presbyterian Tshimakain Mission had been established near present-day Spokane in the late 1830s, and Three Mountains had lived for a year at the Presbyterian mission as a teenager. With the support of a Presbyterian minister, Henry Cowley, the Deep Creek Colony became a Presbyterian agricultural colony in 1878, with the goal of avoiding forced removal from the area by adopting Euro-American attributes, including patterns of land settlement and private ownership (Drury 1949:167–168; Mann 2007:170–173). In 1880, a Presbyterian Church was organized at the Colony and received support from several Nez Perce ministers who had been trained at the Presbyterian ministerial school operated by Sue and Kate McBeth on the Nez Perce Reservation (Drury 1949:167; Lewis 2003:185–189).

Our discussion to this point may have led readers to conclude that all Columbian Plateau Natives wanted to abandon their historical beliefs and practices and adopt every aspect of Christianity, but that conclusion would be overwhelmingly wrong. Instead, it is likely that the Plateau Natives who accepted elements of Euro-American religion were like many Natives elsewhere who "were inclusivist, ready to incorporate new ideas and ceremonies," but not ready to "abandon the multitude of ritual practices by which they negotiated the web of relationships that determined the course of everyday life" (Richter 2001). Pinkham and Evans (2013:234) summarized the complex situation among Plateau Natives this way: "it was undoubtedly the hope and belief of the Nimiipuu [Nez Perce] that whatever learning they might acquire would only enhance their existing access to spiritual power. In other words, they were less interested

in converting to Christianity than in adding more spiritual dimensions to their already rich spiritual lives." The result on the Columbia Plateau for those adopting Euro-American practices was a syncretic religion combining both Christian and Native elements that one fur trader called the "Columbian Religion," a designation adopted by Cebula (2003:81–82). This syncretic spirituality was sometimes a frustration to the missionaries involved (Drury 1958:107–147).

Resistance and Rejection of European and Euro-American Culture and Society

In addition to the acceptance (or appearances of such) of European and Euro-American ways, there was also strong resistance and energetic, even violent, rejection. In fact, resistance, division, and conflict between Plateau Natives and Euro-Americans surfaced quickly after the establishment of the missions on the Plateau and continued in numerous forms for many decades (Drury 1979:49–59; Josephy 1997:209–214; Cebula 2003:107–109). For example, in 1839, the Presbyterian missionary Henry Spalding recorded his confrontation at Lapwai with two powerful Nez Perce—one of whom appeared to have been an enthusiastic supporter three years earlier when the mission was established. The two Nez Perce pointed out irreconcilable differences existing between the historical practices of the Natives and Christian teachings, and Spalding later expressed his frustration with the claim that many Natives appeared "like another race of beings from what they did when we first came among them" (Spalding quoted in Drury 1979:48–50). Even stronger sentiments were expressed by Pierre DeSmet, the Jesuit missionary to the Plateau, who described some Salish opponents in Montana as being "the most formidable and dangerous adversaries of religion; the ministers of Satan himself… who by their impostures and diabolical arts, always impose on the simple and ignorant" (De Smet 1985:30–31).

Relations between the Columbia Plateau Natives and the Presbyterian missionaries soured even more in the 1840s. This was likely related,

in part, to the completion of the Oregon Trail in 1841 that dramatically increased the flow of Euro-American settlers passing through and settling on the Plateau, disrupting Native lives and putting pressure on Native lands (Josephy 1997:244–247; Cebula 2003:124–127). The Waiilatpu Mission was located on the Oregon Trail, the missionary Whitman led the first Oregon Trail wagon train to make it all the way across the country, and the mission became a resting and resupply point for the increasing stream of emigrants, making the Natives very unhappy about the role of the mission in white encroachment (Drury 1998:242–243). The emigrants also brought with them a measles epidemic that was deadly around Waiilatpu, raising skepticism about the power of the whites and bringing suspicion that the Whitmans were using their power to poison the Cayuses so that they could more easily take their land and horses (Miller 1985:105–106; Drury 1997:161–163; Josephy 1997:250).

In 1846 and 1847, Spalding reported in his letters vandalism and hostility to himself and his family, including fences being destroyed, his house being stoned, his mill dam being torn down, and being threatened at gunpoint (Drury 1958:337). These deteriorating relationships culminated in the 1847 massacre at the Waiilatpu mission by some Cayuses who murdered the Whitmans and several others (Drury 1936:341–347; Miller 1985:92–108; Josephy 1997:240–252; Cebula 2003:126). A group of Nez Perces almost immediately set out to repeat this massacre at Lapwai, but the Spaldings were protected by supportive Nez Perces. Despite this protection, the Spaldings left Lapwai, and all Presbyteran (but not Catholic) missions on the Plateau were permanently closed (Drury 1936:341–350; Josephy 1997:254–262).

The increased numbers of white settlers and their demand for land led the U.S. government in 1855 to pressure the Nez Perces, Yakamas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, and Salish in Montana to make treaties in which the government took land from the Natives and restricted them to reservations in exchange

for money and goods (Josephy 1997:285–332). The Native leaders strongly resisted, but the government made clear that if the Natives did not agree, they would still be forced to go on reservations but not receive any compensation (Josephy 1997:333–334). Although the treaties were consummated, the Native resentment of the treaties and immediate American violation of the treaty provisions and assurances led to several years of intermittent warfare between the Euro-Americans and Plateau Natives (Jessett 1960:131–152; Burns 1966; Josephy 1997:337–385; Kowrach 1999; Cutler 2016). These included battles with the Yakamas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Palouses, and Umatillas soon after the treaties and in 1858 with the Spokans, Coeur d'Alenes, Palouses, and Yakamas.

Less violent forms of resistance and rejection occurred in the 1860s and 1870s as the Columbia Plateau Natives experienced a religious revival to energize their Indigenous beliefs and practices. New Native spiritual leaders, known among the Euro-Americans as Dreamers, arose with renewed influence and a call for revitalization to abandon the customs of the Euro-Americans and to return to old Native ways, an effort that had appeal among many (Miller 1985:118–122; Walker 1985:49–52; Relander 1986; Ruby and Brown 1989; Josephy 1997:434–435).

Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce

The combination of acceptance, resistance, and rejection of Euro-American culture and society often led to divisions within Native groups, with such divisions existing from almost the beginning among the Nez Perce. For example, many Nez Perce went to great efforts to recruit Euro-American teachers, to welcome the Presbyterian missions at Lapwai and Kamiah, defended the missionaries when they were threatened, and followed Christian teachings and practices (Josephy 1997:289–291). At the same time, many Nez Perce, including powerful leaders, maintained their Native religious orientation, opposed the missionaries, and strongly desired to continue their old Nez Perce culture and religion and to

be left alone by the Euro-Americans (Ruby and Brown 1989:76–77; Axtell and Aragon 1997:13; Josephy 1997:290–291). Although the 1877 war—to be discussed shortly—is often pictured as only a conflict over land, Axtell and Aragon emphasize the cultural and spiritual conflict in that the anti-treaty people "didn't want to take up any of these new things that they were trying to make our people do, as far as Christianity or spirituality goes, or any other thing" (1997:13).

This particular religious split had a geographical component that was associated with the original distribution of missionary activities among the Nez Perce. The two original Christian missions among the Nez Perce were located at Lapwai and Kamiah, with missionary activity and success concentrated in these two locations and the relatively populated corridor of approximately sixty miles between them (Walker 1985:40; Greene 2000:5–8). Although the Christian missionary reach was felt beyond this core area, coverage outside this area was much less intensive, resulting in a concentration of Christian support in the original corridor between Kamiah and Lapwai, with very little support, even rejection, in outlying areas.

In 1863, Euro-Americans demanded a new treaty with the Nez Perce that would drastically reduce the size of the Nez Perce reservation established in 1855. The proposed new reservation would be headquartered at Lapwai and restricted to the land along the Lapwai-Kamiah corridor, with the result being that it included the land of most of the Christian Nez Perce and little land of the non-Christians. Most of the land to be taken by the Euro-Americans was the territory of non-Christians outside the Lapwai-Kamiah corridor (Drury 1979:208–214; Josephy 1997:419). The treaty was approved and "signed by the Nez Perce leaders who resided within the proposed boundaries of the new reservation, but it was absolutely and flatly denied and rejected by the leaders outside the boundaries of the proposed reservation" (Nez Perce Tribe 2003:42). Anti-treaty leaders believed

that by not endorsing the treaty, it would not affect them, a belief consistent with historical patterns of Nez Perce governance that placed the authority for local decisions with local people.

The treaty was not ratified by the U.S. for several years, and there was a substantial period of adjudication concerning the validity of a treaty that was not approved by those most affected. The anti-treaty Nez Perce living off the reservation continued to do so until the government ruled the treaty to be valid and ordered them to move onto the reservation in 1877 (Nez Perce Tribe 2003:47–48). After many attempts at negotiation and with war being the only alternative, the anti-treaty Nez Perce reluctantly decided to move onto the reservation (Josephy 1997:507–508). However, before they completed the move, a few young men attacked and killed some white settlers who were living nearby (Josephy 1997:512–516; Nez Perce Tribe 2003:48).

This violence so enraged the whites that the U.S. Army was called out, leading to a military conflict, and the anti-treaty Nez Perce fleeing along with their families across parts of three states and eventually trying to evade the U.S. Army by going into Canada (Josephy 1997; Nez Perce Tribe 2003). After travelling more than a thousand miles[2] and being forced into multiple battles with the U.S. Army, the majority of the anti-treaty Nez Perce was captured near the Montana border with Canada and then moved to Kansas and then to Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma where they suffered extensive hardship, including high mortality (Pearson 2008).

Extensive efforts were made in Indian Territory to convince the anti-treaty Nez Perce to finally abandon their Native ways and accept Christian ways. These included bringing in Christian Nez Perce missionaries who had been trained at the ministerial school operated by Sue and Kate McBeth on the Nez Perce Reservation, establishing a Presbyterian church, organizing a local school, and sending children to government

---

[2] https://www.nps.gov/nepe/learn/historyculture/1877.htm

boarding schools off the reservation (Lewis 2003:185–189; Pearson 2008:138–145, 223–253). Euro-American names were also assigned to the non-treaty Nez Perce, including some that were English translations of Native names (Pearson 2008:6–7, 126–127).

The survivors of this ordeal remained in Indian Territory until 1885 when, at their request, they were moved to either the Nez Perce Lapwai reservation in Idaho or to the Colville Reservation in Washington. Chief Joseph, who was perceived by the whites as the leader of the anti-treaty Nez Perce, was not allowed to go to Colville, but the others were given the choice to follow Christianity and go to the Nez Perce reservation in Lapwai or to follow the Native faith and go to Colville (Pearson 2008:277–290; McWhorter 2020:290). The Presbyterian minister attached to the Lapwai reservation referred to the group going to Colville as the "unsubdued" and the group going to Lapwai as the "subdued" (Deffenbaugh 1885:73), but it is possible that the Christianity choice for many of those going to Lapwai reflected more a desire to live in Lapwai than a denial of their Native beliefs and practices. The group going to Colville became known as Chief Joseph's Band of Nez Perce and arrived at the Colville Reservation just weeks before the 1885 Colville Agency census enumeration.

Specific Motivations and Pressure for Adoption of European Names

The presence of Euro-Americans on the Columbia Plateau brought motivation and pressure for Natives to have Euro-American names. The fur traders, missionaries, and others may have used Euro-American names for Natives because those names were more pronounceable for them, and Natives may have adopted Euro-American names to facilitate communication (Ross 2011:127). This was evident as soon as 1805 when Lewis and Clark referred to important Nez Perce leaders with such names as Twisted Hair, Looking Glass, and Cut Nose (Pinkham and Evans 2013:30–35, 118, 126–127). Twisted Hair's son later received the name Lawyer from Euro-Americans in the

1830s because he was a "talker" who spoke with eloquence and persuasiveness (Drury 1979:19–20). Looking Glass became a strong opponent of Euro-American programs, and Lawyer became a strong advocate.

Missionaries also provided impetus for the adoption of Euro-American names. One of the first actions of the missionaries "was to replace traditional Indian names with 'Christian names.' Upon baptism, a name from the Bible, such as Andrew or Debra, would be assigned. The Christian name helped displace the Indian identity from its family ancestry… from which the traditional name was derived, and to associate it instead with the Scriptures" (Frey 2001:69).

The two teenage boys mentioned earlier who left the Plateau in 1825 to attend the Red River Missionary School were given the Euro-American names of Spokan Garry and Coutonais (or Kutenai) Pelly—their first names being the names of their Plateau groups, and their second names being those of Hudson's Bay Company officials (Josephy 1997:85). Spokan Garry became an important leader and proponent of Christianity. In the 1830s the missionary Henry Spalding gave his first two converts the Biblical names of Joseph and Timothy and provided another Native the Biblical name of Moses (Josephy 1997:189–191; Ruby and Brown 1995:15–18). These three Natives were or became important leaders on the Plateau, with Joseph being the father of the Joseph for whom the Joseph's Band of Nez Perce was named and the name Moses being applied to the Moses band of Columbias, also a part of the Colville Reservation in 1885. In the 1870s when the government commissioned Christian missionaries to manage reservations, Spalding returned to Lapwai and managed to baptize numerous Natives—both among the Nez Perce in Idaho and the Spokan in Washington, giving them Euro-American names (Drury 1949:53–74, 105–112). A ministerial school for Nez Perce young men operated on the Lapwai Nez Perce Reservation from 1874 to 1932 under the initial leadership of Sue McBeth and her sister Kate McBeth, with the students having such names

as James Hines, Robert Williams, and Archie Lawyer, the latter being the son of Lawyer and the grandson of Twisted Hair (McBeth 1908:88, 115; Lewis 2003:185–189).

Another source of impetus for Euro-American names for Natives on the Columbia Plateau was schools, both missionary and non-missionary. As noted earlier, several students left the Plateau to attend the Red River School, and when Spokan Garry returned home from that school, he established his own school (Stern 1996:8–12). Eliza Spalding also established a school at the Lapwai Mission within two months of the Mission's opening in 1836 (Drury 1997:197–200; Josephy 1997:159–160). Also at the St. Mary's Mission in Montana, children's education was seen as a religious duty (Evans 1976:94–96).

Formal schooling increased over time, and in 1872, the year the Colville reservation was established, the BIA reported 9 schools and 269 students on the Columbia Plateau (Office of Indian Affairs 1872:383–399). Twelve years later, in 1884, the year before the 1885 census, the BIA reported 16 schools and 830 students on the Columbia Plateau, with 5 schools and 193 students being under the Colville Agency itself (Office of Indian Affairs 1884:266–282), increasing the likelihood that Native children would receive English names. Of particular relevance for our purposes is that in this era the schools for Native children generally operated under a policy dubbed "kill the Indian in him, and save the man"; that is, eliminate Native culture, religion, and names and institute Euro-American patterns (Frey 2001:68–74; Reyhner and Eder 2017:143–156).

Another source for Euro-American names was the extensive marriage and childbearing of Native women with Euro-American men (Stern 1993:108–112; Cannell 2010:28–38; Barman 2014:110–116). The fur traders frequently married daughters of Native men—some of them leaders—and these children were very often raised as full members of the Native community (Barman 2014:116–123). This provided motivation for the mixed-ancestry couples to give their children Euro-American names.

Yet another force for the adoption of Euro-American names was the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 and the subsequent allotment of Native lands to individual Natives and their families (Ross 2011:127). Native families were often required to use a Euro-American name to receive their land allotment, a requirement that would have motivated the acquisition and use of Euro-American names. However, this law and program was passed only in 1887, making it irrelevant for our analysis of names in the 1885 census.

Data and Methods

Bureau of Indian Affairs Census Program

The BIA began conducting annual censuses on American Indian reservations in 1885 (Young-DeMarco 2021). A law was passed (23 Stat. L, 98) requiring BIA agents to conduct annual censuses on most reservations, a pattern that continued through 1940. The BIA censuses were organized along Native group lines rather than by geographical residence as done in the decennial censuses. This particular law only called for Native census data to be summarized at the aggregate level (number of males, females, etc.). It was the BIA itself that issued a directive to government agents instructing them to obtain lists containing information about every individual Native residing within their agencies and to return such lists to the BIA on a yearly basis (BIA Circular 148, April 6, 1885). The example provided within the circular indicated that Natives were to be reported hierarchically within their family units with the head of the household listed first. While the example listed English first names with their corresponding surnames, it did not attempt to assign patronymic Native names to individual Natives; instead individuals were listed with their own unique Native names. The remaining pieces of information to be collected about each person included relationship to the head of household, sex, and age. No methodological instructions were given for how or where to obtain

the desired information or how to subsequently record it on the census sheet.

We earlier mentioned twelve groups under the jurisdiction of the Colville Agency in 1885, but the 1885 Colville census only included five of these groups: the Coeur d'Alene, Calispel, Lake, Joseph's Band of Nez Perce, and the Lower Spokan. The 1885 census also included the Deep Creek Colony of Spokans that we discussed earlier. We do not know why some groups were not included in the census, but it may have been related to an unwillingness to participate. These coverage considerations mean that the 1885 census was not representative of all within the jurisdiction of the Colville Agency.

Hoxie and his colleagues (1992:53), who have worked closely with the 1885 Colville census data, reported that the 1885 Colville census was conducted by Sidney Waters, the Colville Indian agent at the time. Hoxie et al. (1992:6) also reported that there was a relationship between the census and the agency enrollment list, but they did not indicate what that relationship was. As previously noted, there were very few instructions provided for conducting the census, and we do not know how Agent Waters obtained the required information or whether the information was collected by Waters himself. Regardless of how the information was obtained, we do expect that it involved a complex interaction with the Native person providing the requested information for himself/herself and for other members of the family or household. It is likely that the nature of that interaction varied across individuals. Consequently, it is unclear whether the census was produced entirely from direct interactions on the census day between enumerator and each Native person (or their representative), from information obtained through other sources, or from some combination of both.

Lists of Indian names belonging to male household heads had been collected directly from Natives in many agencies for some time and in various configurations and for different purposes, including to allow agents to account for the distribution of subsistence supplies and

for annuity payrolls (Young-DeMarco 2021). In fact, several pages of the 1885 Colville Reservation census may have been partially obtained from sources of this kind because in a number of cases only the male family head was listed by his Native name, implying that the enumerator may have treated that Native name as a family patronym. In any event, we believe the names recorded on the censuses were, arguably, accurate in the sense of how each individual was known to the agent.

Figure 1 contains an image of a page from the BIA census done by the Colville Agency in 1885. The page has five columns; four are titled Indian Name, English Name, Age, and Relation, with the first column reserved for the total number of people in the family (indicated next to the last family member listed). And, contradictory to BIA instructions, the sex of each person on the list was omitted from the 1885 Colville Agency census. Families were listed in rows immediately following each other, and the enumerator filled out one row per person, with entries possible in all columns.

The separate columns on the census form for Indian name and English name allowed the enumerator to make entries in both the Indian Name column and the English Name column for each individual. Although the census example provided by the BIA showed every Native as having both Indian and English names, in practice an individual could be listed in the Indian Name column only, in the English Name column only, in both columns, or in neither column. The recorded names may have been given at birth, but they may also have been given any time between birth and the 1885 census. The recorded names may have been given by the parents, the people themselves, or by somebody else, either Native or Euro-American. In fact, the name recorded on the census may have even been given at the time of the census by the census taker. All entries in the Indian Name column are Native names written using English characters. In addition to the English Name column containing English names, it also included names of French and

Italian origins as well as names that reflect titles, labels, and translations from Native names.

As noted earlier, completion of the census involved potentially complex interactions between the census taker and the Native; this was probably especially complex in the recording of names. The sacred nature of Native names may have created a reluctance on the part of the Native person to mention them. Natives may also have been motivated to report a Euro-American name and not a Native name in order to be seen by the government agent as sufficiently Euro-American to obtain the agent's favor and to avoid his displeasure. In addition, the unfamiliarity with Native names on the part of the agent and the agent's likely difficulty in understanding and recording them may have led to motivations not to record them. These considerations emphasize the fact that the absence of a recorded Indian name does not mean that the individual did not have one, but rather that it was not given by the individ-ual or that the census taker did not record it. Similarly, the absence of a name in the English Name column does not mean that the person did not have one but that it was either not given or not recorded. At the same time, as we report below, the agent did record many Native names in the Indian Name column of the 1885 Colville census, and the variations in names recorded across gender, birth cohort, and group are both very large and interpretable.

The enumerator filled the age column with the years of age unless the individual was under a year old, in which case the enumerator used months instead of years. If the individual did not give an age or was unsure, the enumerator may have estimated it. To calculate birth cohorts, we subtracted the person's age from 1885. Those people without age recorded are included in all analyses except the birth cohort analysis.

There is evidence of age heaping in the 1885 BIA census dataset as seen by a large proportion of individuals listed with ages that

Figure 1. Section of 1885 BIA Census of Colville Agency.

end with a "5" or "0" (e.g., "25," "40") (Hoxie et al. 1992). To minimize the effects of this problem in our birth cohort analysis, we combined people into birth cohorts of ten-year intervals. However, because of the small number of people in the earliest cohorts, we combined those born between 1790 and 1815 into one cohort of 26 years.

There was not a column on the census form indicating the person's group, but the enumerator arranged people into labeled sections. Figure 1 shows the beginning of a section for the Lake Indians entitled "Lake tribe Indians," with individual Lake people listed below and on subsequent sheets, as necessary. Each section of the census form was completed in this manner.

The American Indian Family History Project

The data from 1885 BIA Colville Census were digitized by Hoxie and his colleagues under the auspices of the American Indian Family History Project, which digitized several BIA and Federal decennial censuses from 1885 to 1930 for five groups of Native Americans (Hoxie et al. 1992). In addition to the Colville Agency, these censuses covered the Creek in Oklahoma, the White Earth Chippewa in Minnesota, the Crows in Montana, and Hopis in Arizona. The project documentation, codebooks, and data are available through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan (ICPSR: 3576. https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR03576.v2).

As mentioned, the 1885 BIA census by the Colville Agency did not directly collect data about the person's gender. The American Indian Family History Project made a determination, whenever possible of the gender of the person based on relationship terms and names, and added that information to the data file (Hoxie et al. 1992). The 21 individuals whose gender is unknown are included in all analyses except for those focusing on gender.

Results

We begin our presentation of results with Table 1 and the frequency of individuals listed under the English Name column, Indian Name column, both columns, or neither column, to get a picture of the overall frequency with which the 1885 BIA census listed people with Native and English names. Then, we analyze the distribution of different types of recordings in the English Name column.

Our first observation from Table 1 is that entries were made in the Indian Name column or the English Name column—or both—for the overwhelming majority of people. In fact, there were only eighteen individuals—just slightly larger than one percent—who were not listed in either of the name columns.

We see from Row 2 of Table 1 that 63 percent of individuals were listed solely with a name in the English Name column. Another 12 percent were enumerated under both the Indian and

Table 1. Entries in the English and Indian Name Columns.

Entry in:	Frequency	Percent
Indian Name Column Only	351	24.3
English Name Column Only	907	62.9
Both Indian and English Name Columns	167	11.6
Neither Indian or English Name Columns	18	1.2
Total	1,443	100

English Name columns (Row 3). By combining Rows 2 and 3, we see that three-fourths of the population enumerated were listed with a name in the English Name column. These results clearly show that the vast majority of those in the Colville census had names that they and/or the enumerator perceived as needing to be recorded in the English Name column. This indicates that over the course of several decades the people included in the Colville census had adopted or received Euro-American names that could be used in Euro-American settings.

Looking now at the names in the Indian Name column, we see from Row 1 of Table 1 that 24 percent of individuals were listed solely with a name in the Indian Name column. Another 12 percent were enumerated under both the Indian and English Name columns (Row 3), meaning that just over a third of the population was listed as having a Native name (Rows 1 and 3 combined). These results indicate that even in this setting of census taking by the U. S. government where it would have been easy for the census taker to just write down an English name of some sort, more than one-third were recorded with Native names. The relevance of this point can be illustrated by the fact that the enumerator could have simply written down a familiar Euro-American name such Sam, Linda, John, or Sarah rather than interpreting and spelling the less familiar Native names such as "A La Lem Pe Tin," "Cuai Cu Me Man," and "Scom E Nar" that were recorded in the Indian Name column. These results indicate a substantial persistence of Native names and their use in Euro-American settings through the first half of the 1880s—about ninety years after Euro-Americans entered the Plateau. We emphasize again that many without a Native name recorded may indeed have had a Native name that was simply not recorded for whatever reason.

We now shift our attention to the types of names recorded in the English Name column. We consider here both those listed only under the English Name column and those listed under both the Indian and English Name columns (Table 1, Rows 2 and 3), resulting in a population of 1,074 people used in this analysis. We thus exclude from this analysis the 369 people for whom nothing is enumerated in the English Name column. In Appendix A we provide a full list of the entries made in the English Name column.

Our review of the full list of names in the English Name column revealed only two names that we interpreted as combining an English name with the name of a Native group—as happened with Spokan Garry. These two names were Louis Lake and Joseph Blackfoot. We did find several people, both male and female, with the surname of Garry, presumably relatives of Spokan Garry.

For further analysis, we divided the universe of 1,074 names in the English Name column into four categories, the first being those we labeled as a "Traditional Euro-American name"—a name that would be mostly familiar to us today. This traditional category not only includes specifically English names, but also names of various European origins such as French and Italian, reflecting the influence of the fur trade, missionary involvement, schools, and other European interventions. The second type is identified as being a "Modified Euro-American Name" and concerns those persons having a Euro-American name accompanied by a translation, characteristic, or job description, such as Sam the Lawyer or Chief Joseph.[3] The third category of entries under the English Name column is the group of "Translated" names that are not accompanied by a Euro-American name. These are either descriptive of a profession or a translation of an Indian name such as Crow Blanket, Red Bull, and Little Man Chief.[4] The fourth type under the English Name column

---

[3]   Other names in this category were Albert Big Star, Fort Trake Charley, Captain Jack, Jack Lawyer, Jacob Snow, Lame John, Old Joe, Little Joseph, Norbert Old, William Bull.

[4]   Other names in this category were Crow Blanket Eagle Blanket, Grizzly Bear, Greenwood, Hawk Hawk, Hunter Blanket, Red Crow, Red Bones, Red Cloud, Red Curlew, Snow, Snow On Her Dress, Wolf Head, Yellow Bull, Yellow Head, Looking Down, Young Up, Come Down, Good Dress, Other Side, Coyote Chief, Old Semo, Pointed Nose, Preacher, Woman Doctor.

is the "Relationship" category that includes those enumerated according to their relationship or role in a family. These include entries such as Baby, Baby Girl, Boy, Child, Daughter, Girl, Son, and Wife.

Table 2 shows the distribution of names in the English Name column across the four categories mentioned. These data demonstrate that 84 percent of those in the census who were enumerated under the English Name column were listed with a "Traditional Euro-American Name" (Row 1). Given that 75 percent of the individuals were recorded with a name in the English Name column and that 84 percent of these were recorded with a "Traditional Euro-American name" means that nearly two-thirds of the entire population were familiar enough with Euro-American culture and language to choose or be given a Traditional Euro-American name.

The second most frequent category of names under the English Names column was "Relationship" names, with nearly twelve percent in this category (Row 4 of Table 2). The vast majority, three-fourths, of individuals in this category were between the ages of zero and nine, with many under two years of age. This might indicate reluctance on the part of parents to provide information about their young children to the enumerator. Alternatively, it might

indicate that very young children were not yet old enough to receive one of the other types of English names, but might receive one later when they were more mature. This consideration seems particularly relevant in the case of the 36 individuals enumerated with the names of Baby, Girl Baby, and Baby Girl.

The third and fourth most frequent types of names recorded in the English Names column were the "Translated" and "Modified Euro-American Name" categories. The nearly 3 percent in the Translated category suggests that at least some Colville Natives were continuing to use a translation of a Native name in their dealings with Euro-Americans—again indicating the persistence of Native names into the 1880s. At the same time, the small number using a Translated name, along with the low number using a Modified Euro-American Name, suggests that most people using a Euro-American name had a traditional one.

We now focus our analysis of the names in the English Name column on the most common Euro-American names. For this analysis we examined only the 920 names categorized as Traditional Euro-American Names or as Modified Euro-American names (Table 2, Rows 1 and 2). For this group of names, we list in Table 3 the first names of every male and female that occurred

Table 2. Types of Entries Under English Name Column.[5]

Types of Entries:	Frequency	Percentage
Traditional Euro-American Name	906	84.4
Modified Euro-American Name	14	1.3
Translated	30	2.8
Relationship	124	11.5
Total People Enumerated Under English Name	1,074	100

---

[5] Calculations exclude individuals who were listed by an Indian name only (Row 1 in Table 1), and those where no name (Indian or English) was listed (Row 4 in Table 1).

more than once. Some names were spelled slightly differently but were very similar, such as Catherine and Catharine, and we grouped them together as one unique first name. The spelling of the names in Table 3 represents either the most common spelling or the first way it was spelled on the enumerator's list.

For Table 3 we ignored last names and grouped individuals only by their first names. This was because only 92 individuals with Euro-American names had last names listed, and among them were multiple instances of all members of a family sharing that last name in the same way Euro-American last names usually function (data not shown). The rarity of last names in the census shows that the adoption of Euro-American names did not necessarily indicate a complete adoption of the naming practice of first and last names. It could also have been a means of convenience in filling out the census form.

Table 3 displays a wide variety of Euro-American names used on the 1885 Colville census, with a substantial number of names having only two or three people with that name. Other names also only had one person with that name. This likely reflects influences from many different sources. The French influence on the Plateau can be seen in the names listed in Table 3. Names such as Pierre, Francois, and Louise are in the top ten most frequently used names and reflect a strong French presence. The name Baptiste, additionally, is a French name that comes from a Greek word meaning "to dip in liquid," and was the name of St. John the Baptist (https://www.ancestry.com/name-origin?surname=baptiste), who baptized Jesus. The prevalence of French names on the Plateau may also be a reflection of the extensive intermarriage of French fur trappers with Native women and their offspring receiving French names.

As we would expect from the large and early Christian missionary presence on the Plateau, the most popular names had their origins in Christianity, with several Biblical names being common. The most common male and female names were Joseph and Mary, referring to key figures in the Christian New Testament. Other Biblical names included Moses, Jacob, Sarah, Solomon, Benjamin, and Josephine. We mentioned earlier that the missionary Henry Spalding gave his first two converts the names of Timothy and Joseph when they were baptized, and numerous other Natives received Biblical names when they were baptized, and this pattern is likely reflected in the names used.

Naming Patterns by Birth Cohort, Gender, and Group

We now shift our attention to how names in the 1885 BIA census varied by gender, birth cohort, and group, looking first at differentials by gender. Table 4 shows the percentage of males and females enumerated in the census in the English Name column only, Indian Name column only, in both, or in neither. The primary difference between males and females is not the name column in which they were enumerated—Indian or English—but the number of names listed for them. Males were more likely than females to be listed in both the English and Indian Name columns—19% compared to 4% (Row 3). Males also had lower percentages than females of entries only in the Indian Name column and only in the English Name column.

In Table 5 we document the types of names listed for each gender in the English Name column. Traditional Euro-American names made up a very large majority of names in the English Name column for both genders, with males and females being almost equally likely to be listed with a Traditional Euro-American name at 85% and 84%, respectively (Row 1). The number of Translated and Modified Euro-American names are few for both males and females, but a bit higher for males than females.

Females, on the other hand, have double the percentage of Relationship names than males—15 percent versus 7 percent (Row 4). As noted earlier, Relationship names include such labels as Wife, Girl, Boy, and Baby. In addition to the overall difference in the percentage of

Table 3. Name Frequency by Gender.[6]

Male			
Name	**Frequency**	**Name**	**Frequency**
Joseph	38	Moses	4
Louis	37	Abraham	3
John	30	Albert	3
Pierre	25	Antoine*	2
Paul	22	Benjamin	3
Charles	18	Cecil*	2
Alexis	14	Cornelius	3
Aeneas*	12	Daniel	3
Andrew	12	David	3
Luke	12	Henry	3
George	11	Jeremiah	3
Francois	10	Macellus	3
Thomas	10	Marshall	3
Leo	9	Moese	3
William	8	Norbert	3
Peter	7	Anepa	2
Alex	6	Archie	2
Camille	6	Athol	2
Samuel	6	Benoni	2
Baptiste	5	Bernard	2
Edward	5	Bob	2
Emanuel	5	Eneas	2
Jack	5	Isaac	2
Joe	5	Narcisse	2
Michel	5	Parrish	2
Philip	5	Regis	2
Adrian	4	Sebastian	2
Augustus	4	Semo	2
Basil	4	Solomon	2
Jacob	4	Timothy	2
James	4	-	-

[6]   Names that are listed for only one person are not included in the table. Each name with an asterisk has one additional person with the same name, but of the opposite gender. This results in an increase by one of the total number of people who have that name, although it is not reflected in the table.

Table 3. (cont.)

Female			
Name	**Frequency**	**Name**	**Frequency**
Mary	87	Jeanette	4
Susan	23	Margaret	4
Lucy	20	Adelaine	3
Louise	19	Agatha	3
Ann	18	Alice	3
Therese	16	Bridget	3
Catharine	14	Celeste	3
Julia	12	Christine	3
Rosalie	12	Felicity	3
Sophie	12	Josephine	3
Martine	11	Anastasia*	2
Elizabeth	10	Corlett	2
Cecile	9	Frances	2
Nancy	9	Isabel	2
Madeline*	7	Justine	2
Ellen	6	Katharine	2
Harriet	6	Lizzie	2
Sarah	6	Mattie	2
Ursula	6	Pauline	2
Amelia	5	Phoebe Ann	2
Jane	5	Eneas	2
Charlotte	4	-	-

Table 4. Percent of Males and Females with Entries in the English or Indian Name Columns.[7]

Entry in:	Male	Female
Indian Name Column Only	21.1	26.7
English Name Column Only	58.5	67.9
Both Indian and English Name Columns	19.4	3.8
Neither Indian nor English Name Columns	1.0	1.6
Total	100 (721)	100 (701)

---

[7]   Since the 1885 Colville BIA census did not record an individual's sex, it was imputed by the Hoxie data processing team based upon relationship to the "head" of household and the individual's name. Individuals for whom sex could not be determined have been excluded from this analysis.

relationship names, 19 females were enumerated as Wife and no males were enumerated as Husband (results not shown in table). Moreover, all 19 females enumerated as Wife had no Native name listed. In addition, nine more females than males were enumerated with the child label of Girl or Boy (results not shown in table).

We now examine birth cohort differences in the frequency of names used in the 1885 census. The oldest people in this census were born in the late eighteenth century—before direct Euro-American contact on the Columbia Plateau—while the youngest were born just before the 1885 census—after more than three-fourths of a century of Euro-American contact.

To analyze the effects of birth cohort on naming patterns, we used two different name indicators. The first is the percent of individuals with anything listed in the Indian Name column of the census form. The second is the

percent of the total population having either a Traditional Euro-American Name or a Modified Euro-American Name recorded in the English Name column; these are the people listed in Rows 1 and 2 in Table 2. Figure 2 provides the distribution of Native and Euro-American names across the cohorts from 1790 through 1885.

Figure 2 shows that 72 percent of those born before 1816 were reported on the 1885 census with a Native name. The 28 percent not being reported with a Native name is especially interesting because they would have certainly been given a Native name at birth or soon thereafter. Figure 2 also shows that 45 percent of those in this earliest birth cohort were recorded with a Euro-American name, even though they almost certainly would not have had a Euro-American name during infancy. Nevertheless, by 1885 they were recorded with a Euro-American name that they had been given or chose to adopt.

**Table 5. Percentage of Population with English Name
Entry Types by Gender.[8]**

English Name as Enumerated	Male	Female
Traditional Euro-American Name	85.4	84.2
Modified Euro-American Name	2.5	0.0
Translated	4.6	0.8
Relationship	7.5	14.7
Total	100 (562)	100 (503)

---

[8] Calculations exclude individuals who were listed by an Indian name only (Row 1 in Table 1), those where no name (Indian or English) was listed (Row 4 in Table 1), and those for whom sex is unknown (Table 4 footnote).

Figure 2 also shows dramatic differences across birth cohorts in the use of both Native and Euro-American names. Compared to the 72 percent of those born before 1816 having a Native name listed, just 12 percent of those born between 1876 and 1885 were enumerated with a Native name. The decline is steady, with each successive cohort having a smaller percentage of the population listed with a Native name. At the same time, the frequency of Euro-American names was about twice as high for the 1866–1875 cohort (nearly 80 percent) than for the 1790–1815 birth cohort (about 45 percent). However, this pattern of increasingly higher incidence of Euro-American names across birth cohorts was reversed with the most recent cohort (1876–1885) having just 54 percent with Euro-American names, a very substantial dip in Euro-American names used that we discuss and interpret in our final section.

We next examine the names recorded on the 1885 Colville census for the six groups discussed earlier: Coeur d'Alene, Calispel, Lake, Deep Creek Colony, Lower Spokan, and Joseph's Band of Nez Perce. As we noted earlier, the different Native groups have had different experiences with Euro-Americans. These group differentials were likely marked by different motivations for adoption, resistance, and rejection of Euro-American ways that, as we discuss and interpret later, were likely manifested in the distribution of names recorded.

Table 6 reports for each of the six groups the percentages of individuals with entries in the Indian Name column only, English Name column only, both English and Indian Name columns, and without an entry in either column. We see from Table 6 that the percentage of individuals recorded with names in the English Name column is exceptionally
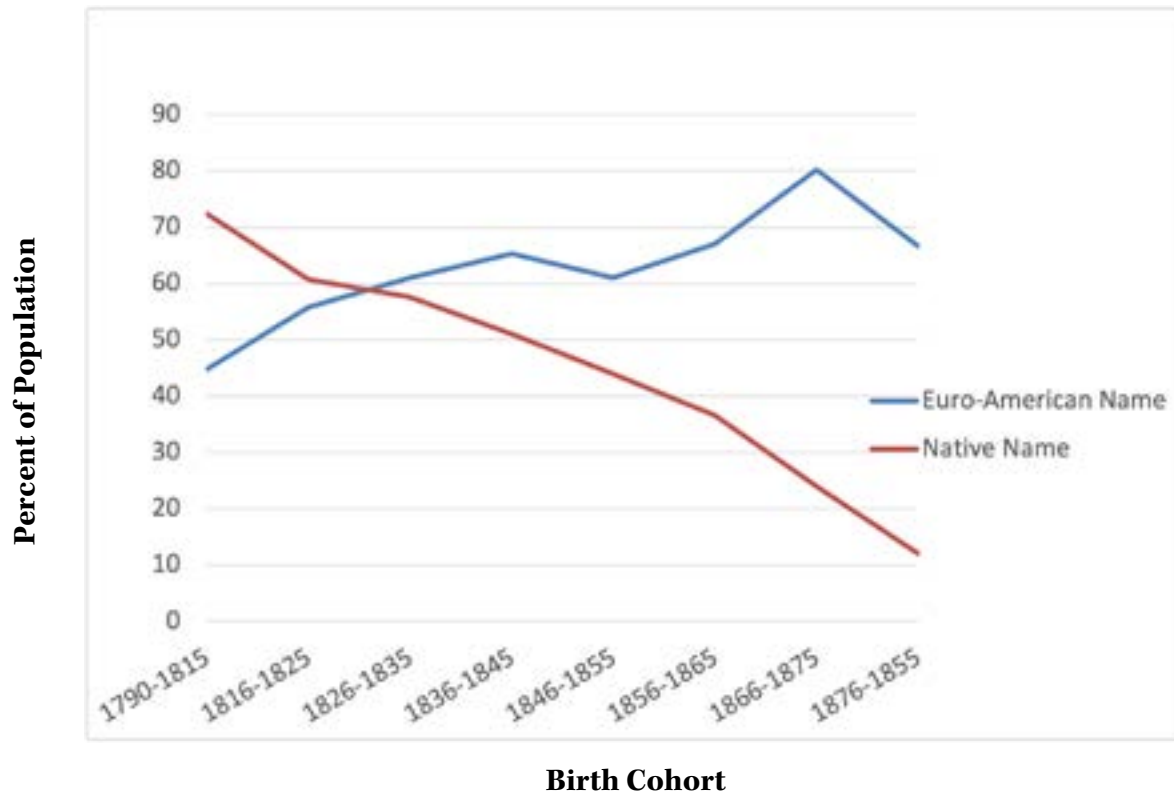
Figure 2. Percent of population in 1885 with Euro-American and Native names by birth cohort.

high for individuals in the Deep Creek Colony, Lake, Coeur d'Alene, and Calispel groups. For each of these 4 groups, nearly 90 percent or more were enumerated in the English Name column alone or in both the English and Indian Name columns (Rows 2 plus 3). Even more remarkably, 99% of the Deep Creek Colony and 80% of the Lake and the Coeur d'Alene populations were enumerated in only the English Name column (Row 2). By contrast, the total percentage of Lower Spokan and Nez Perce listed in the English Name column (Rows 2 plus 3) was much lower, 54% and 33%, respectively.

Table 6 also shows that nearly all the people of Chief Joseph's Band of Nez Perce (98%) were listed as having a Native name. This is considerably higher than the Lower Spokan and Calispel who had just 50% and 44%, respectively. The Coeur d'Alene and Lake had even lower percentages with Indian names (18% and 19%, respectively), and the

Deep Creek Colony had no individuals listed with an Indian name.

In Table 7 we document differences among the groups in the types of names listed in the English Name column. Table 7 shows that each of the four groups with the greatest percentages of English Name column entries—Coeur d'Alene, Calispel, Lake, and Deep Creek Colony— also had at least 85% of those individuals enumerated with Traditional Euro-American names. Even more striking is that essentially everyone enumerated in the English Name column among the Coeur d'Alene and the Deep Creek Colony was listed using a Traditional Euro-American name.

Table 7 also shows that the Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce and Lower Spokan—the groups least likely to have entries in the English Name column—also had the lowest incidence of Traditional Euro-American names among those listed in the English Name column. Of the individuals listed in the English Name column, only 50 percent of the Nez Perce and 57

Table 6. Percentage of Population with Entries in English and Indian Name Columns by Group.

Entry in:	Deep Creek Colony	Lake	Coeur d'Alene	Calispel	Lower Spokan	Nez Perce
Indian Name Column Only	0.0	11.2	10.6	10.9	44.4	66.7
English Name Column Only	98.5	80.7	80.1	55.8	48.2	2.0
Both Indian and English Name Columns	0.0	7.5	7.5	33.3	5.4	31.3
Neither Indian nor English Name Columns	1.5	0.7	1.8	0.0	2.0	0.0
Number of Cases	67	295	442	138	351	150

percent of the Lower Spokan were listed in the Traditional Euro-American name category. If we add those with a Traditional Euro-American name and Modified Euro-American name, the number with a Euro-American name increases to 62% for the Nez Perce but only to 59% for the Lower Spokan.

The low percentages of Nez Perce and Lower Spokan with a Traditional Euro-American name is even more remarkable when we recall from Rows 2 and 3 of Table 6 that only a third of Nez Perce and just over half of Lower Spokan were listed under the English Name column. This fact, plus the relatively modest levels of Traditional Euro-American names among those listed in the English Name column reported in Table 7 results in the percentages of the entire population of Nez Perce and Lower Spokan

with a Traditional Euro-American name being only 17% and 31%, respectively.[9]

Table 7 also shows that although the Nez Perce and Lower Spokan were fairly similar on the percentage in the English name column that had Traditional Euro-American names, they were very different on the other English column names that were listed. Whereas twelve percent of Nez Perce recorded under the English Name column were enumerated with a Modified Euro-American name, the comparable number for the Lower Spokan was only two percent. In addition, over a third of the Lower Spokan enumerated in the English Name column were listed as having a Relationship name, but only two percent of Nez Perce did so.

---

[9] 33.3 percent of Nez Perce had a name in the English name column (Rows 2 and 3 of Table 6), and of these, 50 percent had a traditional Euro-American name (Row 1 of Table 7). The 17 percent of the total Nez Perce population having a traditional Euro-American name was calculated by multiplying .333 times .50 times 100. The 31 percent of the total Spokan population having a traditional Euro-American name was calculated by multiplying .536 times .570 times 100.

Table 7. Percentage of Population with English Name Entry Types by Group.[10]

English Name as Enumerated	Deep Creek Colony	Lake	Coeur d'Alene	Calispel	Lower Spokan	Nez Perce
Traditional Euro-American Name	100.0	85.0	99.2	91.1	57.0	50.0
Modified Euro-American Name	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.6	12.0
Translated	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8	4.2	3.0
Relationship	0.0	13.1	0.8	8.1	37.2	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	66	260	387	123	188	50

---

[10]   Calculations exclude individuals who were listed by an Indian name only (Row 1 in Table 6), and those where no name (Indian or English) was listed (Row 4 in Table 6).

Discussion and Interpretation

In this article, we examined the names used for Native Americans in the 1885 Colville census, with the goal of obtaining insights into the nature of Native-White relationships as expressed in name usage. We examined the extent to which Columbia Plateau Natives were recorded on the census in the Indian Name column, the English Name column, in both columns, or in neither column. For those recorded in the English Name column, we investigated the type of name recorded—Traditional Euro-American Name, Modified Euro-American Name, Translated Name, and Relationship Name. We also investigated how the distribution of these names varied by gender, birth cohort, and group.

Although the general distribution of names across the entire Colville Agency population is interesting itself, the most powerful findings relate to the distributions of names by gender, birth cohort, and group—leading us to focus our discussion and interpretation on the latter materials. At the same time, we acknowledge that we cannot know from a distance of more than a century and across important ethnic differences what the motivations and strategies of the census enumerator and individual Natives were using when the census form was filled out. And, we do not know the important interaction processes between the enumerator and the person being enumerated. We expect that with this census, context and the motivations of both Native Americans and Euro-Americans there would have been pressures to report Euro-American names that would not have existed in other contexts, especially in contexts with only Native people, leading to more Euro-American and fewer Native names in the Colville census. We also emphasize that we are only studying the use of names recorded in a census context and not the names that people had and used in other

contexts. It is highly likely that many Natives with a Native name did not use it in the census enumeration, and, there were also likely Natives that had a Euro-American name who did not use it in the census enumeration.

At the same time, we have seen strong patterns in the data across gender, birth cohort, and group that we think can be interpreted in terms of historical experience and context in 1885. We provide our interpretations below, while recognizing that other interpretations are possible. We also emphasize in writing our tentative interpretation that this is only a first look at Native name usage patterns on the Columbia Plateau under Euro-American influence. There is much research yet to be done on this topic, and in the discussion below, we provide some suggestions for such further research.

We begin our discussion and interpretation of differentials with gender and repeat an earlier observation that the Plateau Natives were noted for their gender egalitarianism accompanied by a gendered division of labor. Euro-American society was also characterized by a gendered division of labor but by less gender egalitarianism. Our results cast light on how this may have played out in the distribution of names recorded in the census.

The data reported earlier indicate that gender did not show strong divides in the distribution of names recorded on the 1885 Colville census. The strongest divides between males and females concerned relatively modest differences in the number of names recorded and the number of Relationship names recorded in the English Name column, with more names recorded altogether for males and more Relationship names recorded for females.

Both of these gender differences may be a result of male Natives playing a larger role than females in dealings with Euro-Americans who themselves were often male. As mentioned earlier, the census enumerator for the 1885 Colville census was male (Hoxie et al. 1992:53) and likely saw the Native males as the heads of the households and dealt with them

more frequently. This aligns with the fact that ration lists for Natives at the time were done according to the head of household or family, which would have likely been considered by whites to be the senior male. As the perceived head of household, the males more frequently than the females would likely have been asked to report information to the enumerator for the entire household or family. In this role, the reporting male may have given two names to the enumerator for himself while finding one name sufficient for other family members.

In addition, both the male white enumerator and the (presumably) male Native reporter of census information may have seen it as more important to record a specific name for the male than the female members of the household. The male Native reporter may also have been more accustomed to giving his name to Euro-Americans, which would increase the likelihood that he would report a unique Euro-American name for himself rather than a Relationship name. This possible explanation is consistent with the fact that 19 females were enumerated as Wife and no males were enumerated as Husband and the fact that more females than males were enumerated with the child label of Girl or Boy. These results suggest the emphasis on obtaining a unique name for males, while settling for a relationship label for females.

As we observed earlier, the differences in names recorded for birth cohorts are very dramatic. Recall that for the earliest cohort, those born between 1790 and 1815, 72 percent were recorded in the census with a Native name and 45 percent were recorded with a Euro-American name. In contrast to that, the 1866–1875 birth cohort was recorded with about one-quarter Native names and nearly 80 percent with a Euro-American name, with relatively steady decreases or increases across cohorts.

Explanation of such dramatic differences across birth cohorts in the names used in the 1885 census requires understanding of the important differences in the social milieu of the different cohorts when they were maturing from

infancy through young adulthood. There had to be differences in the socialization processes and outcomes during the early years of life that persisted through the lifetimes of individuals and affected the ways their names were reported on the 1885 census. Furthermore, these differences in life circumstances and socialization outcomes across cohorts had to have been very substantial to explain the dramatic differences in names documented.

We earlier described the growing presence and involvement of Euro-Americans on the Columbia Plateau across the years when the people in the 1885 census were born and being socialized into adulthood. These included Euro-American fur traders, missionaries, government officials, and schools. Many of these interactions also became very personal, even intimate, as Native women married Euro-American men and bore children together, with significant numbers of young people born and socialized in homes with a Euro-American parent—and for later cohorts, with grandparents, aunts, and uncles who had Euro-American ancestry.

Very fortunately for interpretation of the birth cohort differences in names we know for certain many things about the people in the 1885 census who were born before the first white person entered the Plateau in 1793, and what we know about them would be very nearly the same for those in the entire 1790–1815 birth cohort. We know for a certainty that the people born before 1793 did not have Euro-American parents or grandparents, that their Native parents would have given them Native names with spiritual and familial significance during their infancy, and that there was no chance of them receiving a Euro-American name in infancy. Except for those individuals in this birth cohort who happened to be on the exploration paths of McKenzie, Fraser, Thompson, Lewis, and Clark, none of them would have experienced Euro-American fur traders, missionaries, government agents, or schools during their early decades of life. The complete socialization of these Native youth in this exclusively Native environment would have

been carried by them throughout their lives and affected subsequent outcomes, such as filling out census forms in 1885.

Yet, we know that only 72 percent of the birth cohort of 1790–1815 were recorded in the 1885 census with a Native name and 45 percent were recorded with a Euro-American name. Obviously, some things changed between 1790–1815 and 1885. During the 70 or more years between their births and 1885, many of these individuals had interactions with Euro-Americans such as fur traders, missionaries, churches, government agents, and schools that affected their subsequent beliefs, values, and the names they had and used. Many of them would have been assigned Euro-American names by fur traders, when they were baptized into Christian churches, in Euro-American schools, by government officials, and/or by a Euro-American they married. The combination of these very diverse experiences with their very strong childhood socialization resulted in 28 percent not having a Native name recorded on the 1885 census, despite the fact that 100 percent were given a Native name as a child. And, in some way 45 percent had obtained a Euro-American name that was recorded on the same census, indicating the utility of having a Euro-American name in dealing with Euro-Americans—names that had been given to them or they chose to use for convenience, baptism, or other reasons.

As we saw earlier, the later birth cohorts had substantially lower percentages with Native names recorded on the census and substantially higher percentages recorded with Euro-American names than did the 1790–1815 birth cohorts. The decrease in recording Native names across birth cohorts was also monotonic through the latest cohort, and the increase in recording Euro-American names was monotonic through the 1866–1875 birth cohort. This suggests that the later birth cohorts must have experienced increasingly very different environments in childhood and young adulthood than did the earliest cohort.

The historical material presented earlier suggests that over each succeeding birth cohort Native children were increasingly likely to have Euro-American parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles, changing dramatically their socialization experiences. Later cohorts of children also had many more childhood interactions with Euro-American fur traders, missionaries, government officials, and schools, with their additional influences on childhood and socialization. Increasing numbers were likely assigned Euro-American names as children by their parents, by fur traders, when they were baptized into Christian churches, or when they attended Euro-American schools. It is likely that the combination of these varying childhood environments and experiences socialized Native children about the use of Euro-American names, taught them that whites preferred Euro-American names over Native names, and trained them to ignore Native names, if they had them, when dealing with Euro-Americans. With such changes in childhood socialization, by the time of the birth cohort of 1866–1875, only about one-quarter were recorded in the 1885 census with a Native name and nearly 80 percent with a Euro-American name—an enormous difference from the earliest cohort.

As noted earlier in our discussion of Figure 2, this pattern of increasingly higher incidence of Euro-American names across birth cohorts was reversed with a very substantial dip in Euro-American names used for the 1876–1885 birth cohort. We believe that this substantial dip for the 1876–1885 cohort cannot be explained by changes in childhood socialization because any such changes in childhood socialization would have to explain a drop in both Native and Euro-American names—something that seems unlikely. In addition, the people in this cohort were still children in 1885, all less than ten years of age.

We believe, in fact that the decline in Euro-American names for this cohort is due to their young age—a life course explanation rather than a birth cohort explanation. We

mentioned earlier that a large number of people under age ten were recorded in the census with a Relationship name, such as Baby, Baby Girl, and Girl Baby (Table 2, Row 2), which is less a name and more an identifying characteristic. Our expectation is that many people receiving these names were young enough that they had not received a Euro-American name but may have received one later. We cannot evaluate this expectation empirically with the 1885 census, but subsequent research with later censuses from the Colville Agency could cast light on the validity of this interpretation.

Before leaving the relationship of birth cohort with names used on the 1885 Colville census, we remind ourselves that birth cohort was calculated by subtracting the age reported in the census from 1885. As a result, birth cohort and age are perfectly correlated, raising the possibility that the correlation of birth cohort with name use reported in Figure 2 is actually due to age effects rather than birth cohort effects. That is, it is possible that the data in Figure 2 could be explained by a theory suggesting that few Natives on the Plateau began life with Native names or were very reluctant to use them in a census interaction, but as they matured to older ages, they increasingly received Native names or used them more frequently in interactions with Euro-Americans. Or, if the decision making about names on a BIA census rested with the census enumerator, the relationship of names used with age could be explained by the enumerator choosing to give Native names more frequently to older people. We cannot reject these age explanations, but believe that the birth cohort explanation is more plausible. Additional data from more census years and birth cohorts may provide additional information to resolve this issue, but untangling the interrelated effects of birth cohort, age, and the year of the data collection is very difficult.

The contrasts in naming patterns observed among the six groups enumerated by the Colville Agency in 1885 are even larger than the very large differences documented for the birth cohort

groups, demanding some understanding of the circumstances each group experienced with Euro-American people and institutions prior to the 1885 census. Euro-American missionaries, fur trappers, schools, government agents, and settlers were all part of the Native experience on the Plateau, but the interactions of Natives with these groups were not uniform. There were also marked differences across groups with the treaty process and military engagement. In addition, the groups enumerated on the 1885 BIA census did not all arrive at the three Colville Agency reservations at the same time. Some had been living there for generations while others moved or were placed there at different times and in different ways. These differences in group experiences with Euro-Americans may help to explain the very large group differences found in the names used. Although a full exposition of the important differences among the groups that explain the differences in naming patterns on the 1885 census is beyond the scope of this paper, we can point to some possible explanatory factors for the two groups at the opposite extremes of the Native and Euro-American naming spectrum, the Deep Creek Colony and the Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce.

We begin with the Chief Joseph Band and repeat the observation that 98 percent of the Chief Joseph Band provided Native names and only 17 percent provided Traditional Euro-American names—a pattern very likely related to their history with Euro-Americans. As we noted earlier, some Nez Perce, including Chief Joseph's father, had welcomed the Presbyterian missionaries to the Plateau in 1836 and had become Christian converts, only to be disillusioned by what they viewed as the "thief treaty" of 1863. Many Nez Perce had emphasized their Native religion, becoming so-called Dreamers in opposition to Euro-American ways, wanted to follow their own religious and cultural traditions, and hoped to be left alone by the Euro-Americans. This opposition to Euro-American ways plus a desire to keep their land led to a calamitous war, capture in Montana, and a difficult exile in

Indian Territory (Axtell and Aragon 1997:13). Upon their return to the Columbia Plateau in 1885, they chose to retain their Native religion and go to the Colville Reservation rather than choosing Christianity and going to the Lapwai Reservation (McWhorter 2020:290).

As a result, the 1885 census taker at Colville would have very likely found Joseph's Band of Nez Perce with very little reason to have faith in Christianity and its way of life and with very little motivation to forsake their Native names—and with almost no exceptions they did not. Instead, the 1855 enumerator apparently found people who were almost universally committed to their historic religion, their historic way of life, and their historic names—and the enumerator wrote those names down. This happened, despite the fact that the government had spent considerable effort to eliminate the use of their Native names and to assign them Euro-American names. As the missionary Deffenbaugh stated, they remained "unsubdued" (Deffenbaugh 1885:73). There, of course, could be other interpretations, but this one seems especially plausible. Additional research with subsequent BIA Colville censuses could determine if the strong positions of the Chief Joseph Band moderated in subsequent years, as time provided some separation from the horrors of the 1877 war and the exile to Indian Territory.

Our theory also suggests that BIA censuses among the Nez Perce on the Lapwai Reservation would show very different naming patterns than for the Nez Perce on the Colville Reservation—with many more Euro-American names and many fewer Native names at Lapwai. This is because of the clear religious and historical divides between the Nez Perce in the two areas, with the Christians on the Lapwai Reservation contrasting sharply with the so-called Dreamers in Colville. We already know, as mentioned earlier, that the students of the McBeth Presbyterian seminary on the Lapwai Reservation had such names as James Hines, Robert Williams, and Archie Lawyer, and it is likely that many other Nez Perce on the Lapwai Reservation had similar names.

The history of the Deep Creek Colony of Spokan paralleled that of Chief Joseph's Band in multiple ways, but departed from it in other important ways. As we have discussed, more than 50 years earlier in 1829 many Spokan had welcomed Spokan Garry home from the Red River School as an Anglican teacher and influential leader, welcomed the Presbyterian missionaries at Tshimakain in 1838, and had their own battle with the U.S. army in 1858. The Deep Creek Colony members witnessed what happened to the anti-treaty Nez Perce in 1877 and moved in 1878 to establish their Colony with Euro-American land-use patterns, private ownership, Presbyterian missionaries, and a Presbyterian church. They also exercised the agency they had to adopt, at least publicly, other attributes of Euro-American society and culture such as clothing and hair styles, being seen as a model community of Natives adopting Euro-American ways (Mann 2007:172). We also know that the Chief Joseph Band had arrived in Colville just before the census in 1885, with their own accounts and example that the Deep Creek people desired to avoid.

Thus, when the 1885 census taker arrived to enumerate the people of the Deep Creek Colony, he likely found them with a very different mindset than what he found among the members of the Joseph Band of Nez Perce. He found a group with enormous motivations to survive as a people on their own land, with that survival being under immediate threat. He also found a group that had adopted many Euro-American beliefs, values, and ways of life, probably out of some combination of deep belief and the desire to keep their lands. We, of course, cannot know what combination of factors affected them when the census form was being completed, but we do know that the census enumerator wrote down Traditional Euro-American names for each of them, a pattern that fits with their earlier adoption of several Euro-American ways.

History, of course, did not stop with the 1885 census, and just three years later in 1888,

the Deep Creek Colony lost its effort to retain its land and was removed to the Spokane reservation (Mann 2007:179). That leads us to expect that an investigation of a subsequent BIA census on the Spokane reservation would find some former Colony individuals listed with Native names and some without Euro-American names.

We believe that the research questions just outlined could be addressed further using other currently available BIA census data. In addition, and of great interest for the Colville Agency groups, would be the censuses conducted under the direction of William Park Winans in 1870 for several groups residing on what would become the Colville, Coeur d'Alene, and Spokane reservations.[11] This would permit examination of names recorded fifteen years earlier than the 1885 census—and when there was fifteen years less interaction with Euro-Americans. There were also additional censuses conducted concerning the Nez Perce in exile in Indian Territory (Pearson 2008:xiii–xiv); those censuses could provide insights concerning similarities and differences in reporting names in multiple government censuses under different circumstances.

It would also be possible to expand the results of our article by comparing our BIA census results for Colville with BIA censuses existing for other places, both within and beyond the Columbia Plateau. An expansion to Canadian censuses would also permit making comparisons across geopolitical boundaries, permitting insights about possible effects of differences in Euro-American government policies. We also noted earlier that BIA censuses were collected quite regularly for many reservations from 1885 through 1940, permitting tracking of time trends not only across birth cohorts as we did in this paper, but across both time periods and birth cohorts. Further time depth and additional geographical and ethnic scope could also be achieved by using the names recorded in decennial censuses of American Indians from 1900 through the present.

---

[11] These manuscript censuses are housed at Manuscripts, Archives & Special Collections of Washington State University.

We also note that censuses represent only one type of Native interactions with Euro-Americans. There are numerous other types of multi-cultural interactions, such as with fur traders, religious organizations, and annuity payments. There are likely lists of names of Native people recorded in these interactions, which could be analyzed in ways similar to our analyses—and compared with our analyses. These other records also provide non-government sources that could be used to enrich understanding of the census data.

It is also important to remind ourselves that our article and the research projects suggested above are limited to examining name use of Native Americans as they interacted in the past with Euro-Americans. We expect that name use in interactions among Natives of the same group would be very different from what we have documented. Research of name use in such environments would provide further useful insights.

We also note that future research could broaden the study of name use in other ways. For example, we studied in-depth only the types of Euro-American names used and did not investigate the nature of the Native names reported. It would also be useful to examine whether the common Native names changed over time.

We close with a comment about the use of names among Native Americans in twenty-first century America. Although there have been concerted and lengthy efforts to eradicate Native languages, cultures, and names from the Native population, we know that they have survived through history to the present. In addition, there have also been substantial efforts to revitalize Indian language, culture, and name use. These matters could also be studied in twenty-first century America through various means, including the study of names provided in membership lists and the decennial censuses, keeping in mind, of course, that the absence of particular kinds of names in these documents does not necessarily mean the absence of such names in the lives of the individuals involved.

APPENDIX A. FULL LIST OF THE ENTRIES MADE IN THE ENGLISH NAME COLUMN.

Abel	Alexima	Ann	Baby	Boy
Abraham	Alexis	Ann Mary	Baby Girl	Bridget
Adelaine	Alice	Anna Maria	Bantiote	Caleh
Adelame	Alice Sarah Belle	Anne Mary	Baptiste	Camile
Adele	Allie	Annie	Baptiste Kalone	Camille
Adolph	Alphonse	Anso	Barnaby	Canita
Adrian	Amelia	Anthony	Barnard	Captain Jack
Aeneas	Amos	Antoine	Basil	Caspar
Aeneous Basil	Ananstalia	Antone	Beneventena	Catharine
Agate	Anastasia	Antoneo	Benjamin	Catherine
Agatha	Andre	Antonia	Benoi	Cecelia
Agatha Mary	Andre Joseph	Antonie	Benone	Cecil
Ahilomene	Andrew	Antuinette	Benoni	Cecile
Albert Big Star	Andrew Seltice	Archie	Bermartine	Celeste
Albert Garry	Andy Waters	Archy Leve	Bernadette	Celeste Mary
Albert Waters	Aneipa	Argotte	Bernard	Celestine
Alec	Anepa	Arpelle	Bersuaantine	Celia Williams
Alex	Angeline	Athol	Betsy	Chapman
Alexander	Angelique	Augelegae	Billy	Charles
Alexi	Anice	Augustus	Bob	Charles Benjamin

APPENDIX A. (cont.)

Charles Louis	Cypreau	Fatchen	Girl Baby	Isadore
Charles Smith	Cyrus	Felicite	Good Dress	Jack
Charley	Daniel	Felicity	Greenwood	Jack Fly
Charlie	Daniel Jefferson	Felix	Grizzly Bear	Jack Hill
Charlie Mockton	Daughter	Fetie Wilson	Hannah	Jack Lawyer
Charlotte	David	Fidelity	Hannie	Jacob
Chief Joseph	David Williams	Fidelo	Harriet	Jacob Snow
Child	Donald	Filecianna	Hattie	James
Christian	Doug	Fort Trake Charley	Hawk Hawk	Jane
Christine	Eagle Blanket	Frances	Helie	Jeanette
Come Down	Edith Woodwart	Francois	Henry	Jeanette Leve
Constantia	Edward	Frank	Henry Curlew	Jennie
Constantine	Eliza	Gabrielle	Hersekiah	Jeremiah
Corbeth	Elizabeth	Garry Wilson	Homer	Jereminiece
Corlett	Ella	George	Hunter Blanket	Jerome
Corlette	Ellen	George Hober	Ignace	Jim
Cornelius	Emanuel	George Isaac	Imosa	Job
Cortel	Emily Wilson	George Mann	Ingenta	Joe
Coyote Chief	Eneas	George Speanjers	Isaac	Joe Edward
Crow Blanket	Enos	Girl	Isabel	Joe Louis

APPENDIX A. (cont.)

John	Julie	Louis	Marian	Mat
John Andrews	Juliette	Louis Andrew	Marie	Mathilde
John Hill	Justine	Louis Basil	Marie Madeleine	Mattee
John Williams	Katharine	Louis Lake	Marie Therese	Mattie
Johnson	Lame John	Louis Mark	Marline	Maurice
Jonathon	Leander	Louis Michel	Marshall	Mercy
Joseph	Leighton	Louis Pierre	Martine	Michel
Joseph Blackfoot	Leo	Louis Sepus	Mary	Michele
Joseph Picket	Leve	Louisa	Mary Agate	Moese
Joseph Pierre	Levi Fly	Louise	Mary Anastasia	Mollie
Joseph Semo	Lily	Lucille	Mary Ann	Moses
Joseph Wilson	Little Joseph	Lucy	Mary Cecile	Nancy
Josephine	Little Man Chief	Luke	Mary Felicity	Nancy Garry
Josephy	Lizzie	Lulu	Mary Louise	Narcisse
Joshua	Lombert	Madelaine	Mary Lucy	Natche
Julia	Lonquady	Madeline	Mary Madeline	Nicholas
Julia Ann	Looking Down	Marcelle	Mary Peone	Nicodemns
Julia Garry	Lorie	Marcellus	Mary Rosalie	No Name
Julia Mary	Lot	Margaret	Mary Susette	Noel
Julianna	Louie	Mari	Mary Teresa	Norbert

APPENDIX A. (cont.)

Norbert Old	Pierre Aeneas	Rosalie	Stanislaus	Tommy
Obed	Pierre Bartelmy	Rosalie Peone	Stephanie	Unknown
Old Joe	Pierre Basil	Rose Bush	Stephens	Urfe
Old Semo	Pierre Joseph	Sallie	Stokely	Ursula
Other Side	Pierre Louis	Sam The Lawyer	Susan	Ursula Mary
Ourre Paul	Pierre Paul	Samson Wilson	Susan Mary	Virginia
Parrish	Pointed Nose	Samuel	Susanna	Wife
Paschal	Polamy	Sarah	Susanne	William
Pat	Preacher	Sarah Belle	Susette	William Bull
Patrine	Presly	Sebastian	Sutonie	William Enos
Paul	Rebekah	Semo	Theodore	William Suni
Paul Garry	Red Bones	Slanislaus	Theresa	Wilson
Paul Louis	Red Bull	Snow	Therese	Wolf Head
Pauline	Red Cloud	Snow On Her Dress	Thomas	Woman Doctor
Peter	Red Crow	Solo	Thomas Garry	Yellow Bull
Philemon	Red Curlew	Solomon	Thomas Wilson	Yellow Head
Philip	Regis	Son	Thompson	Young Up
Phillip	Robert Johnson	Sophia	Timothy	-
Phoebe Ann	Rope	Sophie	Titus Garry	-
Pierre	Rosalia	Spokan	Tom	-

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES CITED

Ackerman, Lillian A.
2003   *A Necessary Balance: Gender and Power Among Indians of the Columbia Plateau.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Arnold, Laurie
2012   *Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Axtell, Horace P., and Margo Aragon
1997   *A Little Bit of Wisdom: Conversations with a Nez Perce Elder.* Lewiston, ID: Confluence Press.

Axtell, James
1981   *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Barman, Jean
2014   *French Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest.* Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press.

Belyea, Barbara
2007   *Columbia Journals, David Thompson.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Bischoff, William N.
1945   *The Jesuits in Old Oregon 1840–1940.* Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers.

Burns, Robert Ignatius
1966   *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Calloway, Colin G.
2003   *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Cannell, Lin Tull
2010   *The Intermediary: William Craig Among the Nez Perces.* Carlton, OR: Ridenbaugh Press.

Carriker, Robert C.
1995   *Father Peter John DeSmet: Jesuit in the West.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Cebula, Larry
2003   *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700–1850.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Cutler, Donald L.
2016   *"Hang Them All": George Wright and the Plateau Indian War*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Deffenbaugh, G. L.
1885   "No Title." Pages 72–73 in Office of Indian Affairs. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1885. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

De Smet, P. J.
1985   *New Indian Sketches*. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press.

Dolin, E. J.
2010   *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Drury, Clifford Merrill
1936   *Henry Harmon Spalding*. Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers
1949   *A Tepee in His Front Yard: A Biography of H. T. Cowley One of the Four Founders of the City of Spokane, Washington*. Portland: Binfords & Mort, Publishers.
1958   *The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith Relating to the Nez Perce Mission, 1838–1842*. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company.
1979   *Chief Lawyer of the Nez Perce Indians 1796–1876*. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company.
1997   *Where Wagons Could Go: Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spaulding*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
1998   *On to Oregon: The Diaries of Mary Walker and Myra Eels*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Evans, Lucylle H.
1976   *St. Mary's in the Rocky Mountains: A History of the Cradle of Montana's Culture*. Stevensville, MT: Montana Creative Consultants.

Fortier, Ted
2002   *Religion and Resistance in the Encounter between the Coeur d'Alene Indians and Jesuit Missionaries*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Frey, Rodney
2001   *Landscape Traveled by Coyote and Crane: The World of the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene Indians)*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Gowans, Fred R.
1985   *Mountain Man & Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous 1825–1840*. Layton, UT: Peregrine Smith Books.

Greene, Jerome A.
2000   *Nez Perce Summer, 1877: The U.S. Army and the Nee-Me-Poo Crisis*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press.

Hoxie, Frederick E., Richard A. Sattler, and Nancy Shoemaker
1992   Reports of the American Indian Family History Project. Chicago: D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, the Newberry Library.

Jefferson, Thomas
1803a   'Confidential' Message to Congress, 18 Jan. 1803. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. https://guides.loc.gov/jefferson-secret-message.
1803b   Expedition to the Pacific: Instructions to Captain Lewis. In *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, edited by Merrill D. Peterson, pp. 1126–1132. New York: Library of America.

Jessett, Thomas E.
1960   *Chief Spokan Garry 1811–1892: Christian, Statesman, and Friend of the White Man*. Minneapolis: T.S. Denison and Company.

Josephy, Alvin. M. Jr.
1997   *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Kowrach, Edward J.
1999   *Saga of the Coeur D'Alene Indians: An Account of Chief Joseph Seltice*. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press.

Lamb, W. Kaye
2007   *The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806–1808*. Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Lewis, Bonnie Sue
2003   *Creating Christian Indians: Native Clergy in the Presbyterian Church*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Mann, John W.
2007   "No More out": The Deep Creek Colony of Spokane Indians, 1878–1888. *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 98(4):169–182.

McBeth, Kate C.
1908   *The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

McKevitt, Gerald
1990   Jesuit Missionary Linguistics in the Pacific Northwest: A Comparative Study. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 21(3):281–304.

McKevitt, Gerald
2007   *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848–1919*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

McWhorter, L.V.
2020   *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press

Merk, Frederick
1968   *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal Entitled Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and Back to York Factory 1824–1825*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Miller, Christopher L.
1985   *Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Moulton, Gary E.
2002   *The Definitive Journals of Lewis & Clark: From the Pacific to the Rockies*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Nez Perce Tribe
2003   *Treaties: Nez Perce Perspectives*. The United States Department of Energy and the Confluence Press.

Office of Indian Affairs
1872   *Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1872*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
1884   *Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1884*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Oliphant, J. Orin
1937   George Simpson and Oregon Missions. *Pacific Historical Review,* 6(3):213–248.

Pinkham, Allen V., and Steven R. Evans
2013   *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu*. Washburn, ND: The Dakota Institute Press.

Pearson, J. Diane
2008   *The Nez Perces in the Indian Territory: Nimiipuu Survival*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Richter, Daniel K.
2001   *Facing East from Indian Country: a Native History of Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Relander, Click
1986   *Drummers and Dreamers*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press.

Reyhner, Jon, and Jeanne Eder
2017   *American Indian Education: A History* (Second Edition). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ross, John Alan
2011   *The Spokan Indians*. Spokane: Michael J. Ross.

Ruby, Robert H., and John A. Brown
1989   *Dreamer-Prophets of the Columbia Plateau: Smohalla and Skolaskin*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
1995   *Half-Sun on the Columbia: A Biography of Chief Moses*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
2006   *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Sheehan, Bernard W.
1980   *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Stern, Theodore
1993   *Chiefs & Chief Traders: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Perces, 1818–1855.* Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.
1996   *Chiefs & Change in the Oregon Country: Indian Relations at Fort Nez Perces 1818–1855.* Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Thornton, Arland
2005   *Reading History Sideways: The Fallacy and Enduring Impact of the Developmental Paradigm on Family Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thornton, Arland, Shawn F. Dorius, and Jeffrey Swindle
2015   Developmental Idealism: The Cultural Foundations of World Development Programs. *Sociology of Development,* 1(2):277–320.

Walker, Deward E., Jr.
1985   *Conflict & Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation: A Study of Religion and Politics.* Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press.
1998   Introduction. In *Handbook of North American Indians,* Plateau, edited by Deward E. Walker, Jr., pp. 1–7. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Waters, Sidney D.
1885   "Washington Agency Report." In *Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs., for the year 1885,* pp. 183–186. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Wishart, David J.
1992   *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840: A Geographical Synthesis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Young-DeMarco, Linda
2021   A Review of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Census Program and its Protocols as a Source of Information about American Indians, 1885–1940. SSAI Working Paper 2021-03. March 2021. https://ssai.isr.umich.edu/working-papers/a-review-of-the-bureau-of-indian-affairs-annual-census-program-and-its-protocols-as-a-source-of-information-about-american-indians-1885-1940/.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Jillian Gordner is a Campaign Associate with the U.S. Public Interest Research Group where she advocates for policies to improve the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) Superfund toxic waste cleanup program. She has authored two reports on the state and progress of the Superfund program. Jillian graduated from the University of Michigan with majors in English and International Studies. While at University, she assisted with and conducted research under the guidance of Arland Thornton and Linda Young-DeMarco at the Institute for Social Research.

Arland Thornton is Professor of Sociology, Population Studies, and Survey Research at the University of Michigan, where he is also associated with the Native American Studies Program and centers within the International Institute. He is a social demographer who has served as president of the Population Association of America and previously held a MERIT award from the National Institutes of Health. He has received four awards for his books as well as distinguished career awards from the American Sociological Association and the Population Association of America. Thornton has focused much of his career on the study of family and demographic issues, with emphasis on marriage, cohabitation, childbearing, gender roles, education, and migration. Thornton has also pioneered the study of developmental idealism, including its conceptualization, measurement, and influence in many places. He has collaborated in the collection and analysis of data from Albania, Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Egypt, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Malawi, Nepal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Turkey, the U.S., and Vietnam. Thornton is currently conducting research concerning several dimensions of American Indian life, including levels, trends, and differentials in school enrollment; literacy; and years of school completed.

Linda Young-DeMarco is a Lead Research Area Specialist at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, with extensive longitudinal research and project management experience. Her expertise includes project conceptualization, construct and measurement development, survey questionnaire design, and survey data analysis. She has collaborated with Arland Thornton and other researchers to study developmental idealism at the international level and has co-authored a number of peer-reviewed research papers and book chapters. More recently, Young-DeMarco has expanded her focus to include studying the influence of Euro-American society and educational institutions on American Indian literacy and school attainment from 1900–1940 and across birth cohorts from 1830–1920.

Aboriginal Olympic Peninsula: Culture History of Chimakuan Precedent

Jay Miller

Affiliation
Lushootseed Research

Correspondence
jay4miller@gmail.com

Abstract   *The Olympic Peninsula needs another look in light of current research, kinship insights, and partisan claims in federal court cases. After a brief environmental overview, previous scholarship, amateur and increasingly professional, is considered, though more tribally based than comparative. Next, component Tribes and languages are highlighted, with all but Chimakuans traced to their nearby sources among Wakashans, Coast Salish, or Diné. Of regional significance is a dynamic regional sound change from nasals to orals that significantly crosses language families but likely had a Chemakum source at the Hadlock emporium. Societal rank dynamics are considered in terms of guilds and kinship systems that unified elites while distinguishing their internal societies as Wakashan birth order* ramages*, Salish bilateral* kindreds*, and Chimakuan* kin♀dreds *(matri-kindreds). Conflicts, chiefly feuds, and varied claims to land include well-documented assaults and murders, indicating tensions inherent in these later jockeyings for territory. In the widest view, complementing the Chimakuan isolate are special features of regional species, ecology, and biology. In closing, ten milestones are proposed for peninsula culture and language history.*

Keywords
Olympic Peninsula, Chimakuan, Quileute, Makah, Salish, *ramage, kindred,* Siletzia.

Introduction

The Olympic Peninsula of Washington state, bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the west and the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the north, is known for its beauty, diverse ecosystems, and rugged characteristics. The Olympic Peninsula is the last land mass to join the North American continent, mostly composed of the huge pillow basalt island known as Siletzia (Figure 1). Measuring 3,600 square miles in area (60 mi by 60 mi), rugged portions of the Olympic Peninsula were so remote, they were among the last places in the continental United States to be mapped.

More recently, the Quileute gained notoriety as the setting for the popular *Twilight* books and movies, and earlier had influenced the *Dune* novels and movies.

From an anthropological perspective, the peninsula is the most linguistically and culturally diverse region in the Pacific Northwest. While there is debate, most agree that the first documented residents were the Chimakuan speakers, today represented by the Quileute and Hoh, and historically Chemakum Tribes. Speakers of other languages came later into the Olympics from near and far. While the dates

Figure 1. Map of the Pacific Northwest showing location of the Olympic Peninsula (circle).

when speakers of different languages arrived are open to question, the matter is moot from a legal perspective; they all signed 1855 treaties with Isaac Stevens for the U.S. and all have legal standing.

Interestingly, despite the anthropological importance of the region, Tribes of the Olympic Peninsula (Figure 2) have not received comparative study since Ramraj Prasad Singh completed his Ph.D. fieldwork in the 1950s (Singh 1966). Building on the knowledge gains of the last half century, and sparked by the recent debate in the *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* (*JONA*) focused on the relative timing of arrival by Chimakuan and Makah speaking people (Wessen 2019, 2020; Powell 2020), I intend this article to be a current taking stock and overview of the Olympic Peninsula and its Native peoples.[i]

In particular, discussion focuses on the residents and early arrivals; comparisons of languages, economies, and sociopolitical systems; and application of appropriate terminology to kinship and social institutions. Beyond the simple need to keep regions of the Pacific Northwest up to date anthropologically, I am also motivated by coastal tribal elders' concern for a common and just synthesis as each Tribe is now embarking on separate publications and media works that will further divide them.

To meet these goals, I begin with a brief environmental overview followed by a discussion of previous scholarship, amateur and increasingly professional, though more tribally based than comparative. Then I consider the component Tribes and languages, with all but Chimakuans traced to their nearby sources among Wakashans, Coast Salish, or Diné. This is followed by the
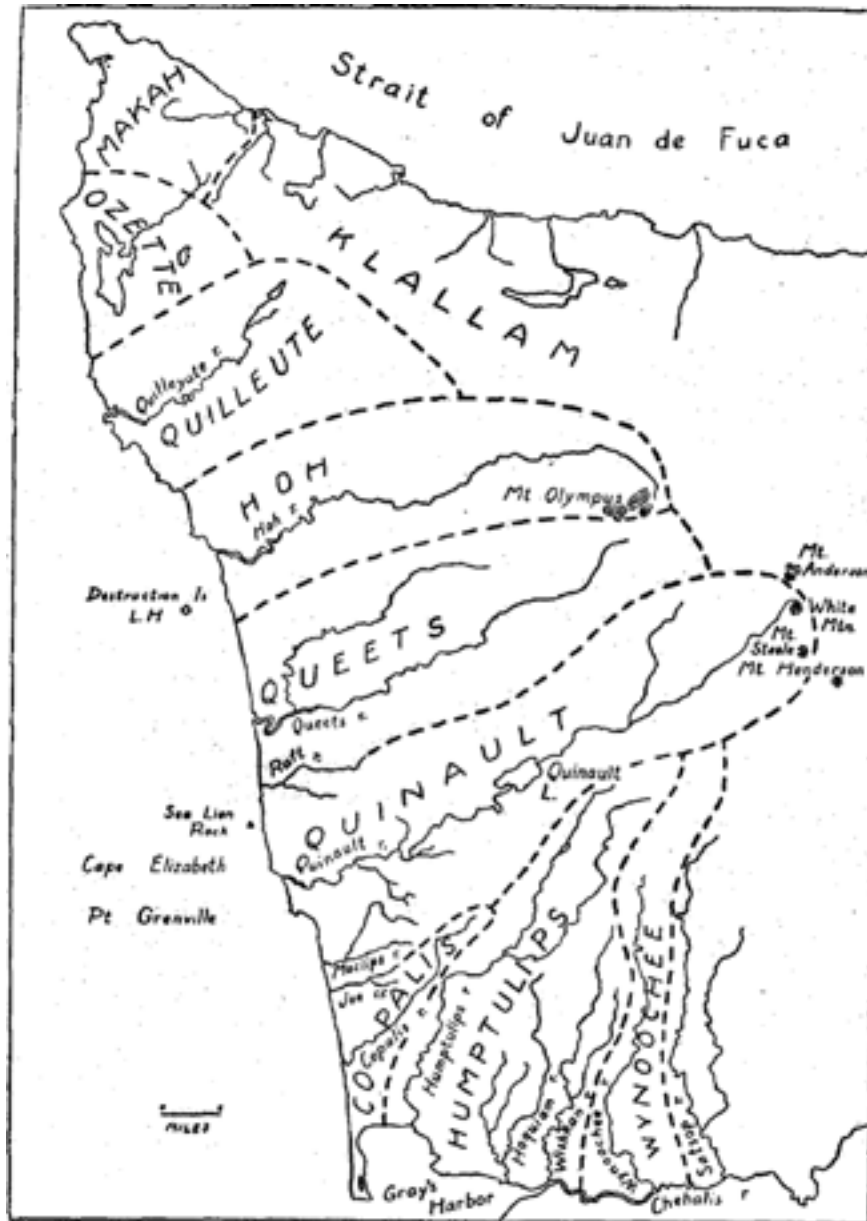
Figure 2. Tribes of the Olympic Peninsula (Ronald Olson, *The Quinault Indians* 1936:10).

description of a dynamic regional sound shift from nasals to orals that significantly crosses language families but likely had a Chemakum source. Societal rank dynamics are then reviewed describing guild and kinship systems that unified elites while distinguishing their different internal societies, such as Wakashan *ramages*, Salish *kindreds*, and Chimakuan *kin♀dreds*. Conflicts, feuds, and shifting land claims were expressed through well-documented feuds and murders,

suggesting that tensions were inherent in the later settlement of these other Tribes. In closing, I propose ten milestones in these culture and language histories.

The Setting

The Olympics can be visualized as a craggy molar pushed up from the ocean floor by plate tectonics (Figure 3), and bulldozing a bottom

layer of pillow basalt toward the east to form its defining framework: the Crescent Formation, which appears as a thin band or skirt along the north shore, with a break at Dungeness, and a thick band along Hood Canal on the east and above the Chehalis River tributaries of Satsop and Wynoochee on the south (Welch 1973, 1983; Wessen 1990). Pacific and Straits coastlines define its limits on the west and north, along with Hood Canal on the east and rivers on the south. The Satsop East Branch descends from the northeast to join the Chehalis on a diagonal from the elbow of Hood Canal and Skokomish River. Together Skokomish, Satsop, and Chehalis waterways provide the natural southern boundary of the Olympic Peninsula. Now joining the Chehalis further east, the Black River drained a mile-high Puget Glacier, widening the lower valley with huge outflow on its way out to Grays Harbor and the Pacific Ocean.

Geologically, the Olympic Peninsula is the northern hook of Siletzia (56–48 million years ago), an enormous pillow basalt island, that moved north and east in the Pacific Ocean as it was forming over the geologic "hot spot" that continues moving east and now underlies Yellowstone in Wyoming. Subducted (51–49 million years ago) by the east moving plate and west moving North American continent, Siletzia became angled under the mainland to form the coasts of Oregon and Washington, and the southern tip of Vancouver Island. Its basalt forms the backwards-C Crescent skirt [Ɔ] around the Peninsula with the Olympic Mountains inside it. Of note, none of these peaks is volcanic, though they are surrounded by pillow basalt. A twin basalt island, Yakutatia, formed beside Siletzia, then moved to the far north along the Queen Charlotte (Haida) Trench to become the north Alaska coast. Until recently, all these basalts were treated separately as sub-regions until their common basalt island source was realized and the greater picture emerged of intersecting hot spot; huge volcanic islands; tectonic plates; and regional clockwise rotation, albeit slow and steady, to shape Northwest coastal geology from

Alaska to Oregon (Wells et al. 2014; Eddy et al. 2017; Zenter 2020).

Prior Research

Aside from incidental reports by Russian, Spanish, British, and French ships along the coast of the Olympic Peninsula, and the invaluable artworks of John Webber with Captain James Cook at Nootka in 1778, reliable work began with visiting or transplanted Easterners, whose work had comparative aspects. In 1808, the crew of a Russian America fur trading schooner, *Sv Nikolai*, were enslaved and traded widely but had little cultural impact except for babies with red hair, even now. In 1852, the sidewheel steamboat *Southerner* wrecked on the north side of James Island in a storm. In return for salvage rights to on-board trade goods in leather, metal, and glass, as well as gold coins, Quileutes nursed the survivors until rescued. Leaving eastern Canada, in the 1850s, Paul Kane sketched and painted through the West, especially leaders and events, including battles in the Salish Sea (see below). James Swan, a school teacher and artifact collector, published the first Makah ethnography, edited by George Gibbs, through the Smithsonian in 1870, and a study through the National Museum of surf netting of smelt by Quileutes. His own impressive Northwest artifact collection remains in Port Townsend, and his historic drawings are at Yale (Miles 2003). Edward Sapir, trained by Franz Boas and initially based in Ottawa, Canada, began work on Nootkan in 1910, and sent Mary Haas and Morris Swadesh to Nitinat in 1931, on their honeymoon. In 1955, Sapir and Swadesh published their Nootkan ethnographic texts. Rev. Myron Eells, of a famous local missionary family, was based on Hood Canal from the 1870s on, publishing on Twana and neighbors, as well as collecting and selling artifacts. His personal collection is at Whitman College.

Because Chimakuan was recognized as special by George Gibbs during an 1850s treaty council and Quileute is its strongest member,
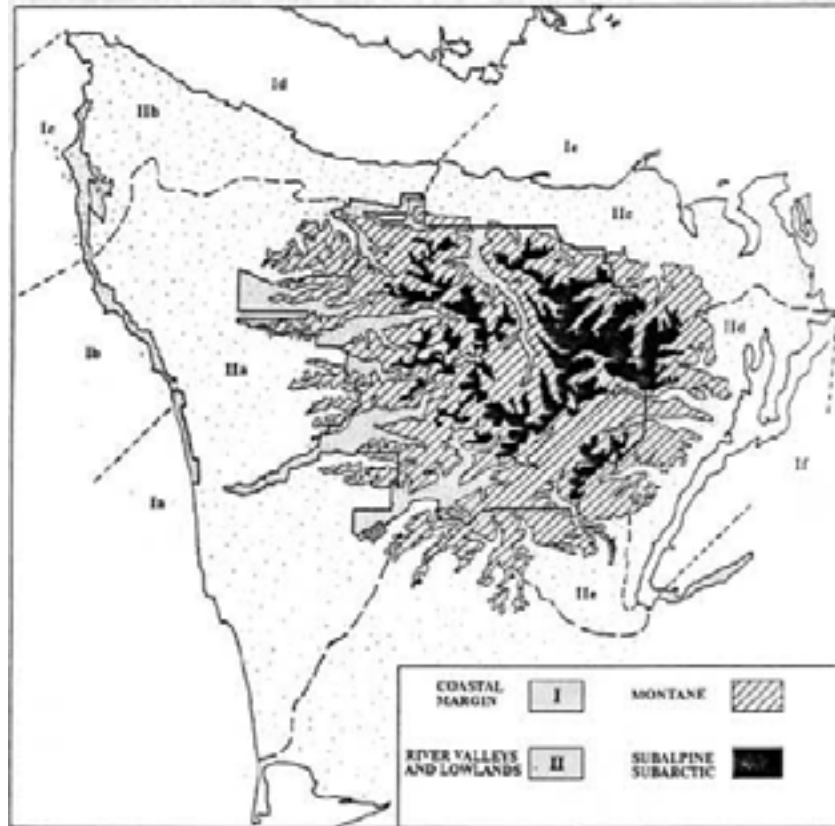
Figure 3. Map of the Olympic Peninsula showing the major physiographic regions (Map produced by the National Park Service).

research has concentrated there. Charles Willoughby, a ship captain turned Indian agent, summarized the Tribes of his coastal agency in 1886, and his wife Sarah Cheney, an artist from Boston, depicted its scenes in water colors. At the turn of the century, Livingston Farrand collected texts in Quinault and Quileute for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902), funded by Morris Jesup and led by Franz Boas.

Actual comparative work begins with Albert Reagan, a school teacher among Quileutes, providing both ethnography and archaeology published in the early 1900s in Kansas, Indiana, and California scientific journals. Leo Frachtenberg was sent by Franz Boas to the Oregon coast, then to Quileute, publishing key articles in the 1920s, but his full ethnography remains in manuscript. Before 1930, Manuel Andrade, later a famous Mayanist, worked on the Quileute language, and comparisons with Chemakum, publishing a grammar and texts, but not a dic-

tionary. That was eventually done as *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (*NARN) Memoir* 3 and is being redone by Jay Powell, long involved at La Push and University of British Columbia. George Pettitt, while he was stationed nearby at a Navy air station, studied Quileute acculturation in the 1940s, providing the best characterization of their six guilds. Quileute eco-concerns entered mass media first in the *Dune* novels and movies, and, most recently, in the *Twilight* books and movies, sponsored by Mormons. In 1970, as a safeguard during underground nuclear tests in the Aleutians, some sea otters were transferred to the coast of Washington, now thriving between Pillar Point and Destruction Island, and Oregon, where they died out because while caged they could not groom their fur to maintain its insulating properties. Traditionally, highly prized for chiefly attire, sea otters were hunted from a special two man canoe and taken first by arrow, then harpoon with mussel shell

point. Their value to chiefs was co-opted by the fur trade with China, and they were driven to local extinction by special high powered rifles shot from towers.

After his 1927 comparative study of adze, canoe, and house distributions of the Northwest, Ronald Olson published a full Quinault ethnography (1936), before he wrote on northern Wakashans and Tlingits. He was famously a dynamic undergraduate professor at Berkeley. Alice Henson Ernst at the University of Oregon observed Wolf rituals at Makah, Quileute, and Nootka during the 1930s. Aided by girlhood memories of her settler family, and advised by Franz Boas, she published a rare comparative study (Ernst 1952). Her work calls attention to the various guilds (sodalities, formerly called secret societies) characteristic of coastal Tribes, which integrated elite families across these Tribes and provided opportunities for intertribal marriages.

After mid-1920s fieldwork with Klallams while a wife and mother, Erna Gunther spent years with Makah, while famous Africanist Elizabeth Colson did a British style social anthropology of their main village of Neah Bay in 1942 for her Ph.D. at Radcliffe. Frances Densmore collected music and songs on the coast in the 1920s. Timothy Montler took on Straits Salish about 1980 and published a Klallam grammar and dictionary, with texts due in 2023. Most recently, scholars concerned with the Olympic peoples, past and present, include Richard Daugherty, Jay Powell, Gary Wessen, Dale Croes, Carl Gustafson, William Elmendorf, Herb Taylor, Joshua Reid, Joseph Stauss, and Jacilee Wray.[ii] In all, prior accounts were mostly tribal and piecemeal until Ramraj Prasad Singh came from India, where he later became a politician and a minister of education, to undertake fieldwork in 1955 for his Ph.D. of truly comparative fieldwork along the peninsula coast. Singh's work was published by Warren Snyder, a recent University of Washington (UW) Ph.D., who founded anthropology at Sacramento and provided a publication outlet for several Northwest studies. Key Quileute

studies of place and plant names, as well as a massive dictionary, were published by *NARN*, predecessor of *JONA*.

JONA has been a forum for specialized discussions of the peninsula, especially, in the words of one reviewer, as "ammunition for legal cases." Many have been intriguing and informative, such as entry into North America through the Chehalis, proposed by Dale R. Croes and Vic J. Kucera (2017); my own notice of three Chehalis literature publications (Miller 2018); Daugherty's fieldnotes for Hoh (2010a) and his pioneering archaeological survey of the coast (2010b), updated by Gary Wessen (2011); and, most recently, articles by Wessen (2019, 2020) with a response to the latter from Jay Powell (2020) and a response to that from Wessen (2020); along with a tribute to Virginia Butler that reviews Northwest archaeology (Anderson and Spoon 2021). A few other of my articles on Chehalis and the coast appear in *JONA Memoir* 9 (Miller 2014). The broad strokes of the Wessen and Powell 2020 debate led to the greater detail and proposed cultural layering of this article.

Yet Olympic publications have not kept up with advances in geology, linguistics, and kinship studies, in favor of environmental and subsistence aspects understandable in federal courts. Only early attempts by Swan, Reagan, and Ernst qualify as comparative in the sense that two different communities are considered. Singh's study is fully comparative, but clearly dated.

Languages

In terms of languages (Table 1), Olympic Peninsula speakers mostly share their English tribal names with their rivers: Chehalis (Miller 2012a, 2014; Amrine 2018) along the south and Quinault (Olson 1936; Capoeman 1990; James 2002) along the Pacific west—both of these belong to the Tsamosan branch of Coast Salish: Wakashan Makah (Swan 1870; Gunther 1936) at the northwest tip; Klallam (Gunther 1925, 1927) of the Straits of Juan de Fuca branch of Coast

Table 1. Tribes and Languages of the Olympic Peninsula.

Olympic Tribes	Sub-Family	Language Family	Homeland
Quileute, Hoh, Chemakum	Chimakuan	Isolate	Olympics
Quinault, Chehalis, Cowlitz	Tsamosan	Coast Salish	Fraser River
Twana	Central	Coast Salish	Hood Canal
Klallam	Straits	Coast Salish	Vancouver Islands
Makah	Nootkan	Wakashan	Vancouver Island
Swaal (Kwaliokwa)	Athapaskan	Na-Dené	Alaska

Salish on the north; and Twana Central Coast Salish along Hood Canal on the east. To the south, on the Skookumchuck and through the Willapa Hills, were Athapaskans, properly called Swaals, though often known as Kwalhioqua, and Clatskanie for its Oregon colony, their names in use by Chinooks (Miller 2012b).

Uniquely their own are the Chimakuans, composed of Quileute of the Quillayute River and Hoh of the Hoh on the Pacific, between Makah and Quinault; and Chemakum on the Quimper Peninsula near Port Townsend at the northeast corner (Frachtenberg 1920, 1921; Andrade 1931; Pettitt 1950; Powell and Jensen 1976). Before Klallam intrusion, rivers along the north shore would have been occupied by other Chimakuans with their own dialects and languages, since obliterated. Neighboring to the east and south are Lushootseed Salish of Puget Sound. Intermarriages among all these communities mark members of noble and chiefly families, who are expected to be multilingual, which sometimes led to cross-overs among component sounds and grammars. Indeed, speaking other languages still adds to Native prestige, often used in the feast hall, canoe landings, and other public settings, and provides a means for spreading new usages and borrowings within traditional contexts which have resisted pressures from English dominance.

Thus, Coast Salish languages predominate, with the Straits branch spoken in both British Columbia (B.C.), Canada, and Washington State (U.S.). The Salish homeland was the Fraser Delta, especially Boundary Bay of both the U.S. and B.C., Canada. Makah clearly hived off from the west coast of Vancouver Island long enough ago (Jacobsen (1979b) says a thousand years) to develop a third dialect with Nootkan ~ Nuchahnulth and neighboring Diidiidath ~ Dididat ~ Nitinat, the source of Makah. Cape Flattery strategically positioned them along Pacific whale migration routes. At their own insistence, their right to ocean whaling is secured in their 1855 federal treaty (Reid 2015).

Chimakuans

Speakers of the Chimakuan language isolate are the earliest documented peoples on the peninsula.[iii] During the Ice Age, glaciers caped Olympic peaks as well as filled lowlands along the outside of the basalt crescent. The lower Quilleyute, Hoh, Quinault, and Chehalis Rivers were not glaciated (consult Figure 4), providing the general homeland for the Chimakuan family. As the glacial ice outside the basalt rim receded, Chemakum ancestors spread out along the north shore in distinct communities that were later absorbed into the Klallams, except for that remaining around the Quimper Peninsula. This involved a long span of time since the Manis Mastodon site (45CA2189), to the west near Sequim, dates to 13,860–13,763 cal BP (Gustafson et al. 1979; Waters et al. 2011).[iv] Its remote language and cultural affiliation are unknown, but it does indicate human occupation from a surprisingly earlier time. Other famous local sites, Ozette on the coast (Kirk 2015) or Tse-whit-zen on the Straits (Mapes 2009), are only hundreds of years old and historically affiliated with Makah or Klallam, though earlier occupations are much more likely to be Chimakuans. Both sites show strong evidence of the 1700 Earthquake and Orphan Tsumani on the coast (Atwater 2016).

> Proto-Chimakuan speakers may well have occupied much of the northern Olympic Peninsula of Washington at the time when Nootkan and Central Salish were completing their separation into the historic languages…. The split into Chemakum and Quileute probably reflected expansion of the latter to the Pacific littoral, subsequently cut off by Clallam [S'Klallam] Salish speakers, spun off from the expanding Straits Salish dialect continuum. (Elmendorf 1990:440; Thompson and Kinkade 1990:47–48)

While Chemakums were devastated and dispersed by diseases and wars, Quileute use of their territory is both more extensive and intensive than the other Tribes. Only they had villages on both the coast and upriver, with the further advantage of fortified James Island in front of their main village at La Push, though they were defenseless when Dan Pullen burned down the village in 1889 when everyone was away picking hops.[v] Quinault were only along their river, the others only on the coast (Singh 1966:14). Only Quileute built weirs for steelhead, while their upriver hunters were "expert in all types" (Singh 1966:57). Such comprehensiveness bespeaks long residence.

While a remote Wakashan ancestry was once but no longer[vi] suggested for Chimakuan by Powell (1976), splitting 6,500 years ago (Morris Swadesh quoted in Jacobsen 1979a:796), Quileute and Chemakum have been distinct long enough to have divergent grammars (Swadesh 1955; Thompson and Kinkade 1990:40) that are comparable to that of English from German. Kinkade and Powell (1976:97–98) suggest they split "approximately one to two millennia ago," (with 1,500 the most likely) and highlight eight "Chimakuan place-names for… important features of the Makah landscape," emphasizing Quileute's own in-place genesis from ancestral timber wolves transformed into humans, making them inherently autochthonous. Other presumed Chimakuan communities along the north shore were killed off or absorbed by later invaders.

For both known Chimakuans all words morph between service as nouns and verbs; 250 lexical suffixes designate familiar objects of the natural environment as well as abstract notions; genders are marked for feminine (thus, k^w = unknown, unrelated non-feminine; k^wa' = known feminine; x^w = unknown, unrelated non-feminine; x^wa' = known feminine); and vowel length is meaningful; but each language differs in their plurals, with Quileute being distributive or Chimakun collective, like Klallam. Quileute has a pitch-accent system related to stress patterns and vowel length, and added to its original sound inventory a barred lambda (ƛ) like Makah has, developed by bilingual elites speaking both languages.

Figure 4. Olympic Peninsula showing Crescent Formation (black areas) and extent of glacial ice (dark grey area).

Straits Salish

Makah and Klallams moved south from what is now British Columbia, taking over and claiming salmon rivers, displacing Chimakuans. Both had fished in open waters, with Straits speakers specializing in reef nets (*sxʷalo* = 'willow' for the source of their netting) to harvest fish runs bound for the Fraser River. After Tillamook Salish had already moved down the Chehalis river's "Salish Funnel" and south into modern coastal Oregon, the Tsamosans settled on the Chehalis and Cowlitz Rivers as well as along the Pacific Coast.

Tsamosan Salish

Tsamosan (from its words for the numbers 2 and 4, formerly called Olympic Salish) is a subgroup of the Central Coast Salish branch within the larger Coast Salishan language family. Its four languages form coastal and inland subgroups. Coastal includes Quinault-Queets and Lower Chehalis (*ɬəwʼálʼməš*); Inland includes Upper Chehalis and Lower Cowlitz. Upper Chehalis includes three dialects—Satsop, Downriver Oakville Ch-2, and Upriver Tenino K-1 splitting at Grand Mound. Upriver and Cowlitz uses back of the mouth sounds (*k k' x*), where Downriver uses front of the mouth 'ch' ones (*č č' š*) in the same words. For example, the word root for "slender" is *č'ema* for speakers downriver and *k'ema* for speakers upriver, producing variants for a "narrow trail" such as *č'emašuɬ* and *k'emašuɬ* (Kinkade 1991a:40, #502). Over time, some sounds from Proto-Salish (the ancestral language) changed in Tsamosan. For example, Quinault and Coastal Lower Chehalis (Copalis) shifted from protolanguage word-initial sounds of **ɣ* to *ǰ* and of **w* to *gʷ*. The most distinctive feature of Tsamosan among the whole Salishan family is a contrast between long and short vowels, like Chimakuan, which carry grammatical information (like choose/chose, sit/sat indicate verb tense in English).

Upper Chehalis are well aware of their origins on Puget Sound, referring to themselves with a name that translates as "People of Mud Bay" near Olympia, now home to the Indian Shaker Church and Squaxin Islanders, speakers of Southern Lushootseed Puget txʷəlšucid Salish. Twana and Lushootseed are closely related, with Twana ancestors likely settling Hood Canal from the south as it became successively ice free.

Kinkade (1990b) cites informative place names at these inlets near Olympia, especially:

> Kamilche (*kʼamíɬči* in Upper Chehalis, *kʼabíɬči* in Twana) is the name of a community at the head of Skookum Inlet, and an earlier alternative name of Skookum Inlet. The name is analyzable only in Upper Chehalis, and in fact can be only Upper Chehalis. It is based on a root *kʼéˑm-* 'narrow, slender,' with a linking suffix *=iɬ-*, and the lexical suffix *=či* 'water.' This final suffix is directly cognate with Cowlitz *=kʷu* 'water' (with further cognates throughout Salish); two other suffixes in Upper Chehalis underwent an identical shift of rounded velar to palatal affricate and high back vowel to high front vowel, a combined development not attested anywhere else in Salish. The descriptive name 'narrow water' fits Skookum Bay perfectly.

Just to the north, the Native name for Oakdale near Shelton is the Upper Chehalis word *catáwi* for "red cedar," but it also can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish, much different from current words for "cedar" in Lushootseed and Twana, and so a relic of even earlier times. In all, Native place names serve to specify what is locally inherent on and in the Earth and remain in use, out of respect, even after speakers of other languages (except English) occupy a new area.

Nasal to Oral Switch

A key feature of Olympic Peninsula languages, long confusing to both the public and

scholars, has been a historic switch from sounds called nasals (M, N) to orals (B, D) as shown by comparison of the English and Native versions of Nitinat ~ Dididat (N > D) and Kamilche ~ k̓abíɫči (M > B). Thus, while the English names retain nasals, tribal speakers now consistently use orals. Yet all these languages, and their parent stocks, originally had nasals. In other words, air flow from the lungs through the nose was redirected through the mouth and lips.

Orals using Tribes are along the northern exposed edges of the peninsula: Quileut-Hoh; Makah; Twana; Lushootseed; and, across on Vancouver Island, the Nitinat; and, up its east coast, Comox Coast Salish. Thompson and Thompson (1972:449, 451) suggests that the source for this wider shift was Lushootseed Puget Salish, whose speakers were regularizing its grammar after decimating epidemics; intermarrying multilingual nobles then spread these orals into other communities since Lushootseed had prestige and was preferred for making public speeches, as for Twana, or gave the speaker a more cosmopolitan finesse. This change was especially complicated by Klallams, using three nasals and hiving off from Gulf islands to aggressively occupy rivers on the south shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, where they added river weirs to their ancestral reef netting technology.

But instead of being an entirely historic innovation, Kinkade (1985:335–336) sagely argues for an aboriginal

> continuum of languages from Comox in the north to Twana and Lushootseed in the south on Puget Sound, and extending out the Strait of Juan de Fuca [with a gap only at Northern Straits Klallam and Chemakum] and down the Pacific Coast at least to the Columbia River where nasals were sometimes pronounced without full closure of the velum…. Lower Chinook [has] a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lip-closure, which is therefore intermediate between b, m, and w. These

sounds then settled out as voiced stops in six languages, but reverted to pure nasals in the rest…. Just why some languages settled on nasals and others on voiced stops is not clear….

In other words, what had been an intermediate sound, using lips and nose, sorted out into orals using the mouth or nasals using nose. Crucial in this understanding is Chimakuan (Andrade 1931; Swadesh 1955) because, while Quileute-Hoh uses orals, Chemakum did not. Indeed, as Kinkade noted, the "tough nut" in the continuum is invading Straits Klallam, along with resident Chemakum, whose last speakers joined Port Gambles and spoke Klallam more often than their own language. S'Klallam, a Straits language on the peninsula barely intelligible to other members still on the islands, are famous as combative, aggressive, "strong" neighbors. Their character suggests why their own nasal Straits Salish, more than interference from early speaking of English (which has both orals and nasals), led to a change to orals among these other languages. Elwa Klallam researchers have identified thirty Klallam village sites along the Strait, especially at river mouths. As Joseph Stauss (2002:xl), Ph.D., enrolled at Jamestown, wrote: "The S'Klallam's reputation as fierce warriors, outstanding canoeists, and expert fishermen made them a formidable force to be reckoned with by friend and foe alike." Their own name *nəxʷsƛ̕áy̓əm'* may derive from Klallam or Chemakum roots for "strong," meaning "go (in the direction of) strong" (Montler 2012:284).

Moreover, while attention has been directed toward Klallam intrusion and its triple nasals as motivation for longer residents to distinguish themselves by orals, Chemakum nasals had original priority, before epidemics and Lushootseed attacks decimated them. Their landmark was the fortified village of c̓íc̓abus [*ts'its'abus*] in sheltered Hadlock Bay beside an easy portage into the Sound. Their restricted local resources due to being in the rain shadow of the Olympics urged Chemakum to turn to trade. Hadlock became a trading center at the

junction of Admiralty Inlet of the Straits, Puget Sound, and Hood Canal, an ideal contact point for these many languages. James Swan noted it was "the trading center for Indians from Canada and… the Sound" (Gregory 1966:130). For Rev. Eells, Irondale or Port Hadlock was "a kind of capitol for nearly all of the Tribes on the Sound, and where they occasionally collected for various purposes" (Castille 1985:16). On the other hand, these increasingly troublesome Chemakums warred with "Makah, Clallam, Twana, Snohomish, and Duwamish," until they were reduced to General Gaines, their last chief, and just over a dozen lodges (Castille 1985:439). The 1848 raid on Hadlock, nominally led by Seattle, began as an intended contest between two war lord champions, Suquamish sák'ʷał, son of Seattle, against Chemakum kʷáləxʷ, whose house was surrounded by a stockade fence. But he was off hunting elk, so his village of c'íc'abus was exposed and vulnerable to this merciless attack. On his return, he took refuge with Twana. Most of the other survivors joined and spoke Klallam.

Taken together, the nasal to oral switch could have sparked or triggered at the Hadlock emporium, which brought people together under conditions which became increasingly hostile as assembled Chemakums suffered from decimating epidemics and the fewer survivors became increasingly hostile and defensive. As battle lines were drawn and many Native speakers were dying off, rearranging grammars urged neighbors toward orals, further entrenched when Klallams took over the northern shores a few hundred years ago. Once Makah switched to orals, bilingual nobles of neighboring Quileutes and Hoh redirected their airflows to say orals using mouth and lips. For Twana, čábqɑb ~ čə'bəqəb ~ Chemakum have priority because the Changer defeated a monster octopus terrorizing a well on one of the islands, cut off its legs, and threw them around the Sound to become various Salish speakers, but its embodied head became the čábqɑb (Elmendorf 1993:144). This origin varies from the more usual Chimakuan epic of a flood that separated the Chemakums from Quileute.

Today, of their three federal reservations, Lower Elwa continues to use the Klallam spelling, while Jamestown and Gamble have returned to the spelling S'Klallam, used by George Gibbs, in their Treaty of Point No Point signed by Twana, S'Klallam, and Chemakum. After his own dozen years in the Northwest filling many small notebooks with Native vocabularies, Gibbs returned to D.C., where, among other projects, he edited the classic Makah ethnography—by their resident school teacher and friend James Swan—published by the Smithsonian. It remains an early and important source.

Societal Ranks and Kinship Dynamics

Kinship

These language differences are mirrored in their own varieties of kinship and society, which have largely been unlabeled, distorted, or misunderstood. While all of them recognize the importance of rank and class, descent and kinship are traced differently. Indeed, as a Toquaht chiefly family described to a Welsh researcher (Kenyon 1980:86), Nootkan commoners trace kinship while nobles trace descent and pedigree. Makah, like other Wakashans, rely on birth order, forming kin lines called *ramages*, while Salish trace descent through both parents, bilaterally including father and mother, forming *kindreds*, especially *stem kindreds* for nobles, each anchored by an important hereditary name linked to resources which are the focus of the network of parental kin support over generations. Of note, Murdock (1965) regarded the Salishan *kindred* as the basic kin type for North American Tribes. Chimakuans also rely on *kin♀dreds*, but like their grammar, these are matrifocal, slanted toward women, such that public considerations of family kin and rank depend on the size of the mother's bride-wealth given by the groom's family and special use of the kin term ʔá•lis only by a woman to refer to her *kin♀dred*, especially at ceremonies.

Similarly, *decadence* is a distinctive feature of these kinship systems, substituting another kin term for aunt and uncle after a parent dies to encourage these collaterals to assume more of a parental role. While Salish have separate terms for "living aunt" and "living uncle," emphasizing gender and age, both Chimakuans and Makah have a single term for both, emphasizing generation over gender, until they in turn die and the former kin terms are reapplied. These single terms, expressed separately in Quileute and Makah, give further proof to the extent of intermarriage among their tribal elites.

House

In practical terms, the *house* was the basic unit of these societies. When La Push was arsoned in 1889, 26 houses were torched. A house is simultaneously the physical building; its household of internally ranked members; its inheritable treasures and claims to local resources; and its external rank among all the houses in a village, and that village's ranks among others along the coast or river banks. Many Quileute heirloom treasures perished in the arson, but some have been remade to regain prestige.

Makah hereditary emblems are called *tuupaati,* and they distinctively recruit membership via *ramages* based on birth order with ranked status.

Names

Prestige, status, and resources are attached to hereditary names, passed down through families in households. For Quileute, Hawishat'a ~ Howeattle is ranking chief, as Taxola is for the main village of kwinaił (Quinault). Names rose and fell with the conduct of their holders and families, especially in the hosting of potlatches to mobilize support and witness the legal transfer of these names, privileges, and resources.

Guilds

An integrating factor along the coast were a series of *guilds*—sometimes called secret societies, lodges, orders—recruited from elite families, to spiritually and practically specialize in vital professions. Membership took two forms: wealthy families "purchased" membership for their children; others received the appropriate spirit patron during a fasting quest. Wolves and Whalers were the two most common, but Quileute and Hoh had four more. Each is known by an animal name, career, description, and translation: (1) Wolf, warriors, black paint, *Tlokwali*; (2) Salmon, fishers, sealers, *Tsayeq*; (3) Elks, hunters, "uprivering;" (4) whalers, "oily-voiced;" (5) Weathermen, seers, forecasters, "southern voiced;" (6) doctors, shamans.

Only (3) and (6) are clearly Chimakuan, while (1) and (4) have songs in Nootkan/Makah, and (5) are in Quinault, a recent addition to the other guilds.

As the most Chimakuan, Elk Hunters' initiation evokes the mountainous terrain of the peninsula, as well as the bountiful game animals.

> Hunters' Society ritual was… more dramatically symbolic. The initiate, presumably in a coma as a result of the guardian spirit power that had come to him, lay in the center of the ceremonial hall on top of an artificial mountain of logs and mats. The song leaders strove by the power of their guardians to enable the dancers to scale the mountain and bring the initiate back to life. This usually required five nights and much labor on the part of dancers because they could approach the mountain and scale it only while squirming on their backs. An aura of mystery was imparted by the smoke from the ceremonial fires, called "fog," which often became so thick that the top of the mountain was hardly visible. At the conclusion of each night's ritual there was a humorous byplay among the younger members, who mimicked elk and stalking hunters. (Pettitt 1950:15)

Conflicts

Transmissions were and are not always orderly. Counter claims and conflicts complicate kinship, leadership, and social organizations. Of note, contentious episodes mostly involve those relocating onto the Olympic Peninsula from neighboring regions, not the more stable Chimakuans. Jockeying for resources and locations, contending arrivals increased tensions, reverberating throughout their lands and lives.

Such dynamics are vividly expressed in intertribal feuds and murders, which effect chiefly titles, each having claims to lands and resources, as noted by Swan (1870:77), who mourned the murder of a Makah by a Klallam: "a chief named *Hure-tall*, [*Wha-lathl*], known by the whites as 'Swell,'… was killed by an Elwha [1 March] 1861 while engaged in bringing supplies from Port Townsend for the trading post at Neeah Bay." Then, embarked on a massive revenge raid, Makah warriors murdered two Elwas out fishing, but this alerted the whole Elwa village, and so the attack was called off. Helma Ward (Goodman 2003:Appendix B) expands on these events, which led to her own great-grandfather, Peter Brown, becoming Makah head chief to succeed Swell, his older brother in birth order.

Nootkan Wakashans also feuded among themselves. Swan (1870:55, 58) notes that Neah Bay is named for Chief *Deeaht*, who resettled it after Makahs had been driven off by a massive Dididat attack. His brother *Odiee* joined him there, then other families. As they prospered, they fought off attacks by Hosetts [Ozettes], about two hundred living at Flattery Rocks, until a dynastic intermarriage was attempted. But the treacherous Hosette chief had twins and sent his son dressed as the bride, who killed *Deeaht* on the wedding night and escaped. *Odiee* then succeeded to his brother's role and claims, including "all the shore to the Hoko River, a distance of about eight miles." This was a privileged chiefly assertion, typical of the west coast of Vancouver Island, of Nootkan *tuupaati* (hereditary right, family claim, rank defining duty (Black 1999:149; Hoover 2000:389)), of

beach salvage rights, typical of *tyee hawił* chiefs, but it was not an assertion of exclusive tribal territory, since he defended it against other Makahs, in sharp contrast to confused claims in U.S. federal court. Thus, it is only in this sense of chiefly privilege was it "owned by a Makah" (Wessen 2021:63). As Swan (1870:53) explained:

> The same custom prevails not only in all the villages of this tribe, but with every tribe on the coast; and as it is the custom, and agreed to by all, there is no dispute relative to any property acquired by jetsam. This right is not insisted on at present, except when a whale is cast ashore, or in case of wrecked property. Drift lumber, particularly mill logs, are so frequently brought down the straits, and cast ashore about the Cape, that any one who finds them has only to cut a notch in them with his axe, and his right is respected. The chief who receives any wrecked property invariably pays the finder something, or makes him a present of some kind. The chiefs also claimed the right to make prisoners [slaves] of all who were cast ashore by shipwreck…. They looked upon everything thrown up by the waves as theirs… [and] demand payment for anything they save, and, on the principle of salvage, such demands are just; but these claims are now arbitrated by the agent, instead of being left to the savages [!!], as has always been the case heretofore.

Today, ongoing legal battles over claims to the Hoko River continue these hostilities by "lawyering up" in federal courts. Thus, in consequence, "the Quileute-Makah tribal boundary is now mandated by a federal court to be Cape Alava" (Powell 2020:79), after Makah again tried to encroach via federal court cases.

Another scenario, more intertribal, is that Neah was one of several original Quileute

villages destroyed by Dididats from B.C. and reoccupied by Makah. Certainly, there are strong claims that Ozettes had earlier been Quileute speakers (Kinkade and Powell 1976), adding another dimension to the story of the vengeful twin bride.

There is also a visual record of Klallam and Makah feuds. The Canadian artist Paul Kane provides images of Klallam life on both sides of the Straits in terms of a mat lodge camp (Harper 1971:254a, XLVI, "Clallam traveling lodges"), a plank house interior (Harper 1971:259–260, figure 192 and figure 194 without people), crossing against huge waves in the Strait (Harper 1971:180, 250, 251, 253:Fig 177, Fig 183, and especially the Makah attack on the fortified village of *I-eh-nus*), after a whale killed by Makah drifted into Klallam space, who would neither share this bounty nor return the twenty Makah harpoons still stuck in the whale. When the brother of Yellow-cum, Makah head chief, visited Fort Victoria, he was killed by Klallams, and it was in revenge for him that Makahs launched twelve canoes, each with twelve warriors; set fire to the fort; and attacked those escaping. They left with eight heads and eighteen slaves, mostly women, to give evidence of enhanced rank. Kane later painted a portrait of Yellow-cum when he safely came to Fort Victoria (Harper 1971:104–105). (Yet both Edward Curtis and Erna Gunther thought *Iehnus* was a resident Sooke not a Klallam fort, but Kane was there, called it Clallam, and showed it to be a massive entrenched fort.) Moreover, Klallam also built such forts in prairies where they could grow lucrative potato patches, such as Toanichum on Ebey's Prairie, Whidbey Island (Harper 1971:Figure 176). Another fort was built by Klallam leader Sehome at the Bellingham neighborhood that still bears his name; his daughter Ruth married William Shelton, leader at Tulalip among northern Lushootseed speakers, further extending the influence of these Klallams and their claims to high rank.

Clearly, Klallams traveled (marauded) widely and got involved in inter-Salish difficul-

ties. About 1860, Yōkum, Chief at Port Angeles, led families across the Strait to resettle in British Columbia on Beecher Bay, where they prospered until a resident Sooke neighbor was killed in a quarrel, and they moved back to Port Angeles until the brother of Yōkum was falsely sent to U.S. prison for ten years, and the families moved back to Beecher, but Canadian whites had taken over their former site, so they moved across the bay. Involved in commercial sealing, many of the village men perished when their schooner sank in 1898 and survivors scattered. Those at Clallam Bay on the far west Olympic Peninsula regularly fished with Lummi, also Straits speakers who had left the Gulf Islands for epidemic-ravaged Nooksak land at Bellingham, and some settled among Lummi at Marietta in 1850, just before the U.S. 1855 treaties (Gunther 1927:179).

These movements among various Salish groups and Chimakuans were aided by multilingual speakers sharing bilateral kinship systems forming *kindreds*. Indeed, their "Salish kin type is more widely distributed in North America than any other… and there is reason to suspect that it is the original type from which most other North American systems have arisen" (Murdock 1965) because of its flexibility in kinship and residence. For Chimakuans, moreover, *kin♀dreds* have a bias toward women, like their languages.

Makah, however, have a Nootkan (and Polynesian) system of *ramages*, based on birth order and gender (Murdock 1960; Miller 2004, https://www.britannica.com/topic/ramage). Ann Bates (1987:103), though lacking this precise cover term, writes of "birth order and… bilaterality" as the main features of Makah and Ditidaht kinship. Thus, the ideal chief (*tyee*) was the first born child of parents who were themselves first born so:

> The divisible and portable items were divided among sons and daughters with the largest share to the first-born boy or girl. [Spirit songs were not inherited; They might be given to the son or

relative during the life of the owner.] Slaves, beads, and blankets were divided among all children. Fishing equipment, baskets, and whaling outfits went to the oldest son only. If there was no son they were destroyed. Non-divisible objects, such as fish traps, fishing grounds, and houses were held and inherited in common by all sons and even by daughters if they wanted to live there. Dances and songs could be used by all of them but the sons used the fathers' songs and daughters those of their mothers. Fish nets, canoes, lines, hooks, hunting dogs, and implements were divided among the boys. If there were no boys, they went to the girls. All the mother's objects, like baskets, wooly dogs, and the like, went to the daughter. If there were no daughter, they were destroyed.

If a person did not have any child, his relatives kept whatever they wanted, and the rest of the items were destroyed. The property such as the house was allowed to fall in or decay. A widow shared only small property, like beads, blankets, and barks, but not the valuables like slaves and canoes. The explanation given is that a widow could not own the valuables since if she did she would be a rich woman and would get married [into another family and *ramage* hurtful to her own children and heirs]. (Singh 1966:99, 121)

Peninsula cultures also included prophets, who modified existing systems in short and long term. An apt example was the Makah *Harshlah* at Bäada:

He said that he had been down to the centre of the earth, which the Indians suppose to be the abode of the departed, and there he saw his relatives and friends, who were

seated in a large and comfortable lodge enjoying themselves. They told him that he smelled bad like the live people, and that he must not remain among them. So they sent him back. The people he saw there had no bones; these they had left behind them on the earth; all they had taken with them was their flesh and skin, which, as it gradually disappeared by decomposition [at the grave] after death, was removed every night to their new abode, and when all was carried there, it assumed the shape each one wore on earth. It is one of the avocations of the dead to visit the bodies of their [p. 78] friends who have died, and gradually, night by night, remove the flesh from the bones, and carry it to the great rest-ing-place, the lodge in the centre of the earth... *Harshlah* afterwards died of small-pox.... (Swan 1870:77–78)

Thus, claims to special status could also be short lived. Of note, all of these differences served not to destabilize ranks and societies but to sharpen and reinforce them within the greater context of the geology and biology of the Olympic Peninsula, which includes equally unique examples akin to the Chimakuan isolate.

Peninsula Peculiarities

The long isolation of Chimakuan is but the human expression of the Olympic Peninsula's own peculiarities in geology and ecology, including uniquely adapted species.

Geologically, the Olympic Peninsula is the northern hook of Siletzia (56–48 million years ago), an enormous pillow basalt island, that moved north and east in the Pacific Ocean as it was forming over the geologic 'hot spot' that continues moving east and now underlies Yellowstone in Wyoming. Subducted (51–49 million years ago) by the east moving plate and west moving North American continent, Siletzia

became wedged to form the coasts of Oregon and Washington, and the southern tip of Vancouver Island. Its basalt forms the Ɔ (backwards-C) Crescent skirt around the Peninsula with the Olympic Mountains inside it. Of note, none of these peaks is volcanic, though they are surrounded by pillow basalt. A twin basalt island, Yakutatia, formed beside Siletzia, then moved to the far north along the Queen Charlotte (Haida) Trench to become the north Alaska coast. Until recently, all these basalts were treated separately until this original basalt island was identified and merged into a more dynamic model involving migrations of a hot spot (now at Yellowstone); huge volcanic islands; tectonic plates; and the regional clockwise rotation, albeit slow and steady, that shaped Northwest coastal geology from Alaska to Oregon (Wells et al. 2014; Eddy et al. 2017; Zenter 2020).

Since the Olympic Peninsula was mostly glaciated on its high peaks and lowlands but free along its middle Pacific shores, it became a haven or "refugium" for endemic flora and fauna, just as it did and does for Chimakuans. Indeed, linguists have identified homelands by reconstructing the Native names for its original flora and fauna by comparing the shared names for animal and plant species in use among its daughter languages (Gunther 1945; Kinkade 1990a), as shown by the example of the Proto-Salish word *catáwi* for "red cedar" (Kinkade 1990b) indicating its presence and probable cultural importance which still dominates these ethnographies. Geological, glacial, and biological contexts and wider distributions of unique Olympic fauna and flora are summarized below:

> The Vashon Stade, 21–17,000, spared the Pacific side from Hoh to the lower Chehalis…. Of the 27 endemic [plant and animal] taxa, 13 have ranges restricted to subalpine or higher elevations in the north or northeast. In particular, five species are associated with scree or rocky slopes. This dry meadow and woodland habitat is more extensive in the

modern Rocky Mountains and may have been more common in the past on the Olympic Peninsula. Another eight taxa are associated with small river settings and shaded sites on the southwestern Olympics. One species, the Pacific coast tiger beetle, is a specialist of sand dunes. Other endemic species may have become extinct in the Pleistocene, such as a trechine beetle discovered in the beach cliff at Kalaloch. Species continue to be discovered…. Olympic distributions are also matched in boreal and tundra biomes of the Yukon and Alaska, [clearly split apart by glaciers. Similarly], least-bladdery milkvetch and western hedysarum occur in interior Rocky Mountains, but not in the Cascades… several plant species… are endemic to the landbridge islands with their southern limit on the Olympic Peninsula, suggesting a [post glacial] northward expansion from an Olympic refugium. Another set of species are restricted to dry sites on the Olympic Peninsula, but are common in the eastern Cascades and/or Rocky Mountains (Englemann spruce, whitebark pine, and quaking aspen)… western red cedar spread onto the Peninsula from the south, [as the lobe retreated]… Oak pollen, representing garry oak [and acorn food], first appears at 13,000 in the southern Puget Lowland….

Ecological disruptions have included massive fires in 1308, ca. 1508 and 1701; winter cyclonic storms; and insect infestations such as Balsam wooly adelgid (*Adelges piceae*), Western balsam bark beetles, Hemlock looper (*Lambdina fiscellaria*), and white pine blister rust (*Cronartium ribicola*), as well as frequent seismic events and resulting landslides along

the Cascadia Subduction Zone [such as flattened the Native village at Ozette in 1700].

[Humans also relied on fire:] The prairies in Sitka spruce forests near Ozette, Forks, and Quillayute are widely regarded as anthropogenic, with significant ecological and ethnographic support for their origin and maintenance. (Gavin et al. 2013:27, 34, 68, 69, 87)

Indeed as each Salish branch evolved a defining adaptation, such as the reef nets of Straits speakers, so Tsamosans specialized in tending, with fire, huge oak prairies, providing abundant camas bulbs and acorns to eat with salmon and deer. Many of these prairies are well-drained glacial till, drift, mix, and outwash, another dividend of being downflow from the ice mass. Such global conditions both enhanced and isolated aspects of geology and biology, of all species, including humans.

Summary

When the Olympic Peninsula is considered in terms of timed arrivals, Chimakuans are the reverse of all the others. It is their homeland, where they originated, though some later moved out around the edges from coast to straits. If their ancestral ties are to Proto-Wakashans, these migrants hived off to the north, about 6,500 years ago, splitting east and west along Vancouver Island about 5,500 years ago. By contrast, the other resident Tribes obviously moved in from neighboring ancestors, retaining clear ties to their source linguistic and cultural groups, such as Wakashan Makah *ramages* and Straits Salish Klallam *stem kindreds*. Both relied on open sea fishing—Makah on triangulating over halibut beds and by sealing and whaling; while Klallam, like other Straits speakers, deployed reef nets, whose Native name (*sxʷalo*) means "willow" because that is what held them together. Tsamosans moved down the Chehalis River's "Salish Funnel," after Tillamook had gone

through and south into present Oregon, split off by Chinooks. Tsamosan *kindreds* relied on fish weirs and traps deployed in rivers and other waterways, but only Quileute also had steelhead weirs indicating the intensity and time depth of their origins on the peninsula.

Discussing these communities in terms of their linguistic families masks a crucial point. Chimakuan is an *isolate*: it has no other related languages near or far, save, maybe very remote ancestry with the strongly marine-oriented Wakashan family just north. It began and spread on the Olympic Peninsula, protected within the ice free Pacific shores for thousands of years, though not without threats. Glaciers move, advance, and retreat, based on weather and moisture conditions, and indeed today's terminal gravel moraines indicate that in colder conditions glaciers came part way down the Hoh, Quillayute, and Quinault river valleys, but the shore remained habitable. No Chimakuan had to escape under or through a glacier, as told in Tlingit house clan epics.

Languages of the Northwest, save Athapaskans such as the Swaal of the Skookumchuck and Willapa Hills, are not linked to the ten major language stocks of North America, indicating diverse, independent developments. Only the Mosan grouping—lumping together Algic, Chimakuans, Salishans, and Wakashans, as briefly proposed by Edward Sapir—approached continental status since Algic or Algonkian Stock languages predominate in the East and Plains along with Ritwan (Yurok-Wiyot) in northern California.

Also, Kootenay, the nearest isolate (Goddard 1996) of the five—though located far off where B.C., Idaho, and Montana meet—seems to be a very early offshoot of Proto-Proto-Salishan which moved up the Fraser River and then into the interior. The only possible link for Chimakuan is Jay Powell's (1976) suggested Proto-Wakashan, which geographically aligns them south to north with Nootkan on the west and Kwakiutlan on the east, with a proposed split about 6,500 years ago. Proximity would suggest that remotest

ancestry might be traced to the controversial Penutian stock, found scattered throughout western America, particularly Oregon, where the Willamette Valley has been suggested as its homeland.

In all, we can summarize by suggesting possible Olympics layerings of Chimakuans, Tsamosans, Twana, Nootkans, Straits, and Swaal, thus:

1. The Olympic Peninsula joined North America fifty million years ago when the outer Pacific Coast was where Seattle is now. Its molar-like center comprises dredged-up mountains, not volcanoes, nonetheless surrounded by pillow basalt.

2. Ancestral Natives hunted mastodon and other game at Manis 13,800 B.P. at Sequim below the Dungeness Peninsula.

3. As a remote peninsula, it sheltered uniquely evolved and adapted plants and animals, as well as Chimakuan speakers with *matri-kindreds* (*kin♀dreds*) on an unglaciated stretch of the middle Pacific Coast, who gave rise to Proto-Wakashans 6,500 years ago.

4. Proto-Salish spread out of the lower Fraser River five thousand years ago, differentiating into coast and plateau branches long after ancestral Kootenay speakers moved far east.

5. Proto-Tsamosan Salish *bilateral kindreds* came down the Chehalis funnel then north along the coast as glaciers and glacial outflows faded and coastlines rose and stabilized.

6. Wakashan Makah *ramages* split from Dididat, moving south from the west coast of Vancouver Island at least a thousand years ago, strategically positioning themselves along whale migration routes. Indeed, a millenium ago, major population and language shifts have been proposed for the peninsula, but these are "not reflected in the archaeological record" (Wessen 1990:421). Yet a closer look shows a major break does occur 1,500 years ago in sequences throughout the Salish Sea, indicating substantial changes (Suttles 1990).

7. Some Athabaskans left central Alaska after the C.E. 803 White River eruption, marked by narrowing-stem points, rectangular houses, and possibly micro-blades and pottery. They moved south on both sides of the Rockies, with Pacific Swaal settling as hunters in Willapah uplands a few hundred years ago, with some migrants later settling across the Columbia River in modern Oregon after a forest fire hurt local hunting.

8. Straits Salish Klallams crossed south over to the Peninsula's north shore, claiming salmon rivers to supplement their reef net technology a few hundred years ago. Similarly, Lummi, also Straits speakers, left the San Juan Islands and took over the depopulated lower Nooksack River near 1800, but had to hire locals to build weirs until they subsequently intermarried with them.

9. Spain held the fort of Nunez Gaona at Neah Bay for four months in 1792; European diseases, especially small-pox, ravaged the Northwest during and after the 1770s. The Russian crew of the *St Nicolai* were enslaved and widely traded in 1808. The 1852 wreck of the sidewheel steamboat *Southerner* introduced abundant trade goods by right of salvage and compassion for the surviving crew.

10. Peninsula treaties signed with the U.S. in 1855, but not ratified until 1859 because of the Treaty War, were Point No Point (26 January) with S'Klallam, Twana, and Chemakum; Neah Bay (31 January) with Makahs, but negotiations with Tsamosans aborted (3 March) to

be replaced by a special treaty (1 July, named for either Quinault or Olympia) with Quinaults and Quileutes, whose distinct language was recognized by George Gibbs, treaty secretary, as he wrote down vocabularies from attendees. Chehalis and allied Tribes gained their executive order reservation in 1864 after protecting these lands with exclusive Native homestead claims. The 1974 Boldt decision confirmed these treaty rights to fish, especially salmon (Gunther 1928), and later court decisions confirm rights to shellfish and whaling, with rights to harvest plants and animals slated for future cases.

In all, Chimakuan is best regarded as one of the few American *isolates*, nurtured and nourished by its remote and protected location on the Olympic Peninsula, especially on the Pacific west and Straits north. It survived the Ice Age, displacement by Native enemies and neighbors, and various geologic and ecological disasters, but its real challenges today are to survive false claims to its resources, intrusive media—bestselling *Dune* and *Twilight* books and movies about sandworms, werewolves, and vampires—and contentious federal courts. Long after it emerged from the ocean floor fifty million years ago, these subsequent peninsula cultures and languages have been adapting to it and to each other over tens of thousands of years in very distinctive ways.

ENDNOTES

i. A revised overview of the Olympic Peninsula has long been a concern of mine. It intensified while I worked with Richard Daugherty's fieldnotes to edit his Hoh ethnography, as well as his handwritten notes for his walking inventory of coastal sites, but it began with many visits to Makah and Quileute with Vi Hilbert, who was visiting old friends and paying homage to the Pacific. I also conducted interviews at Klallam, Quinault, and Chehalis, editing their published and unpublished ethnographies, as well as visiting the "ghost forest" on the Copalis. With help at Port Gamble, I sought out an elderly Chemakum. Most recently I produced edited versions of 14 Olympic classics on Amazon and Kindle Direct (Miller 2020a–n). All these efforts have provided background and a growing awareness that Northwest *ramages* have been unlabeled until now, and *kindreds* mishandled because they are cognatic rather than corporate

kinship systems, with matri- and bilateral biases. *The Northwest Coast Handbook* (Suttles 1990) takes a tribal approach that divides up the peninsula rather than recognizes its aboriginal distinctiveness, as does Wray (2002) but with the advantage that chapters are written by tribal members or committees.

ii. Wray retired recently from the U.S. Park Service in Port Angeles.

iii. Precedence of the Chimakuan speakers on the Olympic Peninsula is recognized by the majority of researchers. In a recent publication, however, Gary Wessen (2020:85–89) argues his model for settlement of the Olympic Peninsula, which involved arrival of Washakan speakers at least 4,000 years ago. As explained in my Chimaukan section above, I believe that Chimakuan speakers are aboriginal and first documented people on the Olympic Peninsula, once with continuous communities from the coast to Hood Canal, and that this interpretation is the best explanation for all the available

data. Chimakuan settlements, each with its own dialect and probably language, occupied the whole north coast. My model and rationale are provided below:

    a. Chimakuan, an isolate, emerged autochthonous, *in situ*, where they are now, on the middle Washington coast in the Quileute and Hoh basins because these were always safely ice free and habitable by humans.

    b. As glaciers receded, Chimakuans moved north to settle along the Straits and on the Quimper Peninsula, becoming the Chemakum, with all staying on the peninsula.

    c. Quileute and Chemakum, the likely trigger, split the difference in the nasal to oral switch, unlike other languages which shifted to either orals or kept nasals, the original pattern.

    d. Chimakuan adaptation is both intensive and extensive, fully using both marine and riverine resources, while others are coastal like Makah or riverine like Quinault.

    e. Chimakuan *matri-kindreds* continue a basic system widely spread across the Americas, while Makah *ramages* are a later development, probably due to restricted space and considerations given to evident birth order.

    f. Their guilds of specialized professions made their nobles desirable marriage partners among leading families of other Tribes. Its habitat-specific Hunter guild songs were borrowed among coast Tribes, in exchange for guilds with songs in other languages.

    g. They cannot be traced to any other places, unlike the other peninsula Tribes, nor to other Tribes, except perhaps maybe by going backward in time to Proto-Wakashans. Other Tribes can be directly traced to nearby neighbors.

    h. During Tsamosan movement north, for a time, Hoh was bilingual with Quinault speaking men marrying Quileute women, but Chimakuan eventually held its ground there.

iv. Paulette Steeves (2021) proposes earliest entry between 60,000 and 100,000 based on widely scattered sites and animal species dispersals.

v. But Pullen's attempted homestead claim on the village site was denied. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) bought milled lumber for Quileutes to rebuild their village, having lost many of their heirlooms and possessions. Pullen remains a local family name among both Quileutes and settlers.

vi. What had seemed cognates are loanwords.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES CITED

Amrine Goertz, Jolynn, with Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation
2018   *Chehalis Stories*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Anderson, Shelby, and Jeremy Spoon
2021   Reflections on the State of Northwest Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Virginia Butler. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 55(2):203–271.

Andrade, Manuel J.
1931   *Quileute Texts*. New York: Columbia University.

Atwater, Brian
2016   *Orphan Tsumani of 1700 ~ Japanese Clues to a Parent Earthquake in North America*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press & U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper 1707:1–135.

Bates, Ann
1987   Affiliation and Differentiation: Intertribal Interactions among the Makah and Ditidaht Indians. Bloomington, ID: Indiana University, Anthropology Ph.D.

Black, Martha
1999   *Out of the Mist ~ Treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth Chiefs*. Victoria, B.C.: Royal British Columbia Museum.

Capoeman, Pauline, editor
1990   *Land of the Quinault*. Taholah: Quinault Indian Nation.

Castille, George Pierre
1985   *The Indians of Puget Sound ~ The Notebooks of Myron Eells*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Croes, Dale R., and Vic J. Kucera
2017   Entering the American Continent: The Chehalis River Hypohesis. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 51(2):164–183.

Daughtery, Richard
2010a   The Hoh Tribe in 1949: Richard "Doc" Daugherty's Ethnographic Notebooks, edited by Jay Miller. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 44(2):137–228.
2010b   Startup: Richard "Doc" Daugherty's 1947 Archaeological Survey of the Washington Coast, edited by Jay Miller. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 44(2):257–265.

Eddy, Michael P., Kenneth P. Clark, Michael Polenz
2017   Age and Volcanic Stratigraphy of The Eocene Siletzia Oceanic Plateau in Washington and on Vancouver Island. *Lithosphere* 9(4):652–664. https://doi.org/10.1130/L650.1 Electronic document, accessed May 25, 2017.

Elmendorf, William
1990   Chemakum. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol.* 7, *Northwest Coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles, pp. 438–440. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
1993   *Twana Narratives ~ Native Historical Accounts of a Coast Salish Culture*. UWaP

Encyclopedia Britannica
        https://www.britannica.com/topic/ramage

Ernst, Alice H.
1952   *The Wolf Ritual of the Northwest Coast*. Eugene: University of Oregon Press.

Frachtenberg, Leo J.
1920   Eschatology of the Quileute Indians. *American Anthropologist,* 22:330–340.
1921   The Ceremonial Societies of the Quileute Indians. *American Anthropologist,* 23:320–352.

Gavin, Daniel G., David M. Fisher, Erin M. Herring, Ariana White, and Linda B. Brubaker
2013   Paleoenvironmental Change on the Olympic Peninsula, Washington: Forests and Climate from The Last Glaciation To The Present. Final Report to Olympic National Park. Contract J8w07100028, March 13.

Goddard, Ives, editor
1996   Languages. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 17.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Goodman, Linda, and Helma Ward
2003   *Singing the Songs of My Ancestors ~ The Life and Music of Helma Swan, Makah Elder.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Gregory, Col. V.J.
1996   The Duke of York. In *With Pride in Heritage ~ History of Jefferson County*, pp. 124–131. Jefferson County Historical Society, Portland: Professional Publishing Printing.

Gunther, Erna
1925   *Klallam Folk Tales*. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1(4):113–170.
1927   *Klallam Ethnography*. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 1(5):171–314.

1928   *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 2:129–173.
1936   A Preliminary Report on the Zoological Knowledge of the Makah. *Essays in Anthropology,* presented to A.L. Kroeber, pp. 105–118. Berkeley.
1945   Ethnobotany of Western Washington. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 1(5):171–314. January, 10:1-62.

Gustafson, Carl E., D. Gilbow, and R. Daugherty
1979   The Manis Mastodon Site: Early Man on the Olympic Peninsula. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology,* 3:157–164.

Harper, J Russell
1971   *Paul Kane's Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press for Amon Carter Museum and National Gallery of Canada.

Hoover, Alan
2000   *HuupuKwanum Tupaat ~ Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys*. Victoria, B.C.: Royal British Columbia Museum.

James, Justine E, Jr, with Leilani Chubby
2002   Quinault. In *Native Peoples of the Olympic Peninsula. Who We Are,* edited by Jacilee Wray, pp. 99–117. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jacobsen, William
1979a   Chimakuan Comparative Studies. In *The Languages of North America: Historical and Comparative Assessment*, edited by Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, pp. 792–802. Austin: University of Texas Press.
1979b   Wakashan Comparative Studies. In T*he Languages of North America: Historical and Comparative Assessment*, edited by Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, pp. 766–791. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Kenyon, Susan
1980   *The Kyuquot Way: A Study of a West Coast (Nootkan) Community*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper #61:1–193.

Kinkade, M. Dale

1985   More on Nasal Loss on the Northwest Coast. *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 51:478–480.

1990a   Prehistory of Salishan Languages. International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages 25:197–208. Vancouver, B.C.

1990b   Speculation on Prehistory of the Southwestern Puget Sound Region. International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages 25:209–212. Vancouver, B.C.

Kinkade, Dale, and Jay Powell

1976   Language and the Prehistory of North America. *World Archaeology,* 8(1):83–100.

Kirk, Ruth

2015   *Ozette ~ Excavating a Makah Whaling Village.* Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Mapes, Lynda

2009   *Breaking Ground ~ The Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe and the Unearthing of Tse-whit-zen Village.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Miles, George A.

2003   *James Swan, Cha-tic of the Northwest Coast ~ Drawings and Watercolors from the Franz and Kathryn Stenzel Collection of Western American Art.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Miller, Jay

2004   Kinship, Family Kindreds, and Community. In *Blackwell Companion To Native American History,* edited by Neil Salisbury and Philip Deloria, Chapter 11, pp. 139–153.

2012a   Introduction. In *Honne, Spirit of the Chehalis,* Bison Books Edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

2012b   Skookumchuck Shuffle ~ Shifting Athapaskan Swaals Into Oregon Klatskanis Before Taitnapam Sahaptins Cross The Cascades. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology,* 46(2):167–175.

2014   *Rescues, Rants, and Researches: A Re-View of Jay Miller's Writings on Northwest Indien Cultures,* edited by Darby C. Stapp and Kara N. Powers. Richland, WA: *Journal of Northwest Anthropology,* Memoir 9.

2018   Coast Salish Sweep ~ Tripling Chehalis Stories. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology,* 52(2):200–230.

Miller, Jay, editor

2020a   Abducting Wolf Spirits ~ Wolf Ritual of the Northwest Coast. Amazon Kindle.

2020b   At Bay ~ Cultural Convergings in Southwestern Washington. Amazon Kindle.

2020c   Cape Coast Corner ~ Makah Chemakum Quinault. Amazon Kindle.

2020d   Chinook Concerns ~ Emma Millet Lucier, Isabella Bertrand, Verne Ray. Amazon Kindle.

2020e   Evergreen Ethnographies ~ Hoh, Chehalis, Suquamish, and Snoqualmi of Western Washington. Amazon Kindle.

2020f   George Gibbs Northwest Array ~ Full Reports, Place Names, Word List, Artifact Names, and Guide. Amazon Kindle.

2020g   Native Nations of Washington ~ Tribal Peoples and Places of the Evergreen State. Amazon Kindle.

2020h   Native Prophecy Northwest ~ Dancing Hope. Amazon Kindle.

2020i   Olson's Classic Quinault. Amazon Kindle.

2020j   Olympic Ocean Opportunities ~ Olympic Peninsula Indiens via India, BIA, B.C. Amazon Kindle.

2020k   Pacific Plateau Portrayals ~ People Places Ponderings. Amazon Kindle.

2020l   Renew Ritual Return ~ Native America Afresh. Amazon Kindle.

2020m   Salish Solutions ~ Uniquely Northwest Diversity. Amazon Kindle.

2020n   Salish Systems ~ Kinship Networks in the Northwest. Amazon Kindle.

Montler, Timothy

2012   *Klallam Dictionary.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Murdock, George Peter, editor

1960   *Social Structure in Southeast Asia.* Chicago.

1965   Algonkian Social Organization. In *Context and Meaning in Cultural Anthropology,* edited by Melford Spiro, pp. 24–35. New York: Free Press.

Olson, Ronald

1936   The Quinault Indians. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 6(1):1–190.

Pettitt, George A.
1950   The Quileute of La Push, 1775–1945. *Anthropological Records,* 14(1):1–128.

Powell, Jay, and Vickie Jensen
1976   Quileute ~ *An Introduction to the Indians of La Push.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Powell, Jay
1976   Chimakuan—Wakashan: Evidence for Genetic Relationship. Northwest Coast Studies Conference, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.
2020   A Comment on Gary C. Wessen's "Makahs, Quileutes, and the Precontact History of the Northwestern Olympic Peninsula, Washington," with a Reply from Gary C. Wessen. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology,* 54(1):62–96.

Reid, Joshua
2015   *The Sea is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Singh, Ramraj Prasad
1966   *Aboriginal Economic System of the Olympic Peninsula Indians, Western Washington.* The Sacramento Anthropological Society Papers #4.

Stauss, Joseph
2002   *The Jamestown S'Klallam Story ~ Rebuilding a Northwest Coast Indian Tribe.* Sequim: Jamestown S'Klallam.

Steeves, Paulette
2021   *The Indigenous Paleolithic of the Western Hemisphere.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Suttles, Wayne, editor
1990   Northwest Coast. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Swadesh, Morris
1955   Chemakum Lexicon Compared with Quileute. *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 21(1):60–72.

Swan, James
1870   *The Indians of Cape Flattery at the Entrance to the Strait of Fuca, Washington Territory.* Washigton: Smithsonian Institution, Contributions to Knowledge, number 220.

Thompson, Laurence, and M. Terry Thompson
1972   Language Universals, Nasals, and the Northwest Coast. In *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager*, edited by M. Estellie Smith, pp. 441–456. The Hague: Mouton.

Thompson, Laurence, and Dale Kinkade
1990   Languages. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7, Northwest Coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Waters, Michael R., Thomas W. Stafford Jr., H. Gregory McDonald, Carl Gustafson, Morten Rasmussen, Enrico Cappellini, Jesper V. Olsen, Damian Szklarczyk, Lars Juhl Jensen, M. Thomas P. Gilbert, and Eske Willerslev
2011   Pre-Clovis Mastodon Hunting 13,800 Years Ago at the Manis Site, Washington. *Science,* 334, 351:1–20. DOI: 10.1126/science.1207663.

Welch, Jeanne
1973   An Archaeological Survey of the Chehalis River Valley in Southwestern Washington. Olympia, WA: Western Heritage.
1983   The Kwalhioqua {Swaal} in the Boisfort Valley of Southwestern Washington. In *Prehistoric Places on the Southern Northwest Coast*, edited by Robert Greengo, pp. 153–167. Seattle: Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Research Report 4.

Wells, Ray, David Bukry, Richard Friedman, Doug Pyle, Robert Duncan, Peter Haeussler, and Joe Wooden
2014   Geologic history of Siletzia, a large igneous province in the Oregon and Washington Coast Range: Correlation to the geomagnetic polarity time scale and implications for a long-lived Yellowstone hotspot. *Geosphere,* 10(4):692–719. https://doi.org/10.1130/GES01018.1

Wessen, Gary C.

1990   Prehistory of the Ocean Coast of Washington. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7, Northwest Coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles, pp. 412–421. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

2011   The Daugherty 1947 Washington Coast Site List. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 45(1):123–127.

2019   Makahs, Quileutes, and the Precontact History of the Northern Olympic Peninsula, Washington. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 53(1):1–53.

2020   A Comment on Gary C. Wessen's "Makahs, Quileutes, and the Precontact History of the Northwestern Olympic Peninsula, Washington," with a Reply from Gary C. Wessen. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 54(1):62–96.

2021   Makahs, S'Klallams, and the Hoko River. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 55(1):52–72.

Willoughby, Charles

1886   *Indians of the Quinault Agency, Washington Territory*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1886:267–282.

Wray, Jacilee, editor

2002   *Native People of the Olympic Peninsula ~ Who We Are*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Zenter, Nick

2020   Exotic Y: Siletzia. Electronic document, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b7xvs7NXTa4.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jay Miller studied anthropology, art history, ethnohistory, and linguistics at the University of New Mexico (B.A.) and Rutgers (Ph.D. on Keresan Pueblos, an isolate), with coursework at Princeton, both in New Jersey.

Before leaving New Jersey, he interviewed a Makah woman living there, with a state trooper husband she married while he was an airman at the Neah Bay base, and who, a few years later, became police chief for Makahs when the family returned to the Northwest. Makah Days became an annual draw, passing on greetings from Erna Gunther when she became too old to make the trip. Later, as driver for Vi Hilbert, we visited Taholah, where she was first married and lost a son, and La Push, where it soon became obvious Quileute were the ancients of this region. A fondness for blueback and razor clams also fed return trips. Visiting friend's wilderness cabins, editing other scholars' fieldnotes, and contract work with Peninsula Tribes served to introduce him to other communities over the years, leading ultimately to this reassessment of the Olympic Peninsula.

He has taught in the U.S. and Canada, at each of the four quarters (SW, SE, NE, NW), as well as exiled to the heartland at the Newberry Library's Center for the American Indian History in Chicago. At Native American Educational Services (NAES), he co-taught with Native speakers of Ojibwa and Menomini about Algonkian basics.

Following *JONA*'s lead to Amazon Kindle, during Covid he has published or republished a hundred titles dealing with Native North America, especially the Northwest and coast.

1980s WARC (Washington Archaeological Research Center): An Experiment in Communitarianism for Pacific Northwest Archaeology—And it did WARC (Work)

Dale R. Croes and Steven Hackenberger

Affiliation

Adjunct Professor, Anthropology, Washington State University and Director, Pacific Northwest Archaeological Society

Professor of Anthropology and Cultural and Environmental Resource Management, Central Washington University

Correspondence
dcroes444@gmail.com

hackenbe@cwu.edu

Abstract   *The Washington Archaeological Research Center (WARC) was established in 1972 at Washington State University (WSU) to serve the six four-year universities and colleges, the state, and thus the public. WARC served as a clearinghouse for government contracts. Project assignments were made through a Scientific Committee of archaeology faculty. Dr. Richard D. Daugherty directed WARC until 1980, when the Administrative Board, and the Scientific Committee, redirected WARC away from contract coordination. Dr. Dale R. Croes was appointed Director, and WARC was tasked with maintaining the state's site records and contract/research reports library. WARC was also directed to create the first computer database for survey projects and site records. WARC goals grew to include: facilitating research, training students, and conducting public outreach. WARC soon created an Advisory Council representing a broad collation of private contract archaeologists; professional archaeologists from Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia, Canada; Native American Representatives; Federal/ state agencies; and Archaeological/Historical Societies. In many ways it was an effort to work together, using our limited resources, to promote archaeological interests (especially beginning to digitize, standardize, and update our paper-based archaeological site forms)—a coordinating of our discipline, in a form of communitarianism, based on the idea that those involved in archaeology were essentially cooperative ("good") people who wanted to work together for our common goals. The WARC newsletter,* The Thunderbird *with the distribution of 68 issues, serves as the basis for outlining a chronology of our history between 1980 and 1988.*

Keywords
Washington Archaeological Research Center (WARC); communitarianism; Scientific Committee; Advisory Council; Administrative Board; WARC *Thunderbird, Archaeological News of the Northwest;* Stanford Public Information Retrieval System (SPIRES); Arkansas Archaeological Survey; Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation; Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA); Mid-Columbia Archaeological Society (MCAS); Resource Protection and Planning Process (RP3); WSU Centennial Dig; Pacific Northwest Archaeological Society (PNWAS); *Circum-Pacific Prehistory Conference.*

Introduction

Steve Hackenberger and I were asked by *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* (*JONA*) Editor Darby Stapp to lay out the background of the Washington Archaeological Research Center (WARC). In this history we focus on our operations between 1980 and 1988. The "new WARC" was based on the idea that resources could be shared between diverse institutions and communities for our common discipline's good, using our very limited resources. Consulting across heritage interests, we promoted archaeological studies, research, and conservation. Each objective and project became an experiment in communitarianism. By experiment in communitarianism, we mean efforts to connect individuals with community and build community relationships rather than promote discipline individualism. Such experiments are not uncommon in our region as reflected in our state's history. In fact, anthropologically, the cultural traditions of the Pacific Northwest and Columbia Plateau may best be understood in terms of social networks and co-utilization of resources. The ethics of communitarianism run counter to promoting extreme individualism and challenge excessive competition that may threaten the stability of a community. This stated, we hasten to add that we do value the roles of individuals and some types of competition, both of which can develop creative tensions and solve contradictions.

Here we hope to remind readers of dozens of group initiatives and projects supporting research, education, and heritage management. WARC's major function, as a network rather than just as another center, remained archiving paper documentation of projects and sites, and standardizing reports and forms. One of the innovations at the core of the WARC network was the Stanford Public Information Retrieval System (SPIRES) computer database. This word-based information system, developed at Stanford University, was maintained on a Washington State University (WSU) mainframe but was also accessed by modems and remote terminals throughout the region. Before the advent of personal computers (PCs) and more efficient forms of digital storage, this system helped organize existing data and standardize and manage the exponential growth of project and site data.

As a final note of introduction, for context, we need to emphasize the part-time nature of most WARC employment and thus the significance of apprenticeship and internship in program operations. The marginal nature of employment meant that a spirit of volunteerism grew to fuel each project. Although a state agency in function, WARC operated more like a non-governmental organization (NGO). Dale's roles would not have been sustainable if not for his Hoko River National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grant work and later his teaching position. The half-time responsibilities that Steve, Rich Bailey, and many other graduate students undertook would not have been possible without independent support. WARC was sustained by extra-curricular efforts of faculty and volunteer efforts by many undergraduates, professionals, avocationalists, and Native Americans.

Background

The Washington Archaeological Research Center was authorized in the Revised Code of Washington (RCW) 39.34. WARC was then established in 1972 at Washington State University as a contract clearinghouse, mainly for federal and state funded archaeological field projects. WARC was soon conducting contract work and redirecting field projects through the Scientific Committee to other university programs. The founders and directors of this phase of operations were: Dr. Richard D. Daugherty, Director; and Harvey Rice (then all but dissertation (ABD), WSU), Assistant Director.

The Arkansas Archaeological Survey is cited, as an original communitarian program, as a model for WARC. Founded in 1967, the Survey is celebrating 50 years of operating 7 university-based stations. Hester Davis and Charles McGimsey, both associated with the Survey, were writing about archaeology stewardship in the late 60s,

and McGimsey published *Public Archaeology* in 1972. Surviving correspondence shows that Dr. Daugherty and Dean Jack Nyman allocated roughly $100,000 in seed funding, after letters of support came in from other universities.

WARC's history from 1972 to 1980 deserves separate treatment. We do not have an exact record of how WARC authorizations developed in the legislature. Dr. Daugherty was as well-connected in Olympia (State Senator Nat Washington) as he was in Washington D.C. (Senators Jackson and Magnuson). We do not have access to records that show the amounts or schedules of spending between 1972 and 1980. A history of the early WARC might be developed based on oral history from WSU students, and archived correspondence. WARC-WSU conducted or coordinated hundreds of contracts and field projects. The series of WARC Reports of Investigations stands as a lasting record of the contract projects and related research. Over a hundred manuscript length reports of investigation (most numbered) were completed and many more letter reports (most unnumbered). Over a dozen affiliates and staff, many who were WSU graduate students, conducted the field work and co-authored these reports.

In 1980 the WARC Administrative Board (the Graduate Deans at the six four-year Washington colleges and universities), and the Scientific Committee, felt each institution should be able to develop an autonomous contract program. They remained committed to the framework of WARC. Accordingly, WARC was revitalized to coordinate and maintain, with the State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP), the state's site records, contract/research reports library, and facilitate communications and coordination of general records-based research at the six WARC members (Central Washington University (CWU), Eastern Washington University (EWU), The Evergreen State College (TESC), University of Washington (UW), Washington State University (WSU), and Western Washington University (WWU)).

The University of Washington supported the Office of Public Archaeology (OPA), directed by Dr. R. Dunnell. CWU established the Central Washington Archaeological Survey (CWAS), first directed by Dr. W. Smith. Following the WARC re-organization, WSU transitioned contract work to the Laboratory of Archaeology and History (LAH under Dr. Daugherty). The LAH transitioned to the Center for Northwest Anthropology (CNA), first directed by Dr. Randall Schalk. EWU created the Institute for Columbia Plateau Studies (directed by Dr. Harvey Rice) and consolidated contract programs under the Archaeological and Historical Services (AHS). Dr. Jerry Galm assumed directorship of this program. The WWU Department of Anthropology continued archaeological contract work under the direction of Dr. Gar Grabert. All of these programs remained active in WARC through the Scientific Committee members and supported, shared, and benefited from WARC resources.

Since WARC's archaeological contracting had been curtailed by the Administrative Board (the Deans at the six four-year institutions of higher education in Washington), new directions were forged. Objectives shifted away from contracting and field work to inter-institutional collaboration in research, records management, student training, and public education. Initiatives and projects were approved and coordinated through the WARC Scientific Committee. The WSU Graduate School remained the administrative authority for staff appointments and funding. As we outline below, contributions of funding from other institutions did grow based on administrative/faculty recommendations from the member institutions.

Dale R. Croes was assigned Acting Director (a half-time position), and he recruited Steven Hackenberger (then ABD, WSU) as an Assistant Director. Dale finished post-doctorate work with the Ozette Archaeological Project in 1980 and was successful in obtaining funding for the other half of his salary to continue the ongoing Hoko River Archaeological Project with the Makah Tribe through research grants. Dale was appointed as the half-time WARC Administrative Director in 1981.

Steve began in Oklahoma cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology and started his thesis program with WSU in 1977. He had recently completed a year-long internship with the National Park Service (NPS) Interagency Archaeological Services (San Francisco Office 1979–1980). The opportunity to serve WARC drew him back to Pullman and helped him leverage his central Idaho thesis study with Dr. Bill Lipe and Dr. Ruthann Knudson into his doctoral research with Dr. Tim Kohler and Dr. Frank Leonhardy. Dale and Steve shared strong interest in environmental archaeology, past and present Native American economies, public outreach, and then new application of computers in archaeology (statistics, simulations, and data management). These common interests helped shape some of WARC's key initiatives and innovations. Also, as we explain below, Dr. Manfred E.W. (Fred) Jaehnig (1983–1984) and Rich Bailey (1987–1988) also served as unit heads. Both served critical roles in WARC success, including the WARC internship program and outreach to Native American programs.

The Graduate Dean at WSU (Dr. Jack Nyman) supported this new direction, and the Administrative Board of Graduate Deans liked the idea of this inter-institutional experiment involving their anthropology programs and archaeology faculty. The WARC Scientific Committee members kept us experimenting with communitarianism, and thereby meeting our major program goals. WARC soon added an Advisory Council representing private contract archaeologists; Native American representatives; federal/state agencies; community colleges; and archaeological/historical societies. This advisory board included leaders from Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia, Canada. The Advisory Board established their own Executive Committee comprised of representatives from several sectors of different heritage programs. Very soon after its formation, the Executive Board met in joint sessions with the Scientific Committee.

The Scientific Committee included several prominent faculty. It is easy to identify Dr. William (Bill) Smith (CWU) as one of the most active and long-serving members. Bill (with the support of Dr. Anne Denman and Dean Dale Comstock) was also the driving force behind several key experiments (standardizing forms, internship participation, predictive modeling, and early Geographic Information System (GIS) initiatives). Dr. Gar Grabert (WWU) was also a long-serving member of the committee. He was a strong mentor to many of us, and he often shared an impressive (if also gravelly) voice in all-things archaeology. UW members included Dr. Robert Dunnell, Dr. Donald Grayson, and then Dr. Julie Stein. These scholars (along with their Dean Gordon Orians) shared direct links to OPA and were significant advocates for WARC. Dr. Bill Lipe and Dr. Tim Kohler, who were mostly involved in Southwest archaeology, served as centering forces at WSU and within WARC. Bill (who also served as an advisor with CNA) brought his CRM experience and related scholarship to our projects, and Tim brought advanced expertise in computer analysis and models. He also served as WARC's volunteer Acting Director in 1988 as Dale moved on to coordinate an international *Circum-Pacific Prehistory Conference* at the Seattle Center as part of the Washington State 1989 Centennial celebration. Dr. Mark Papworth (ESC) and Dr. Sarah Keller (EWU) were also long serving Scientific Committee members, although their duties and program resources sometimes limited their fuller participation.

Staffing included a succession of information specialists (Lloyd Whelchel, Alice Gronski, and Richard Bailey) and WARC publication editors (see our staffing below by year). Clerical support was critical in the days before internet and related services (see staffing below by year). Dr. Fred Jaehnig (1983–1984) served as an acting director when Dale accepted a temporary teaching appointment at Pacific Lutheran University to hone his teaching skills. Rich Bailey, who started as a graduate student intern, became the lead information specialist and then served as the managing director during the move

of WARC records to the WSU Anthropology Department's new home in College Hall.

Funding was always threatened at WARC and budgets always tight. The new WARC started at the end of one recession and ended with another recession. We strongly suspect that the ebb and flow of WSU archaeological contracting, and indirect funds from grants and contracts, were central to WSU Graduate School decisions to invest funds back into WSU archaeology contract units and WARC. We lack access to the 1980s financial records. We can estimate that the annual total for WSU supported staff and student salaries was never above $100,000. Annual totals for matching funds from other universities, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) grants, and other grants (WCH and NEH) never exceeded $60,000. Access to hard copies of WARC archaeological site records was always free of charge. Charges were necessary for paper copies and sometime larger commitments of staff time for assembling records, including computer generated mylar film site maps at any scale, and for copying and mailing. The WARC newsletter was supported by subscriptions.

The Washington State legislature periodically reviewed and repealed "sunset" clauses for state agencies such as WARC, OAHP, and the state historical societies. WARC was reauthorized in 1983 (by voting to repeal the sunset clause), but due to a national economic recession and state budget shortfalls, WARCs legislative recognition was dropped in 1987–1988. Although funding and staffing were cut, WARC continued to operate with university support as a cooperative until the Spring of 1988. The WARC cuts and move from Commons Hall to College Hall, coordinated by Rich Bailey, coincided with Steve's Peace Corps Service (Summer 1985–Summer 1987). During the academic year 1987–1988, Steve returned and served half-time to join Rich in facilitating a final phase of WARC record and computer data sharing.

Program Goals

WARC gathered and shared information on research, government programs, archaeological site records, and developed and managed the innovative SPIRES computer database. We maintained a library of reports, site records filed by county, and United States Geological Survey (USGS) maps with site locations some with mylar overlays (goal #1 and goal #2, below). We would provide the necessary data, along with workspace and tools, to aid others in conducting field operations. At the time, and as usual in our field, we knew we had to use our limited resources as best possible for the common good. Working this way WARC produced the highest quality results with the least amount of cost. As the result of sustained consultations, WARC's goals grew to include:

1. Assembling information which relates to the archaeological resources of the state by maintaining site record files, a directory of collections, and a library of reports and publications.
2. Disseminating information on the archaeological resources of the state by making technical information from the site files, collections directory, and the WARC library available to members of the archaeological community, the public, private firms, and government agencies and offices, and by developing and distributing educational materials on Washington archaeology.
3. Acting as a formal professional consulting group to the Washington State OAHP on matters regarding the significance and protection of archaeological sites.
4. Fostering communication within the Washington archaeological community, including archaeologists employed by educational institutions, governmental agencies, and private firms as well as amateur archaeologists and the general public.

The agency-to-agency collaborations of WARC and OAHP (goal #3) were critical to the success of both programs. OAHP, although a growing regulatory power (National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) 1966, first amended in 1976), lacked staff and information resources, and benefited from academic backing for policy decisions. The new WARC partnered with, and was soon supported by grants from, the OAHP. Jake Thomas was appointed as the new head (State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO)) of OAHP. We worked closely with the then new State Archaeologist, Dr. Robert Whitlam. Although not a formal rule, Scientific Committee member Dr. William Smith (CWU) served for a number of years on the OAHP Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Although a rare event in the era of well-funded CRM archaeology, research excavations on state and private lands required professional review with the assistance of WARC.

With our new outline of goals, we immediately began implementing goal #4, fostering communication within the Washington archaeological community. We did this in several ways, but most effectively we developed a region-wide newsletter to be published monthly during the academic year. We called the newsletter *The Thunderbird, Archaeological News of the Northwest*, and used the WARC logo from one of the Ozette house cedar partition board designs, with the goal to promote information sharing throughout the region (Figure 1). Our initial audience was the WARC Advisory Council, which had regional representatives from Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia. We encouraged input from all the archaeological community and, to defray mailing and printing costs, set up a subscription rate and asked for advertisements.

The Newsletter certainly fulfilled this fourth goal well over the 7 years of WARC with 68 newsletters published and distributed. To view a digital copy of all WARC *Thunderbird* issues by volume, visit this link: https://wsu.academia.edu/DaleCroes/Conference-Presentations. Dale Croes and Steve Hackenberger have full hard copies of this publication series (thanks in large part to Barbara Bicchieri, who kept a complete set of WARC *Thunderbird*s at CWU allowing them to be digitized by researcher Matt Johnson), and Dale's complete hard copy has been sent to the WSU Library Archives Department to preserve them in his and their archives materials.
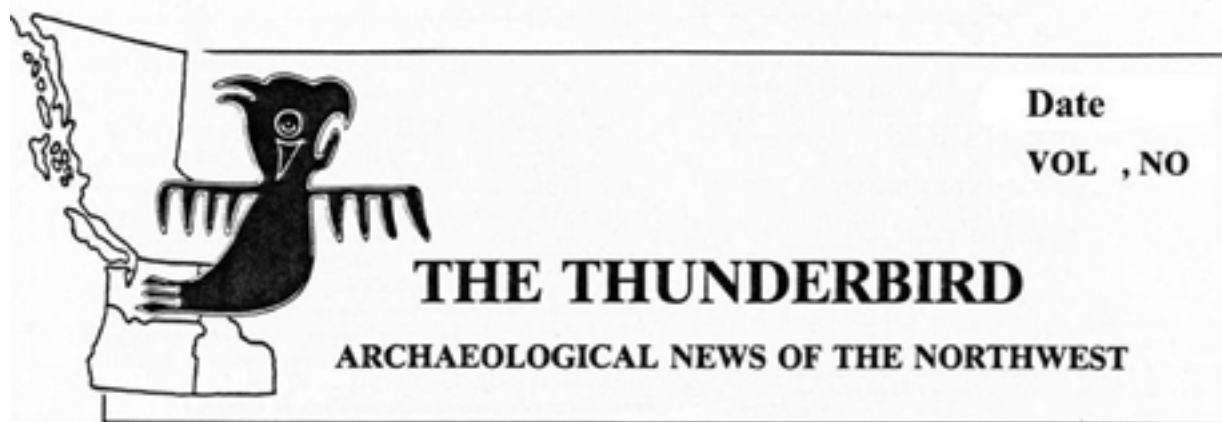
Figure 1. The WARC *Thunderbird* newsletter banner. Over 68 issues were published and distributed over our seven years, fulfilling our goal #4: fostering communication within the regional archaeological community. To review all WARC *Thunderbird* issues by volume, go to this link: https://wsu.academia.edu/DaleCroes/Conference-Presentations.

When asked by *JONA* to write up this part of WARC history, we were somewhat concerned since we did not have access to any of our correspondences (all archived with the site records and research reports in the basement of College Hall, Department of Anthropology, WSU). However, with these 68 published newsletters, averaging over 9 issues a year for 7 years, we have a great resource for building a WARC historical chronology. We share highlights of successes and failures of our inter-institutional efforts year-by-year below, to help describe and explain the 1980s WARC experiments in communitarianism.

The Beginning: WARC 1980–1981

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *WARC Re-Organized, Croes appointed Acting Director and he tabs Hackenberger as Assistant Director; Monthly* Thunderbird *Newsletter flies; site form digitization begins; Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA) starts to form; Pothunter shot dead vandalizing Indian graves on coastal Oregon....*

WARC 1980–1981

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Staff
Garland Grabert, Chair (WWU)	Dale R. Croes, Acting Director
Don Grayson (UW)	Steve Hackenberger, Assistant Director
Sarah Keller (EWU)	Lloyd Whelchel, Information Specialist
Bill Lipe (WSU)	Loran Cutsinger, Editor
Mark Papworth (TESC)	Bunny Hunt, Secretary
William Smith (CWU)	-

Using the first WARC newsletter, we announced our re-organization and the launch of *The Thunderbird, Archaeological News of the Northwest*, soliciting articles, and asking a subscription fee to cover mailing and printing. We developed a mailing list of archaeologists and related specialists; additionally, we compiled and published a project tracking file for larger federal and state development projects. WARC

participants attended founding meetings and the birth of the Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA) was announced at that time. AWA is a non-profit first conceived in response to the need for organizing the concerned public and professional archaeologists of Washington State, independent from direct academic sponsorship, and building broader support for archaeology. For forty years now, this independent organization has served as a platform for communication and public advocacy.

A big effort that year, in tandem with the state OAHP, and in line with our goals one and two, was to begin to computerize (1) our newly updated state archaeological site form (with state-wide input on this updated form), (2) a computer bibliography of the archaeological reports and publications, and (3) the software framework for the newsletter (Figure 2). As part of these efforts, we met with the British Columbia Provincial Archaeology agency that computerized their site records and reference reports to compare our developing digitized form and reports bibliography, and we endeavored to work together to make them as compatible as possible. Data were entered by staff from keyboard terminals and backed-up on large magnetic tapes by the WSU Computer Services (Figure 2). At that time WSU Computer Services Center had a mammoth mainframe computer that could serve universities with phone modems. By 1990 this system was rapidly and summarily replaced by PCs, and the site records database was gradually transferred to OAHP and operated using IBM PCs and floppy disk data storage.

The inter-institutional WARC Scientific Committee signed a proposal to their respective Graduate Deans in the WARC Administrative Board and the Washington OAHP requesting that funds be allocated to develop the high-priority WARC records computerization programs mentioned above. The majority of them were able to commit financial support to continue to develop and refine the computer data management systems, meeting our WARC goals #1–3, above.

Figure 2. WARC works with the new technologies and facilities on-hand at Washington's universities and colleges. Left: Steve's photo (1982) is enshrined in WSU College Hall exhibit (2016)! Right: Students who work with WARC are trained (along with other students) in data management. WARC staff member and Hoko Archaeological researcher, Rick McClure, working on terminal closest to camera.

In terms of public outreach (goal #4), WARC submitted a proposal to sponsor a NEH Youth Project for young people (16–21 years old) in four one-week sessions of archaeological survey and research in eastern Washington's Scablands. The project would be run jointly by Steve Hackenberger and the Mid-Columbia Archaeological Society. This outreach program was funded, and so planning, school outreach, and recruitment continued right up until the 1982 summer sessions.

The WARC Advisory Council was expanded with 60 members from several communities including representatives from Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia; they had their first annual meeting at the 1981 Northwest Anthropological Conference in Portland, Oregon. Over 50 individuals signed 3 WARC petitions objecting to the FY 81 funding recessions and supported full funding in FY 82 for National Science Foundation (NSF), NEH, and the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Services (formerly the NPS Interagency Archaeological Services).

WARC 1981–1982

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *21 of Washington's 39 counties have updat-*

ed site forms computer digitized, over 1,300 archaeological sites; Croes appointed Director; 33 PaleoIndian sites summarized in NW Region; NEH Grant awarded for WARC Youth Program to expand survey of Eastern Washington Scablands with Mid-Columbia Archaeological Society; a Washington Commission for the Humanities (WCH) grant awarded for Poster Campaign on Archaeology— "The Past is in your own Backyard, Don't let it Pass you By;" Hafted microliths in cedar handles found at 3,000 year old Hoko River wet site reported.

WARC 1981–1982

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Staff
Garland Grabert, Chair (WWU)	Dale R. Croes, Director
Don Grayson (UW)	Steve Hackenberger, Assistant Director
Sarah Keller (EWU)	Alice Gronski, Library Tech II
Bill Lipe (WSU)	Peter J. Kakos, Editor
Mark Papworth (TESC)	Shelley J. Smith, Assistant Editor
William Smith (CWU)	Eileen Adams, Secretary

Dale Croes, received unanimous approval from the WARC Administrative Board and Scientific Committee as the half-time Research Center Administrative Director under the Graduate School; he supported the other half of his position with research grants, mostly involving his field work at the Hoko River Archaeological Site Complex. Besides private funds from the M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust, the project was expanded with funds to excavate the Hoko River Rockshelter from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH; Croes 1995, 2005; Carriere and Croes 2018).

Following the summer of 1981, we reported that 21 of the 39 counties in Washington State had their site forms digitized and entered into the network, over 1,300 archaeological sites. To accelerate site form entry, student interns at some of the six four-year WARC institutions began to be supported by their institution to learn how to computerize site forms and reports in the bibliographic systems and enter site records in their assigned counties for their regions. As WARC support funding was still under consideration, institutions began this work with their own program funds. WWU and CWU took on this initiative to get their students actively involved (to help with WARC goals #1–3, above). We reported the authors/titles of survey reports received and catalogued into the WARC Library and reported recently completed M.A. Theses and Dissertations (n=19) from throughout the region. Also we listed 29 private contracting firms operating in the Northwest.

With funding from an NEH Youth Grant, WARC began the Scablands project with the help of the Mid-Columbia Archaeological Society (MCAS), and the project benefited from weekly field participation from MCAS members (Figure 3). Some 16 students participated in 1 or 2 sessions of the project. They lodged on the WSU campus for orientation and then in bunk houses in the field (Washtucna, Kalotus, and Hooper). Steve directed the project; Chris Brown (ABD) served as field director, and John Draper (Archaeologist) and Loran Cutsinger (Oral Historian/Cultural Anthropologist) were crew leaders. Rob Stone, then an undergraduate, helped design the sampling strategy and maintained map and aerial photographic records of survey tracts
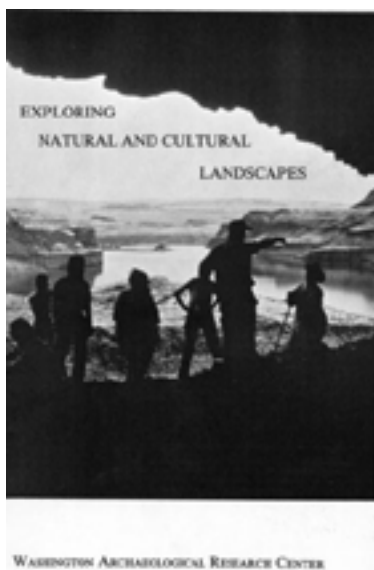
Figure 3. NEH sponsored Youth Project 1982 summer field school to further survey the eastern Washington Scablands. Left: Cover of pamphlet produced for public information from the project (Field Director Christopher Brown showing students a rockshelter). Right: Youth participants examine an artifact collection with Nick Paglieri and Kim Simmons from the Mid-Columbia Archaeological Society.

and site discoveries. Brown completed all site documentation, and Steve and Loran produced the final grant report and educational pamphlet (Figure 3).

A WARC grant was developed and submitted to the Washington Commission for the Humanities (WCH) to establish a state-wide poster and community presentation campaign to promote understanding of archaeology (goal #4). The grant was awarded mid-year, and plans initiated for this public campaign began. Also, in line with public information dissemination, Steve became a contributing editor for *Landmarks, Magazine of Northwest History and Preservation*. WARC staff worked with the magazine to publish a two-part presentation on the re-organized WARC cooperative programs entitled *Hands on the Past, Eyes on the Future* (Hackenberger, Croes, Haase, and Whelchel 1981, 1982).

To better facilitate the WARC Advisory Council, the WARC Scientific Committee established an Executive Committee of representatives for (1) contract archaeologists, (2) federal agency archaeologists, (3) community college archaeologists, (4) society archaeologists, (5) Native Americans, and (6) state staff archaeologists (OAHP). The representatives of these communities started giving overview reports in *The Thunderbird* about the makeup and concerns of each of their communities. These representatives began meeting with the WARC Scientific Committee at their quarterly meetings.

WARC 1982–1983

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *Archaeologist Dr. David Rice, Seattle ACE, survives flip-over small plane crash on Idaho river bar in August, he regains consciousness first, and pulls four other passengers to safety; Executive Committee of WARC Advisory Council formed and begins reporting in T-Bird on the status of their communities; two*

Native American owned and operated museums have opened, the Makah Cultural and Research Center and the Suquamish Museum; WARC/OAHP Intern Program begins to help update and enter needed information on the state's archaeological records; WARC Public education poster campaign and a traveling exhibit starts.

WARC 1982–1983

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Executive Committee	WARC Staff
Gar Grabert, Chair (WWU)	C. Melvin Aikens (Anth. outside WA)	Dale R. Croes, Director
Sarah Keller (EWU)	Donna Grosz, Makah Council (Native Americans)	Steve Hackenberger, Assistant Director
Bill Lipe (WSU)	Brian Holmes (Community Colleges)	Alice Gronski, Library Tech II
Mark Papworth (TESC)	Nick Paglieri (Archaeological Societies)	Alitza Loisos, Tech Assistant I
Bill Smith (CWU)	David Rice (Federal Agencies)	Valerie Hebert, Computer Tech I
Julie Stein (UW)	Randall Schalk (University Contractors)	Ruth E. Lambert, Co-editor
-	Leslie Wildersen (Private Contractors)	Peter J. Kakos, Co-editor
-	Rob Whitlam (State Agencies)	Fay Hindin, Secretary
-	-	Anan Raymond, Project Tracking

A big breakthrough this year was funding for a statewide set of WARC internships with OAHP. All faculty and student "joiners" were saddled with the monumental task of updating information on earlier archaeological site records, some recorded in the 1940s, in their regions. The goals were to keep standardizing, detailing, and greatly increase the usefulness of our computerized site records. Special efforts were made to check USGS map plotting and Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinates, and, as possible, recording site dimensions.

In beginning of this third year of WARC re-organization, Director Croes reported: "I per-

sonally believe that Northwest Archaeology is taking new directions in terms of cooperation and coordination. Because of efforts to work together, through programs such as WARC, we are seeing more and more accomplished in archaeological research, management, and public education, to everyone's and the resources' benefit." Croes spent much of the other half-time of his appointment learning the art of teaching anthropology at Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, and integrating their students and programs into the WARC intern program and commuting back and forth across the state.

The WCH funded WARC public education campaign allowed WARC to produce and distribute a large poster to over 500 museums; it had tear-off coupons attached that an interested person could send in to WARC and receive information on Washington archaeology (Figure 4). We completed a set of large, but light, exhibit panels on Native American heritage for John Lier with the Walla Walla Army Corps of Engineers (ACE).

We received WCH support for the first part of the traveling exhibit on Washington's ancient history (Exhibit I *Historic Period to 1000 B.P.*). In the spring WARC finished the exhibit and rotated it throughout the state. Seven public destinations (museums, libraries, a bank, and interpretive centers) were involved. The exhibits remained at each location for periods of weeks to months. Artifacts included Ozette materials (Makah Cultural and Research Center), other western Washington materials, and eastern Washington ethnographic materials from the Museum of Native American Culture (MONAC), and other collections from eastern Washington (such as basketry and cordage from the McGregor Cave site).

This year WARC played a key role in communicating the new federally guided (National Park Service, NPS) planning project called RP3: *Resource Protection and Planning Process*. Several *T-Bird* issues were dedicated

to how this process was being organized and working in our Northwest region as well as several other states. Washington State was divided into key "study units." These study unit reports were organized chronologically in 1,000-year intervals (phase definitions could be subsumed under these intervals). The planning meetings began to take place and study units assigned to different scholars throughout the region. The SPIRES databases supported reports and the follow-up inventory projects.

Lastly the WARC agency faced potential state sunset legislation, where agencies were reviewed for possible termination (sunset) every ten years. Through an inter-institutional/WOAHP and archaeological community support, Croes testified before a Washington State congressional committee and explained the new directions and re-organization, which seemed to please them, and we survived the sunset.

WARC 1983–1984

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *WARC Traveling Exhibit,* Window to Washington's Native American Heritage, *rotated across Washington State, exposing the public to materials from the last 1,000 years of Northwest heritage; Mid-Columbia Archaeological Society receives Environmental Excellence Award from Department of Ecology and Governor John Spellman; Croes takes research leave and Dr. Manfred E.W. (Fred) Jaehnig accepts the Acting Directorship of WARC this year; Roy L Carlson, editor, releases classic,* Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast*, a first look at developmen*t of *ancient NW art through archaeology.*

Figure 4. Large poster and design distributed throughout the state with coupons one could take and send for more information on Washington Archaeology. Inspired by the Manis Mastodon project in Sequim, Washington, the artwork was by Hoko staff Robin Pederson.

WARC 1983–1984

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Executive Committee	WARC Staff
Gar Grabert, Chair (WWU)	C. Melvin Aikens (Anth. outside WA)	Dale R. Croes, Director
Tim Kohler (WSU)	Donna Grosz, Makah Council (Native Americans)	Manfred E. W. Jaehnig, Acting Director
Mark Papworth (TESC)	Brian Holmes (Community Colleges)	Steve Hackenberger, Assistant Director
Pete Rice (EWU)	Nick Paglieri (Archaeological Societies)	Alice Gronski, Information Specialist
Bill Smith (CWU)	David Rice (Federal Agencies)	Daniel Rylander, Editor
Julie Stein (UW)	Randall Schalk (University Contractors)	Fay Hindin, Secretary
-	Leslie Wildersen (Private Contractors)	Diane Horton, Secretary
-	Rob Whitlam (State Agencies)	-

The WARC inter-institutional student internship program provided a ¼ Research Assistance (RA) position in each Department of Anthropology, and the work of upgrading the digitized site records and bibliographies was greatly advanced. The program was supported by OAHP, and Steve reported directly to Dr. Robert Whitlam, State Archaeologist. Students convened for orientation and training at Central Washington University with all six WARC institutions represented as well as Pacific Lutheran University and Pierce-Fort Steilacom Community College. All students were trained in (1) verification and compilation of site record information, (2) compilation of survey project data, (3) compilation of information on site collections, (4) public outreach, and (5) how to write their final intern report listing work accomplished.

In line with WARC's middle name, a considerable number of *research* articles were published in the *T-Bird*, including work done on the central and lower Columbia River; Olympic Peninsula; Northern Idaho; and western Vancouver Island, B.C.; and thematic articles on: Native American dwellings on southern Plateau; Oregon lithic scatters; field work at Dietz (Clovis) site; human adaptation along the Columbia River 4700–1600 B.P.; and progress on RP3 workshops.

The first WARC traveling exhibit, representing the last 1,000 years, featuring Ozette artifacts (first time they left Makah Museum), was a great success, and several speaking engagements were held at each showing, including Makah presenters. The WCH allocated funds for Exhibit II, 1,000 to 3,000-year time period titled *Washington's Native American Culture—Looking back 3,000 Years*, and plans were already well underway for new panels, mounted artifact cases, storyline, and items for display. With an expanded itinerary, the big challenge was to make the exhibit truly portable and safe for travel. The resulting configuration blended with and supplemented the larger cases of the first exhibit. The combined exhibits had a great final run in the new College Hall, Museum of Anthropology. The cases, panels, and furniture also had an afterlife supporting new exhibits in the museum.

WARC published *Bibliography of Archaeological Survey in Washington State*, including entries for over 1,600 references of publications, manuscripts, letter reports, and field notes (WARC 1984). This huge compilation was available in both hard copy and on the computer bibliography file.

WARC 1984–1985

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *Dr. Jerry Galm, EWU, is presented the award for Environmental Excellence by Governor John Spellman; Croes returns to ¾ time WARC Director position after teaching and research leave; WARC helps programs to "celebrate the heritage of the past" with the Washington Centennial Commission in preparing for 1989—one suggested archaeological theme was "10,000 Candles on the Cake—People's Past in Washington"—a possible $10 million is part of a $153 million Centennial bond proposal that would be dedicated to archaeological*

programs was submitted to legislators! (But eventually fails); WARC develops computer mapping capabilities and services; WARC/WCH 2nd traveling exhibit: Washington's Native American Culture—Looking Back 3,000 Years *opens at new WSU Museum of Anthropology and tours the state; Six region-wide field schools announced for 1985, one a "WSU Centennial Dig" to explore WSU's first 100 years.*

WARC 1984–1985

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Executive Committee	WARC Staff
Bill Smith, Chair	C. Melvin Aikens (Anth. outside WA)	Dale R. Croes, Director
Gar Grabert (WWU)	Adeline Fredin, Colville (Native Americans)	Steve Hackenberger, Assistant Director
Tim Kohler (WSU)	Brian Holmes (Community Colleges)	Alice Gronski, Information Specialist
Mark Papworth (TESC)	Robert Keeler (Museum Programs)	Richard Darsie, Editor
Pete Rice (EWU)	Nick Paglieri (Archaeological Societies)	Fay Hindin, Secretary
Julie Stein (UW)	David Rice (Federal Agencies)	Diane Horton, Secretary
-	Randall Schalk (University Contractors)	-
-	Jeanne Welch (Private Contractors)	-
-	Rob Whitlam (State Agencies)	-

At WARC Records Library:

- Over 2,250 new site forms have been received and assigned Smithsonian site designations.
- Over 550 reports and publications catalogued in WARC library.
- Over 4,400 site records (the entire state) have been verified, updated, and computer input, an average of 20,000 lines of data per county (39).

- Over 1,600 bibliographic entries on the computer bibliography file and as a hard copy (tested/excavated/survey reports and publications (WARC 1984)).
- Began the WARC inter-institutional intern program, to inventory site artifact collections at institutions around the state.

Dissemination of Archaeological Information through WARC:

- *T-Bird* Newsletter tallies over 20,000 issues sent out to approximately 500 locations per issue.
- WCH Poster Campaign set out over 1,500 posters with tear-off coupons and about 300 responses sent for inquiries.
- Traveling Exhibit I (historic to about 1,000 years ago) viewed by about 75,000+ people across state.
- Traveling Exhibit II (1,000–3,000 years ago) opens and begins tour.

To facilitate interaction among all members of the archaeological community WARC:

- Established WARC Scientific/Executive Committee to represent (1) community colleges, (2) federal agencies, (3) Native Americans, (4) private contractors, (5) societies, (6) state agencies, (7) university anthropologists in Washington and NW Region, (8) museums, trying to meet four times a year (Figure 5),
- WARC student interns, with 15 students per year involved, help update the archaeological records on several fronts,
- Co-sponsoring state-wide RP3 workshops and sponsoring a grant funded Forest Service conference on predictive modeling resulting in an edited volume of conference papers (Darsie et al. 1985),
- And over 20 papers on regional research (part of our name) were published in this year's *T-Bird*, providing excellent exposure to this work.

WARC 1985–1986

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *The UW Burke Museum Celebrates its first 100 years with exhibits and lectures; GIS Laboratory established at CWU; Darby Stapp and Julia Longenecker conduct WSU Centennial Dig, with students testing around the 1st Administrative Building, Stevens (women's) and Stimson (men's) dormitories, and the Old Beef Cattle Barn (recording archaeological testing and architectural features—it was about to be remodeled into the new Alumni Center)* (Figure 6)*; Governor's office sponsors WARC traveling exhibit II "Washington's Native American Culture—Looking back 3,000 Years"*

in the Capitol rotunda; Pacific Northwest Archaeological Society (PNWAS) established on westside and popular author Jean Auel ("Clan of the Cave Bear") has agreed to provide the first lecture at the Museum of History and Industry (MOHI) in Seattle (Croes 2021b; see 36 year PNWAS history in this link: https://www.academia.edu/51660413/Pacific_Northwest_Archaeological_Society_PNWAS_Reaching_the_Northwest_Advocational_Public_for_36_Years)*; Request for ideas and a form to fill out was sent by WARC to create Washington State Centennial Digs; WSU budget cuts initiate an inter-institutional request for support of WARC; The*

Figure 5. WARC Scientific/Executive Committee meeting, January 1985 at WSU. Left to right: David Rice, COE-Seattle; Bill Smith, CWU; Dale Croes, WARC Director; Pete Rice, EWU-Archaeological and Historical Services; Murrel Comfort, MCAS (guest); Nick Paglieri, MCAS; Kim Simmons, MCAS (guest); Rob Whitlam, Washington State Archaeologist; Brian Holmes, Highline Community College; and Timothy Kohler, WSU.

Seattle Times produces a series of articles on Washington's Indians and combines them into a supplement issue—WARC's Executive Committee representative Adelin Fredin, Colville, provides a critique of the Seattle Times supplements in the T-Bird.

WARC 1985–1986 (cont.)

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Executive Committee	WARC Staff
Bill Smith (CWU)	Robert Keeler (Museum Programs)	Gwen Hurst, Centennial Digs Coordinator
-	Nick Paglieri (Archaeological Societies)	Joyce Tamura-Brown, Secretary
-	David Rice (Federal Agencies)	-
-	Randall Schalk (University Contractors)	-
-	Kim Simmons (AWA)	-
-	Jeanne Welch (Private Contractors)	-
-	Rob Whitlam (State Agencies)	-

WARC 1985–1986

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Executive Committee	WARC Staff
Julie Stein (UW)	C. Melvin Aikens (Anth. outside WA)	Dale R. Croes, Director
Gar Grabert (WWU)	Adeline Fredin Colville (Native Americans)	Richard Bailey, Information Specialist
Tim Kohler (WSU)	Brian Holmes (Community Colleges)	Richard Darsie, Editor

Figure 6. One of four buildings test excavated in the WSU Centennial Dig, the Beef Cattle Barn (1922), during the summer field school of 1985. Led by Darby Stapp and Julie Longenecker, the crew excavated around the outside and inside, including stalls in the barn; they also took numerous pictures of the inside architecture and hardware fasteners. Shortly after the excavations, the building was remodeled into the WSU Alumni Center.

This was a year of serious budget cuts throughout the state, and WARC programs were scheduled to be terminated along with two other WSU research centers. The WARC office, Scientific Committee, and representatives of the Executive Committee (and others) started a writing campaign in support of continuing WARC. They proposed that instead of WSU carrying most of the financial support, that the member institutions contribute cost sharing. A WARC office move to a different university was also discussed. After much deliberation, the Scientific Committee/ Executive Committee as well as the Graduate Deans of the Administrative Board, and thus of the WARC institutions, agreed to share costs. WSU remained the prime supporter, and the WARC office remined at WSU. TESC, and EWU chose to withdraw from WARC. All this turmoil was unsettling for the programs.

We persevered, and at the end of the year, we were pleased to announce that WARC would continue to serve the Northwest archaeological community, though with changes. Notably staff had to be reduced, leaving us with a ¼ time secretary, ½ time RA, and 1/10th time director. Steve and Loran Cutsinger (married in 1983) had both defended and submitted theses in 1985. They were soon off into the U.S. Peace Corps with two-year assignments in archaeology and anthropology with the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, Barbados, West Indies. Croes reported at year's end that "though our program support has been reduced, we believe our sharing of resources will assure our survival. We thank everyone who helped guarantee this continued effort."

WARC 1986–1987

BREAKING *T-BIRD* NEWS: *With staff reductions and WARC Assistant Director Steven Hackenberger off to the Peace Corps, we continue with 3 part-time staff, Dale Croes, Director/Editor; Richard Bailey, Records Specialist; and Joyce Tamura-Brown, Secretary; we operate with inter-institutional support from four universities: WSU, UW, CWU and WWU, after surviving two termination threats in our seven years; Priscilla Wegars publishes historic study through UI Laboratory of Anthropology:* An Annotated Bibliography of Opium and Opium-Smoking Paraphernalia*; Knut R. Fladmark publishes* British Columbia Prehistory*; Croes moves on after position terminated by new WSU Graduate Dean who had other priorities for the university.*

WARC 1986–1987

WARC Scientific Committee	WARC Executive Committee	WARC Staff
Julie Stein, Chair (UW)	C. Melvin Aikens (Anth. outside WA)	Dale R. Croes, Director/Editor
Robert Ackerman (WSU)	Adeline Fredin (Native Americans)	Richard Bailey, Records Librarian
Jim Chatters (CWU)	Brian Holmes (Community Colleges)	Joyce Tamura-Brown, Secretary
Gar Grabert (WWU)	Nick Paglieri (Archaeological Societies)	-
Tim Kohler (WSU)	David Rice (Federal Agencies)	-
Kenneth Reid (WSU)	Kim Simmons (AWA)	-
Randall Schalk (UW)	Jeanne Welch (Private Contractors)	-
Bill Smith (CWU)	Rob Whitlam (State Agencies)	-

With reduced WARC staff this year, we mainly functioned as an archaeological sites records management program providing:

- Assignment of Smithsonian Site Numbers in the state;
- Providing hard copies of site records;
- Creating computerized listings of site records;
- Providing direct computer access to site records with authorization (through phone modems from anywhere);

- Making available computer generated mylar map overlays of site distributions, at any scale desired.

Dr. Jack Nyman, WSU Graduate Dean in charge of all research centers at the university retired toward the end of this year—placing WARC under a new dean, Dr. Robert Smith. As often happens, the new administrator had new and other priorities, and it became clear we were not one of them and this was our last year of trying to function to fulfill all our WARC goals. The *Seattle Times*/P-I staff reporter Sally MacDonald, reported this in the *Seattle Times,* with the title *Budget Cuts Threaten to Bury WSU Archaeology Program,* and in part said:

> Robert Smith, dean of the WSU graduate school, this year cut money for the Washington Archaeological Research Center, which catalogs archaeological records for federal and state agencies. Smith said WSU's priorities are in high tech fields such as biotechnology rather than low-tech standbys such as archaeology.
>
> If the center continues at all, it will be without its director, Dale Croes, who has lead students and Indian tribal members on digs throughout the state for the past 10 years.
>
> Smith said the cuts will let WSU concentrate on programs that give it a chance at international fame—an order which archaeology can't fill.
>
> 'You can't have one without the other,' Smith said. 'If you emphasize one thing, you de-emphasize something else. Clearly in terms of eminence, archaeology is not among the top fields.'
>
> There is some evidence the problem may be larger than archaeology. The graduate school's Dean Smith admits other programs in the humanities or social studies may be caught in the

struggle for money. 'I won't say what. That would open a whole other can of worms.'

(*Budget Cuts Threaten to Bury WSU Archaeology Program*, August 30, MacDonald 1987, page B1–B2)

We mostly report this to show that WARC had lost a supportive dean, trying to be there for us as possible with the ongoing budget turmoil, Dr. Jack Nyman. The new dean openly and publicly stated that his priorities did not include archaeology. That is just the way it goes, and the *writing* certainly was on the wall.

In his last *Notes from the Director* in *The Thunderbird News*, Croes stated:

> I have intensely enjoyed the trials and tribulations involved in the inter-institutional WARC programs over the past 7 years as director. The main reward stems from taking on a position requiring inter-institutional cooperation and sharing of resources and seeing it generally work well. As many of you know, the environment for archaeological support and programs has been greatly reduced since 1980. Through two serious termination mandates, one in 1981/1982 and the recent one in 1985/1986, the programs have held up and continued, mainly through inter-institutional cooperation, when other single university-based research centers have not fared so well (two disappearing last year from WSU alone). When problems seemed this serious, the value of WARC programs have been realized and inter-institutional funding provided so that improved services could continue to be developed for the archaeological community.
>
> Over the last 7 years as director of WARC one thing has become clear:

the majority of the archaeological community greatly enjoys working together across the region in improving programs, communications and services (emphasis in newsletter). Anyone who claims that we, as archaeologists, cannot work together well, that it's a "rat nest out there," can only be reflecting on their own inability to work closely with the broad community. I know from my very frequent and continuous requests for contributions of time and efforts from members of the archaeological community, the response from the majority has been unbelievably generous (in fact, the hardest part was always asking for more!). Most participants have given far beyond the minimum time, involvement, and support. (Vol.7, No. 8, June 10, 1987)

Final Thoughts and New Communities!

WARC, as a state-wide program with multi-layers of cooperation and region-wide input, produced a solid legacy. Though not all initiatives have survived, certainly many ideas and much information remain for the benefit of today's archaeological diverse communities. As reported here, we digitally entered, updated, and standardized over 4,500 site records (the entire state at the time), an average of 20,000 lines of data per county (39, as of 1985), as well as several other efforts to digitally/electronically make our overall archaeological data base (reports, maps, ethnographic records, artifact collections, etc.) available. This easy access to the archaeological record no doubt vastly improved our community's research capabilities (part of our name). The base-line digitized data continues to be used today by the archaeological community through the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) systems; these systems directly evolved

from this WARC inter-institutional effort and WARC student interns spending endless hours of input. Therefore, the main and priority goals (#1–#3) were accomplished over these seven years and remain our legacy.

We are glad we had this chance to document this important part of our work together under the new WARC. Our ethics of communitarianism and communicating through *The Thunderbird News* WARCed (goal #4). Thank you again for all who worked with us to make this happen—it still serves us well.

It is easy to become nostalgic and wonder what might have been if WARC, like the Arkansas Archeological Survey, was celebrating a 50th anniversary in 2022. But, with or without our experiments, much has been accomplished under other organization names, and we celebrate these achievements. Also, our own lives and careers were enriched through this amazing experience, and we hope those of our WARC colleagues and students have gained by these challenges, successes, and failures.

As WARC was closed out, Croes continued as a research faculty on soft monies with the WSU Department of Anthropology. In 1987 his grant from the M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust supported him as he organized and conducted the international *Circum-Pacific Prehistory Conference* at the Seattle Center as part of the Washington State 1989 Centennial programs. In August of 1989, over 800 people attended from around the Pacific neighborhood and world, WSU Press produced and made available at the conference a pre-publication series of the papers, seven volumes (that sold for years in their catalog), and the Pacific Northwest Archaeological Society provided the volunteer support needed (see program at: https://www.academia.edu/45109693/1989_Circum_Pacific_Prehistory_Conference_Program_and_Abstracts). As a centennial program, Croes worked with their staff in preparing the conference in their downtown Seattle office as an employee of WSU. Croes, after years of teaching and field

schools with community colleges (Edmonds Community College (EdCC) and South Puget Sound Community College (SPSCC)), is pleased to continue as an Adjunct Professor with the WSU Department of Anthropology into his retirement.

Hackenberger put in field stints with the University of Idaho (Lee Sappington) and CNA (John Draper) while he finalized his dissertation manuscript with Dr. Tim Kohler, Dr. Frank Leon-hardy, and Dr. Alan Smith. By 1989 he and Loran were teaching with Central Washington University, and Steve organized three field sessions (Hanford, Hoko River, and Hells Canyon). Projects in Hells

Canyon continued with Drs. Frank Leonhardy and Lee Sappington. After four years in the University of Wisconsin Colleges, and one more year with tenure and sabbatical (Hungry Horse Project, Montana), Steve and Loran returned to CWU. Over the past 25 years, Steve, in addition to teaching, has served as CWU Anthropology Department chair; coordinated an interdisciplinary M.S. program in Resource Management; established a Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) program; revitalized the Central Washington Anthropological Survey (CWAS) contract program; and helped lead projects in the in the Eastern Caribbean, Mexico, and Siberia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES CITED

Carriere, Ed, and Dale R. Croes
2018   Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry, Fifty Years of Basketry Studies in Culture and Science. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology, Memoir* 15. Richland, WA.

Croes, Dale R.
1995   *The Hoko River Archaeological Site Complex, The Wet/Dry Site (45CA213), 3,000—1,700 B.P.* Pullman: Washington State University Press.

2005   *The Hoko River Archaeological Site Complex, The Rockshelter (45CA21), 1,000–100 B.P.* Pullman: Washington State University Press.

2019   *Basketry from the Ozette Village Archaeological Site: A Technological, Functional, and Comparative Study.* Ozette Archaeological Project Research Reports, Volume IV. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology, Memoir* 17, Richland, WA, and WSU Department of Anthropology Reports of Investigations 69, Pullman, WA.

2021a   *Cordage from the Ozette Village Archaeological Site: A Technological, Functional, and Comparative Study. Journal of Northwest Anthropology Memoir* 21. Richland, WA.

2021b   Pacific Northwest Archaeological Society (PNWAS): Reaching the Public for 36 Years. In *How do We Reach More? Sharing Cultural and Archaeological Research with Others, Special Publication* 4, edited by Darby C. Stapp and Julia G. Longenecker, Design and Production by Victoria M. Boozer, pp. 35–45. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology,* Richland, WA.

Croes, Dale R., Ed Carriere, and Darby C. Stapp

2018   Generationally-Linked Archaeology. *The SAA Archaeological Record*, 18(5):9–13. Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology.

Croes, Dale R., and Steven Hackenberger

1988   Modeling Prehistoric Northwest Economic Evolution: Hoko River Archaeological Complex. In *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Supplement 3, edited by Barry Isaac, pp. 19–86. Connecticut: JAI Press.

Croes, Dale R., John L. Fagan, and Maureen Newman Zehendner

2009   Sunken Village, Sauvie Island, Oregon, USA, A Report on the 2006–2007 Investigations of National Historic Landmark Site 35MU4. *Journal of Wetland Archaeology,* Special Edition 9, 1–216.

Croes, Dale R., editor, with Rhonda Foster and Larry Ross

2013   *The Qwu?gwes Archaeological Site and Fish Trap (45TN240), and Tested Homestead (45TN396), Eleven-Year South Puget Sound Community College Summer Field School Investigations with the Squaxin Island Tribe*. Final report on file, Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and available on their WISAARD website for archaeological information and CRM reports, Olympia, Washington.

Darsie, R.F., J.D. Keyser, and S. Hackenberger

1985   Archaeological Inventory and Predictive Modeling in the Pacific Northwest, *Studies in Cultural Resource Management*, No. 1. Portland, OR.

Hackenberger, Steven, Dale R. Croes, Bill Haase, and Lloyd Whelchel

1981   Hands on the Past, Eyes on the Future: Washington Archaeological Research Center (Part 1). *Landmarks, Magazine of Northwest History and Preservation*, Summer 1981, pp. 26–28. Olympia, WA.

1982   Hands on the Past, Eyes on the Future: Washington Archaeological Research Center (Part 2). *Landmarks, Magazine of Northwest History and Preservation*, Winter 1982, pp. 25–28. Olympia, WA.

MacDonald, Sally

1987   *Budget Cuts Threaten to Bury WSU Archaeology Program. The Seattle Times/Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, B1-2, Sunday, August 30, 1987.

Roll, Tom, and Steven Hackenberger

1998   Prehistory of the Eastern Columbia Plateau: Northern Rocky Mountain Prehistory. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 12, *Columbia Plateau,* pp. 120–137. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

The Thunderbird, Archaeological News of the Northwest

1980–1987 Volumes 1–8; Various Editors through the seven years of production in the academic years; 68 issues were produced and distributed by mail, WSU, Pullman, WA. All issues available at WSU Library Archives and online at: https://wsu.academia.edu/DaleCroes/Conference-Presentations.

Washington Archaeological Research Center

1982   *Exploring Natural and Cultural Landscapes.* Produced through funds by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and the National Park Service.

1984   *Bibliography of Archaeological Survey in Washington State: Publications, Manuscripts, Letter Reports and Field Notes on File*, as of May 1984, Pullman, WA.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dale R. Croes received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of Washington (UW). He did his Ph.D. dissertation research on basketry and cordage artifacts from the Ozette Village wet site (Croes 2019, 2021a); conducted post-doctoral research with the Makah Tribal Nation at the Hoko River wet site (Croes 1995) and Hoko Rockshelter shell midden (Croes 2005); directed first-ever archaeological excavations at the National Historic Landmark wet site of Sunken Village with the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, and the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Indians (Croes et al. 2009); and co-directed excavations of the *Qwu?gwes* wet and dry site with the Squaxin Island Tribe (Croes et al. 2013). In retirement he is currently working with Ed Carriere, Suquamish Elder and Master Basketmaker, and they together wrote *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry, Fifty Years of Basketry Studies in Culture and Science, Memoir* 15, *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* (Carriere and Croes 2018). This book highlights their work analyzing and replicating 2,000-year-old Biderbost wet site basketry housed at the UW Burke Museum. They define this work as a new approach called *Generationally-Linked Archaeology* (Croes et al. 2018). To review the above references and others by Dale Croes, please follow this link: https://wsu.academia.edu/DaleCroes. In large part from Ed Carriere's work in replicating archaeological baskets from northwest museums, he recently was awarded one of four national *Community Spirit Awards* (2022) from the Native American-based *First Peoples Fund* program: https://www.firstpeoplesfund.org/2022-fellows. Two honorees this year were from Washington State.

Steven Hackenberger received his B.A. from the University of Tulsa, and his M.A. (1985) and Ph.D. (1989) in anthropology at Washington State University. His thesis and dissertation work focused on Nez Perce and Shoshone co-utilization of the Salmon River Mountains of Idaho. His research included spatial models and predictive maps for site location and simulations of climate change and resource fluctuations. Similar work for the Hoko River Project was published with Dale Croes (Croes and Hackenberger 1988). His Peace Corps work in the Eastern Caribbean (1985–1987) developed into several site investigations, including one Earthwatch project (1990–1996 and 2003). After a start with Dr. Frank Leonhardy and Lee Sappington with more work on the Salmon River and Middle Snake, and interludes mapping on Effigy Mounds in Wisconsin (University of Wisconsin Colleges and the Ho-Chunk Nation 1990–1994), he was invited to join the Flathead National Forest and an inter-tribal team. His work in Idaho and Montana lead to co-authoring, "Prehistory of the Eastern Plateau," with Dr. Tom Roll in the Columbia Plateau volume of the Smithsonian Institution *Handbook of North American Indians* (Vol 11; Roll and Hackenberger 1998). Upon returning to CWU in 1995, his work with NAGPRA inventories and repatriations soon involved him the NPS Kennewick Man background studies, and later the Walla Walla ACE Marmes repatriation project. In addition to heavy teaching commitment (including chairing over 40 M.S. theses), he remains involved in Columbia Plateau CRM and has authored three regional overviews and context statements. In the past five years, he has conducted a dozen geophysics studies while training students in CRM field work. He has twice joined archaeological excavations (Late Glacial Maximum Period) in the Transbaikal on the border of Mongolia and Russian Siberia. Over the past fifteen years, he has collaborated with the Purepecha community of Parangaricutiro and co-directed five site investigations in the volcanic highlands of Michoacan, Mexico.

"Eskimo and Aleut Masks of the Pinart Collection" with an Introduction by Richard L. Bland

Éveline Lot-Falck
Introduction and Translation by Richard L. Bland

Affiliation
Museum of Natural & Cultural
History, University of Oregon

Correspondence
rbland@uoregon.edu

Abstract   *Éveline Lot-Falck (1918–1974) graduated from the School of Oriental Languages in 1940 and joined the Musée de l'Homme as a volunteer. Ultimately, in 1952, she took control of the museum's Asian, Eastern European, and Arctic departments. Claude Levi-Strauss proposed the creation of a Chair of Religions of Northern Eurasia and the Arctic for her at L'École Pratique des Hautes Études, which was entrusted to Éveline in 1963. Publishing a number of books and articles on myth systems of Northeast Asia, she became the foremost French specialist on shamanism.*

In the 1870s Alphonse Louis Pinart went to the Alaskan Northwest Coast and Aleutian Islands and collected masks as an unofficial representative of France. At that time artifacts of the Native cultures were acquired primarily for museum collections. It was many years later that Lot-Falck analyzed and published the results of Pinart's work.

Keywords
Aleut masks, Alutiiq masks, Chugach masks, collecting.

Introduction

Éveline Lot-Falck (1918–1974) was born in Fontenay-aux-Roses, the daughter of a medieval historian, Ferdinand Lot, and a Russian emigrant, Myrrha Borodin. While still quite young, Éveline enjoyed visiting the Musée de l'Homme. After graduating from the School of Oriental Languages in 1940, she joined the Musée de l'Homme as a volunteer. While working there, she married Roger Falck, a coworker in the Museology Department of the museum. Éveline was eventually given control of the museum's Asian, Eastern European, and Arctic departments, and in 1963 was entrusted with the Chair of Religions of Northern Eurasia and the Arctic at L'École pratique des hautes études. Publishing a number of books and articles on myth systems of Northeast Asia, she became the foremost French specialist on shamanism. One of her studies was of the collection of Alaskan masks acquired by Alphonse Pinart.

Alphonse Louis Pinart (1852–1911) was born in Marquise, Pas-de-Calais, France. He attended schools in Lille and Paris. In 1867 he met the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, a noted French scholar of Mesoamerican studies, and became captivated by native cultures—particularly those of Native Americans. He set off in 1869 to America (Parmenter 1966).

By the late 1800s scholars had become aware that native cultures were rapidly vanishing (Cole 1985). Museums in Europe were diligently collecting as much of the remaining native culture as possible. Pinart represented France in the international scramble to salvage the quickly vanishing cultures. He made his first trip to Alaska in 1871 to spend a year in the Aleutian Islands and on Kodiak Island gathering material for his research. When he returned to France in late 1872, he was given a hero's welcome and acclaim by the French Geographical Society.

Pinart did much in a short amount of time. However, partially as a result of his haste, he never seemed to have enough time to familiarize himself with his subjects. Thus, he left much unstudied material. Although an excellent overall discussion of masks of the South Alaska region has been conducted by Haakanson and Steffian (Haakanson and Steffian 2009), Lot-Falck's analysis is the first and only examination exclusively of the masks collected by Pinart.

Éveline Lot-Falck was a French anthropologist who specialized in religions of Northeast Asia.

Eskimo and Aleut Masks of the Pinart Collection[1]

The collection of Alphonse Pinart, retrieved during voyages carried out between 1870 and 1872 along the Northwest Coast of America, is currently located, almost in its totality, in the Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer. It was exhibited in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (Gallery of Anthropology) in 1872. Three years later Pinart offered it to the community of Boulogne, except for a small number of objects. These included some masks that remained in the Musée Ethnographique du Trocadéro (currently the Musée de l'Homme), where they were accessioned under the number 81.21. They comprise about eighty objects: six Aleut, the remainder of the collection, Eskimo. The main ones were exhibited in the Musée de l'Homme in 1947, loaned by the Musée de Boulogne on the occasion of the International Congress of Americanists and registered then under the number D.47.13. The loan lasted until 1950, when the masks were returned to Boulogne.

Apart from the Aleut masks published by Pinart, there is no documentation (Pinart 1875). The *Catalogue des collections raportées de l'Amérique russe* [Catalog of Collections Retrieved from Russian America] (Pinart 1872)

provides very little information. It merely states, between the numbers 180 and 217, the series without any description. Two of those 37 numbers, 182 and 183, cover some unnamed series, which Pinart specifies as "petit modèle" [small model]. Then 35 masks remain, large or medium. We now have, in fact, more than 60. Consequently, approximately 25 masks are not mentioned in the *Catalogue*, without doubt because they did not figure in the Exposition du Muséum. It is the same with other objects: in an 1878 inventory, the conservator of the Musée de Boulogne notes the presence of about 40 objects—no masks among them—not listed in the Pinart *Catalogue*. According to this catalog, all the masks originate on Kodiak and Afognak, although certain ones clearly come from elsewhere. Even though Pinart's articles do not offer clarifying details, one can make some inferences from his itineraries. He did not spend time in northern Alaska; his northern limit was Norton Sound, his southern limit San Francisco. Certain objects were collected on the islands of St. Michael and Nunivak, in the region of the Kuskokwim, from Bristol Bay, and at Katmai. During his first voyage, Pinart followed the coast from San Francisco to Sitka, therefore exclusively in the Indian territory. And he is supposed to have brought back a mask from Vancouver Island (perhaps D.47.13.35). His first communication (7 November 1872) to the Société d'Anthropologie effectively deals only with the Koloches (Tlingit). During subsequent voyages he also visited Central America and Oceania. One of the masks in the Boulogne depository, D.47.13.34, has been identified as Micronesian, from Mortlock Island of the Caroline Archipelago (cf. Dall 1881–1882:Pl. VII). Therefore all this information prompts caution. However, except for some doubtful specimens, the group of masks D.47.13 is expected to be Eskimo and come from, for the most part, the Kodiak Archipelago and the region of Prince William Sound.

Each of twenty-four masks bears a name on the back, which is not always easily deciphered nor the meaning assured. Each notation is in Russian Cyrillic characters, more or less phonetic. The sign ɣ, which appears frequently, expresses sometimes the vowel u (most often) and others a consonant, without doubt a guttural. Few names are reminiscent of known terms, and the abundant infixes—characteristic of the Eskimo language—increase the difficulty. Some signify "man," "woman," or "human being," followed by the Russian translation of *chelovek* (human being). Some (*allaiat, šučišat*) show, under the same name, a person now masculine, now feminine. On the other hand, almost identical masks (81.21.27 and D.47.13.68 on the one hand, 81.21.26 and D.47.13.75 on the other) bear different names. The presence of the suffix *-lik* is frequently revealed, a suffix of belonging in all Eskimo dialects, e.g., *umialik* "owner of an umiak," *nulilik* "married man" (literally "possessor of a woman").

One thing is clear. Pinart did not receive these masks directly from the Eskimos but from Russian collectors, merchants, or missionaries, although the latter were generally iconoclastic. He himself did not note on his own the native names of these specimens.

The generic term "mask" can be reduced in almost all cases to a common prototype: *ke'naki'na* "visage," *kenakok* (Alaska), *ki'naruAq* (Alaska, Cape Prince of Wales), *ki'naujâq* (upper course of the Kazan River), *ki'nakpAq* (Simpson Peninsula), *ki'näkpäŋ* (Melville Peninsula), *ki'näkpäk* (Thule District), *ke'nagpäk* (giant face) in Greenland, and *ke'naujAq* "resembling a face" (Labrador) (Birket-Smith 1921–1924:41; Rasmussen 1921–1924:23, 44, 61; Rainey 1947:247–249).[2] On Kodiak the name would be *kugah* (Dall 1881–1882:128, note 1, after Sauer), an interesting word. *Kugak*, in Aleut, signifies "evil spirit." It is derived from *kugalitalik*, the name of one of the two gigantic figures made of plants during the Aleut winter festival (Ivanov 1954:433). The form

---

[2]   Rainey collected at Tigara, in northern Alaska, the term *pogok* to designate temporary figures burned at the end of the "seating" ceremony.

of the word appears to be Eskimo: in Eskimo *-ta* expresses, among other meanings, that of a receptacle, *-lik*—that of belonging; *kugalitalik* would signify a "receptacle possessing a *kugah*." "Evil spirit," on Kodiak, is translated, according to Pinart, as *axiashuk*. The invasion or appearance of demons is represented both among the Koni-agmiut (inhabitants of Kodiak) and among the Aleuts—among the latter it bears the name *kugan agalik*. At Kodiak kugah is taken to mean "spirit" in general, without the pejorative implication it seems to have acquired among the Aleuts. Merck (Jacobi 1937:132), always on Kodiak, named the mask *hajut*—a plural form that in the singular would be almost the metathesis of *kugah*. *Ichzit* in the Kuskokwim region and *gnachtach* on Nunivak designate small forehead masks worn by shamans (Himmelheber 1938:46).

General Characteristics

Despite its apparent diversity, the majority of the Pinart collection can be grouped in a homogeneous or related series. The difficulty of making a typology resides in the determination of the essential element that permits classification in this or that category, because a mask can, according to the manner in which it is viewed, be assigned to several groups. Only a detailed examination, a long familiarity with the figures, permits disclosing, without being arbitrary, the significant detail that allows us to see resemblances that are not striking at first glance; thus positioning a mask permits us to follow the evolution across more or less clear transitions.

A single common characteristic is the division of the face into three horizontal planes, expressed by the level change beneath the arches and a line, straight or curved, traced under the nose. The paint sometimes emphasizes this disposition or takes the place of sculpture; the bottom of the face especially is clearly separated from the rest and treated separately. Among the Indians that division is less systematic (Wingert 1949). The presence of bars for gripping is also

a common element, typical of the region. And equally, up to a certain point, is the presence of tenons at the top, or sometimes also at the base. Exceptions are on masks with feathers and specimens of solid wood; these are not masks, strictly speaking.

Only the specimens from Kodiak that are painted and have feathers belong to a recognized category. We do not have complex masks, articulated, with flaps, which represent the most spectacular of Eskimo art and thinking; the Pacific zone is less rich, one knows, than that of the Bering Sea. Though no zoomorphic representations exist, our masks are only somewhat human, neither realistic nor comical, and very stylized. The mimicry reflects, at least to our Occidental eyes, calm (if they are horizontal features), sadness (if the features are oblique, especially with eyebrows oriented pointing downward), or more rarely gaiety (with features obliquely pointing upward). Exaggerated or shortened, according to the exigencies of a logic whose meaning we do not always know, the features are rarely twisted and never aim at caricature. Whereas in eastern Greenland (Angmassalik) where they do not have, at least any longer, a religious character, the masks are openly caricatures. They maintain whatever their distortion, a realism, an intensity of life. The human character is barely perceptible on the severe visages of southern Alaska; the way these faces are represented makes their nature unclear, an opposition that transmits a functional difference. Our Alaskan masks, which did not serve for entertainment, show a nature neither fundamentally human nor fundamentally animal, a state in which the forms are not yet stabilized. Its primordial polymorphism renders vain positive attempts to discriminate between zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures. Either men or beasts, they are living beings that, in the diverse appearances they choose to take, share a common essence, the metamorphosis affecting only the exterior aspect. One day the form

became fixed, the creature became prisoner of an appearance that it believed provisional, the fugitive became permanent. The descendants of the Great Raven forgot how to transform themselves into humans; the otter remained an otter and man remained a man, each in its own skin. However, the hunter respects in the animal the faculty, reduced but not entirely lost, of occasionally casting off its disguise. And only certain traits—dark skin and small size (ringed seals), great moustaches and large size (bearded seals), tresses (walruses)—reveal the origin of the individual. The envelope of flesh is no longer a cloak from which one is easily freed or regained. In order to obtain a human form, the seal, whose shadow has gone in search of a new body on the ice, needs to kill the former body (Rubtsova 1954:440). On the other hand, the humans-seals, treacherously massacred by the Raven at the Feast of the Whale, revert to seals after their deaths (Nelson 1899:466–467). Their masks, which they have pushed aside in order to appear human, had in fact manifested their true nature. Among humans the shaman still possesses the power of dividing into two parts; the shadow of the female shaman converses with her own body before leaving in search of an assassinated husband, whom she will resuscitate (Rubtsova 1954:363–364). With the same ease as the seal when it leaves its envelope, for different purposes, of course, its task accomplished, the double reintegrates its support. But eventually the *angatkok* takes the appearance of his spiritual zoomorphic protector; similarly, a few lucky ones take the appearance of the *angoak* guardian animal (Rainey 1947:275).

The masks on which the animal and its human *inua* figure reflect side-by-side a dualism that, on our masks, is not as clear. On the single representation, still unclear, the two natures are combined; in the hybrid being, still not humanized, the signs disclose an animalness from which it is already distancing itself, yet which it has not entirely rejected.

Description

A mask is not an easy object to analyze. In our descriptive catalog we have attempted to make this analysis as precise and detailed as possible, describing not only the features but the whole form from the front, the profile, and the back, expressing the relief and the various surfaces. The terminology employed is taken in part from sculpture. The order is as follows:

Generalities: material, shape.

Description: profile; back, front.

Detail: traits in the following order: forehead, brow arches, eyes, nose, mouth.

Decoration: background, painting. In support of the description at least a dozen measurements are necessary to permit determining the height, length, thickness, dimensions, form and spacing of traits, etc.

Masks from Prince William Sound

This series has been identified thanks to the publications of Dall (1881–1882:124, 190, pl. XXIII, figures 54–56) and of Douglas and d'Harnoncourt (1941:176). (The seven masks recovered by Dall at Port Etches were reproduced by Birket-Smith in a more exact fashion) (Birket-Smith 1953:iii, figure 41). The specimen published by Douglas and d'Harnoncourt was collected before 1917 by Emmons at Anvik. The resemblance to certain of our masks is undeniable, in particular to D.47.13.16 (Pl. If). It is an elongated type, more or less triangular at the top, rounded at the base, with visor-shaped eyebrows, a long nose, and especially a round mouth projecting forward.

A dozen masks belong to this type, with different variations, according to a series of transitions we will try to explain. The principal difference in the type from Anvik is in the upper part, which forms a large conical helmet that is more than half of the total height (Pl. Id). Closer to D.47.13.16 is the specimen from Prince William Sound (Pl. IIIh), which differs only by the lateral visors drooping even more, the absence of eyes,

and a nose that is more tapered at the root and arching at the base. The ivory figure found at Port Moller and published by Dall (Pl. IIIi) for comparison resembles more, by the helmet-like upper part, the type from Anvik. However, the Port Moller figure does not have an essential trait—a mouth that is a truncated cone—which is characteristic of the Anvik figure, the Dall specimen, and the Pinart masks. Port Moller and, to a certain point Anvik, conserve human traits that stylization had considerably altered on the masks of Pinart and Dall. Anvik and Port Moller may have served as prototypes, especially the first, the second less certainly. Those three points: Anvik, Port Moller, and Prince William Sound consist of three extremities of a layered triangle: Anvik to the north, to the interior of the land, in the country of the Dene, but the masks are purely Eskimo; Port Moller to the west, toward the extremity of the Alaska Peninsula, in contact with the Aleuts; Prince William Sound to the south, near Indian tribes. It is therefore the northwest which would have influenced the south. If one admits direct descendance, it had to occur in this direction, toward increasing stylization.

From the helmet-like upper mass, two lateral visors and a long nose have emerged. The general contour remains almost the same, as well as the mouth, which projects in a truncated cone. It is the Dall type. The D.47.13.12 to 16 series, undoubtedly ancient specimens, are of worn wood, the top is rounded; the arches, which still descend very low on -16 and -12, tend to rise, the top part of the face always remaining separated into two lateral surfaces with a steep declivity; the very prominent nose takes the form of a sugar loaf. The numbers D.47.13.12 (Pl. Ic), -13, -14 have some traces of red paint, and number -17 (Pl. Ie) has black paint. There is another type of development: the lateral visors are reduced not so much in the direction of the height but in the breadth as mere edges; the nose becomes a long bar with a median ridge; the upper part

remains triangular. The general aspect is closer to the Dall type than to the preceding series with raised visors. Two specimens illustrate this stylization: D.47.13.18 and 59 (Pls. IIh and IIf). Mask -59 (*agaɣlik*), almost identical to -18 but much smaller (26 cm/11.5 cm, instead of 47 cm/20.5 cm) and of solid wood, has more of its painting preserved. Around the eyes is a red crescent motif, the points turned downward. The top is ornamented by a small leaf of red wood and a tuft of fibers pegged at the base of the nose. Intermediate between the two types, the non-stylized arches of this small mask D.47.13.52 (*kaniktɣk*) (Pl. IId) approximate -12. On the latter the visor is barely started. It shows the same separation of the face on two surfaces by means of a median ridge descending to the extremity of the nose. It also differs in its much more restrained dimensions (25 cm in height in place of 40), and its painted decor that is similar to -59—also small, more strictly pear-shaped, and with a flat back implying that neither one nor the other could be worn on the face.

D.47.13.25 (Pl. IIg) and 60 (*igɣikhtɣlik*) (Pl. IIe) would correspond to D.47.13.18 and 59, respectively, if they did not have, in place of a truncated mouth, two narrow slits in a V curve divided by a small median partition and rising to the level of the base of the nose. It is a small difference, but its meaning must be important, and we will return to it. One should also note, in the category of the round projecting mouth, three masks that have only this feature in common. Mask -40 (*čɣɣialik*) (Pl. IIa) is similar to -13, -15 (Pl. Ia), and -17. But it is more recent, painted in several colors (black, blue, white, red), has a triangular motif leaving the nose and rejoining the sides at the level of the mouth, and possesses a frame whose accessories are missing. Its mouth is surrounded by a small flat area, as on the two following masks, which differ completely from each other, and from the preceding series.[3] Perhaps an archaeological mask, -11, in grooved wood, with its thin nose and regular proportions, would offer, if not for

---

[3]   Apart from a few details (longer nose, slightly different decoration), mask -39 (Pl. IIc) (*nakyšalik*) would copy mask -40 if it did not end sharply, almost at a right angle to the level of the mouth. This is only expressed by a curved line also incised in the lower surface of the mask.

the truncated conical mouth, a normal aspect in comparison with -10. The latter is almost circular, very thick, and has a blunt, very short nose and minuscule eyes drilled immediately under the arches, which rise toward the temples.

Another mask from Anvik, described by Chapman (1907:28), is that of the Mermaid (Pl. IIIg). While it retains the truncated conical mouth and the sugarloaf nose of some of the Pinart masks, the resemblance stops there: the top part of the face is regular and all traces of the helmet or the visor have disappeared. That feature of the mouth is found likewise on Indian masks: a Tlingit shaman's mask (Swanton 1904–1905:Pl. LVIII, figure e). Masks of the Kwakiutl, Makah, Nootka, Bella Coola, and even an Onondaga (Iroquois), represent supernatural beings (Wingert 1949:Pls. 71[1], 74[2], 75[a and b]; Krickberg 1932:Pl. 16; Schneider-Lengyel 1934:20). In most cases, however, the projection is cylindrical or funnel-shaped, or the edges of the lips are more or less strongly everted. On one specimen, not Indian but Polynesian (Easter Island) (Oldman 1943:Pl. 71), the projection clearly gives, especially in profile, the impression of the orifice of an instrument. As diverse as the provenances and the characters represented may be, the function of the mouth, thus emphasized, must have been to amplify the voice, to utter a word, to emit a cry. The breadth of the mouth, which we will study on other masks, is different.

Being no more projected but rather enlarged or distended, the mouth occupies the whole base of the face and often rises on the sides. About fifteen Pinart masks illustrate this type. Less elongated, D.47.13.30 (Pl. Ih) is an exact replica of -13, -15, -17, previously seen; only a long slit replaces the truncated conical projection. On mask -8 (an archaeological specimen?) (Pl. Ii), rather similar to -30, the nose is more acute at the root. It possesses large wings spreading horizontally on the face and completely revealing the nostrils; the exposed wood fibers give this mask a distinctive appearance. A little different from

-30, mask -31 (Pl. IIb) is nearly rectangular; the nose is rectangular and does not have a longer sugarloaf shape. It makes the transition with a group of masks, thick and massive, whereon the corners of the mouth rise in a V with sides that are sometimes straight (D.47.13.20, -21, -27), sometimes curved (-19, -22, -23). The visor's shaped brow arches, to which figures -13, -15, -17, and -30 owe their severe aspect, still drooping with mask -31, have a less accentuated curve on -19. On -22 (Pl. Ig) they are figured by a straight dash, an arch toward the interior on -27, and become almost horizontal on -20, -21, and -23. The specimens of the series -19 to -23 and -27, furthermore, differ from each other only in some accessory details and the particularly elongated form of -20 and -21, the much shorter form of -23, which already announces -26. On mask -26 (Pl. Ib) the face, more rectangular than -31, is broadened almost to a square shape. Below the rigorously horizontal line of the arches the eyes, imperceptible slits, are likewise horizontal. The junction lines of the immense mouth of a frog, partially broken, are barely raised, as on -30 and -31.[4] Somewhat aberrant, mask -24 (Pl. IIi), with the oval even longer than on -20, does not have the prominent upper part of the others. Its arches are indicated only by simple incised dashes running upward; the nose forms a continuous line from the top.

A group of three masks comes next. All three are of grooved wood, already different from the preceding except one, D.47.13.7, perhaps furnishing an explanation for the large mouth. Mask 81.21.25 (Pl. IIIc) does not deviate substantially from D.47.13.20, -22, or -27. But the higher upper part is divided by a median crest, pierced in the center by three superimposed holes where accessories could be attached. The face is more harmonious, the nose more narrow, the mouth horizontal. The differences are accentuated on -28 (Pl. IIId), whose surfaces are less accentuated and proportions almost normal. The brow arches form an uninterrupted

---

[4] The eyes, when they are obviously slits and not holes, follow the form of the arches: obliquely either downward or upward, or quite horizontal. The mouth does so less frequently—only when it contributes to the general mimicry, not when it plays an independent role as here. In this series of V-shaped mouths, the arches of the brows droop.

arc, the long nose is depressed at the root and finely modeled, and the breadth of the mouth is not excessive. Mask -7 (Pl. IIIf) is one of the most interesting specimens, the most significant ones in the collection. This very expressive mask is characterized by a short nose, slightly deviating to the left. With respect to the asymmetrical eyes, the right one is open, the left closed inside a puffy area; the face seems swollen. The very large mouth, slightly deviating to the right, is in a very open V; some traces of red paint remain. As it is, it offers a certain resemblance to the red Dene figure placed in the center of the white mask of the gull and probably its *inua*, reproduced by Chapman (1907:26). But the two eyes of the latter are round and the general aspect less expressive. This type is far from isolated. Among the masks in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin—collected by Jacobsen in the region of the Yukon-Kuskokwim in 1881–1883—is that of a mountain spirit, a cannibal with a twisted face whose mouth rises on one side. One eye is round and the other oblique (cf. Disselhoff 1935:130–137). Dall's Chugach masks (Pl. IIIe) pertain to the same type, especially the one that Birket-Smith judges Aleut (Birket-Smith 1953:111). We believe the Pinart masks of this same category, known in the folklore, to which Golder alludes (Golder 1903:24), to be spirits of the mountain with a white face marked with red stains that indicate blood stains, dangerous for the hunter because they are anthropophagous.

We refuse to use in relation to these masks the epithet "grotesque," which is commonly applied to them. Dall (1881–1882) saw only a poor attempt at humor, an opinion generally shared. But it was not clumsiness because it was not an attempt at humor. When he wants, the Eskimo expresses the comic with a particular ability. But in esthetics, as in morals, our Occidental prejudices distort our judgment; we allow ourselves to be influenced by the modes of expression that are only valid among us. Neither clumsy nor grotesque, these masks conform

to a traditional model that reflects everything opposed to the comic, which we are going to see.

Birket-Smith recognizes in this type an Indian origin or a prototype common with the Indians (Birket-Smith 1921–1924:205). Without doubt it had Indian influences, but we will also look in another direction. A comparison is necessary with representations of the Chukchi in Indigenous drawings. All the divinities of the upper, lower, and marine worlds are figured in the drawings of the Onno (Lavrov 1947:128–132); they have immense mouths with raised corners. In the case of the Creator, the supreme *Vayrgyn* (Figure 1), it is stated that he is gluttonous, and if it closes one eye, it is insufficiently nourished by men and loses interest in them. The Reindeer Being, when it closes an eye, reduces the reindeer sent to men; when it closes both, it halts them completely (Bogoras 1909:316). We likely have the key to the problem. The gods need us and require copious food; their capacity to absorb, their voracity, even seems to be one of the marks of their sovereignty. The closed eye is not at all comic and reveals a suspended threat on the course of execution. These spirit masters are gluttonous only in Siberia. In Alaska they are frankly cannibals, devouring humans themselves. Far from being caricatures, the masks consequently personify especially formidable beings.

On certain masks of the Yukon region the distortion is complete: the nose is deviated, the eyes crescent-shaped, and the mouth vertical (Nelson 1899:Pls. XCIX, figure 3; XC, figure 3). These "very grotesque" faces are, Nelson indicates, those of *tunghat*. The *tunghat* are also represented on finger masks and even on an ear pendant from Cape Vancouver (Nelson 1899:Pls. CIII, figure 3; CIV, figures 2, 4; XXIV, figure 16), obviously an amulet.[5] More to the north (Tigara) the faces of the *tungai* are less distorted. *Tug'nyg'at* in Siberia, *tunghat* or *kalat* in Alaska,[6] *tornat* in Greenland, designate shamanic spirits. The shaman cannot function without their help; his name even—*tunghaliq*, *kalaliq* "who possesses

---

[5]   The masks of Bali also reproduce, but we don't know why, some masks with a mouth more or less distended, one eye open, the other closed (cf. Schneider-Lengyel 1934:Pls. 40, 48).

[6]   The *Kalat* make one think instinctively of the polymorph and evil *Kelet* of the Chukchi; the analogy of the terms is even almost too complete.

Figure 1. Chukchi shaman climbing to the dwelling of *Vayrgyn*, sovereign of the upper world (after Lavrov 1947:128).

tunghats, *kalats*"—expresses the relation that unites them. They are advisers, assistants, simple "dogs" whose origins at first sight are very diverse: spirits of place, of elements, of diseases, transformed animals, terrifying monsters, cannibals "that tear out the entrails," "which chew unceasingly on flesh." In reality they do not possess a nature or a well-defined appearance. They do not seem to be entirely responsible for this mobility in character and form, which they change constantly; they even endure it. Dangerous, especially when unattached, they ask only to be captured, domesticated by the shaman. He will bring them security, stability, and will create images from them and permit them to be embodied. The faithful troop will accompany in his extraterrestrial peregrinations among the great masters. One sees complete interdependence. Their name eventually became synonymous with spirit in general or with god, and they became hierarchized. The formidable

tunghak of the moon is, in Alaska, the principal dispenser of game. In Greenland the generic name became an anthroponym: *Tornarsuq*, the supreme *tornaq*; the first visit, first ecstatic voyage of the newly initiated *angatkoq*—apparently a very painful ordeal—is a visit to this divinity (Thalbitzer 1928:369). The second of his two assistants carries the name *Erqungasoq*, meaning "the one who is lopsided" or, more specifically, "who has a crooked mouth." This deformation is thus very much the mark of this category of spirits everywhere in the Eskimo domain.

Alone in the Pinart collection, mask D.47.13.7 rigorously conforms to the *tunghak* type. However, we are told (Birket-Smith 1921–1924:124) that the Chugach *kalaliq* know the *kalat* by their pointed heads. This is valuable information. Fourteen Pinart masks, among those that we just studied (D.47.13.12–18, -25, -30, -39–40, -59–60), have pointed tops; ten among them have projecting mouths.[7]

[7] Projecting mouth, crossed eyes: cf. again, p. 174 of Douglas and d'Harnoncourt, the mask of the spirit living in solitude and provoking illnesses and misfortunes. The Chukchi *Kele* reproduced by Lavrov (1947:Figure 2) has a pointed head and distended mouth.

Nine others (D.47.13.7, -19–23, -26, -27, -31) have rounded tops, broad mouths that are sometimes extremely large. We put them, even if they do not share any asymmetry, in a category of *tunghat*—that of "transformed animals" or of spirit masters of the hunt—the one not excluding the other. The large mouth is a relic of bestiality, a sign of gluttony. The Aleuts saw in this "exaggeration" a sign of the animal nature of the beings thus figured (Petroff 1884:158). These beings are, in our opinion, representatives of the "people of the caribou" or of the "people of the whales," perceived either as the greatest of the species that it governs or as participating in two natures. Rather than "the head of the whale," the Siberian Eskimo masks 1 to 3 (the third "head" bears the image of a tail under the mouth) of Ivanov (Ivanov 1954:433, figure 15) personify the master of the whale; it is equivalent to the Chukchi *Keretkun* yet not completely anthropomorphized (Figure 2). The first three masks are no more zoomorphic than anthropomorphic, simply because the separation is not yet effected; the Eskimos are never worried much about the distinction.

The mouth element always remains in the foreground. The desire was to attract attention to this part of the face, whose dual function was expressed in two ways. In the figures with the truncated conical mouths, the sometimes very reduced dimension matter little; the projection of the lips to facilitate sound emission is most important. Only the word or noise capacity is retained (is the Greenland *Aperqutooq* not "that which is filled with questions" or "rich in questions?"). The organ of absorption, the mouth, then stretches disproportionately in order to provide a passage that is no longer for sound, which leaves, but for food, which enters. Different treatment of personages, perhaps likewise frightful, or more simply (perhaps) incarnations of the same being, are presented alternatively in one or the other of its roles. Thus the analogy between certain masks would be explained, for example on -18 and -25, -13 and -30, whose sole difference is the mouth, round

or broad, according to the needs of the moment. And we know how much the appearance could vary (and perhaps also the name, which would add to the confusion). The *iltkhluagum*, invoked by the Kaialigumute shaman in the case of illness, is known to have five distinct forms (Petroff 1884:130). Yet he is an "official" one; for those lacking status, all is perpetual change.

From this analysis it appears that the mouth element has, among the Eskimos, a very great importance. It is roughly comparable to that of the eye among the Indians of the Northwest Coast, the nose among New Caledonians, the tongue among the Maoris—each people emphasizing the trait that it believes carries essential symbols. Approximately twenty-five masks can thus be grouped in a single category: *tunghat* of various kinds, more exactly *kalat*, because we believe all the series originated in the Prince William Sound region. Mask D.47.13.7 would correspond to Dall's asymmetrical mask, and those with large mouths to the six others in the same series. Among the Chugach they would be considered a rarity, because only Dall's specimens are known in the literature. Lisianski, at the end of the nineteenth century, brought back some Chugach objects but no masks.

Large Masks

Disregarding the mouth element, a dozen of the masks studied above are similar in their massive character. The surfaces are abrupt, deeply cut, angular; the often-streamlined forehead bulges; the eyes minuscule; the nose powerful, rectangular, an extension of the forehead. Considering D.47.13.16 and -31 side-by-side, one notes that, besides the mouth, the second is a larger reproduction of the first; the broader arches just curve more toward the sides. Mask -16 having been localized, mask -31 and the group that is associated with it (-10, -19–23, -26, -27, -30, without doubt also -8 and perhaps -24) would therefore come from the region of Prince William Sound. While we can't speak of a precise resemblance, those masks evoke certain Quileut types (Wingert 1949:Pl. 76). In

Figure 2. Eskimo masks of Siberia worn at the Whale Festival. Reproduced in paper cutouts (after Ivanov 1954:433).

this series could be put the mask published by Davis (1949:Pl. 136) as Alaskan Eskimo, but without locality, its visor-shaped brow arches and enormous gaping nostrils are reminiscent more particularly of -8. To this series can be added -29 (Pl. IVd), whose forehead forms two veritable disks separated by a median ridge. Narrow at the root, the nose flares strongly toward the end into a square shape; the mouth, separated from the nose by a large space, is relatively small, less broad than the base of the nose. The very different mask -33 (Pl. IIIa) offers some analogy with an old Bella Coola mask (Pl. IIIj) in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (Wingert 1949:Pl. 74, I). Each presents an enormous forehead forming a kind of anterior bun or awning. But, on the Bella Coola one, the base of the face, lightly truncated on -33, projects forward, joining the level of the forehead. Mask D.47.13.9 (Pl. IIIb), made of grooved wood, occupies a place apart. It is the only large mask, except -10, on which the

arches rise at an acute angle; it is also the only one with a bowl-shaped triangular mouth; the lower lip points downward, and the bottom is pierced with a small slit. A much smaller mask (20 cm in height instead of 33), an elongated oval and strongly convex, mask -36 (Pl. VIIId), also has a bowl-shaped triangular mouth but is much more pointed. The nose is equally very fine and the eyes oblique like the arches, which are in very light relief, emphasized by black oblique brows. Mask -9 retains only some traces of red paint; on mask -36 the top of the face is white, the bottom black; the features emphasized are in red, black, and white—the black distributed according to the technique of *frottis*.[8] Its name *aŋun* signifies, in Alaska and Greenland, "man" in the sense of "male" and, as such, enters into the composition of names of animals in order to specify that they are adult (caribou, ram) in full strength (Birket-Smith 1921–1924:37; Jenness 1928:21). In Alaska this term had not been reported below Nunivak Island. Among

---

[8]   From the French verb *frotter*, meaning to rub; it refers to the technique of watercolor painting on textured paper with a dry brush that allows the texture of the paper to show—*GPN*.

the Aleuts, on Atka, the name of the statue that represents the god *Taijaguliguk*, derives from *taijagukh*, "man" (Erman 1870–1871:210), and the Aleut name is probably the same as the *tagu* "man, human being," which is sometimes employed by the Siberian Eskimos in place of the more frequent *yuk*.

The large masks, as indicated by their size and weight, certainly were not worn on the face but rather suspended by cords passed through lateral perforations. The actors were concealed behind, and swayed with them, as Nelson describes for the enormous mask of the *tunghak* of the moon (Nelson 1899:399–400).

Medium-Sized Masks

Mask 81.21.6 (Pl. IVg), of ordinary format, corresponds without doubt to No. 180 in Pinart's Catalogue, which indicates that it represents in highest degree the Eskimo type. Originating on Afognak Island, Kodiak Archipelago, it is indeed of the Mongolian type, as it is the only one in the collection that portrays a definite racial type, with oblique eyes and prominent cheekbones.

Some masks of intermediate size are atypical. Mask D.47.13.41 and -42 are identical, except that mask -41 (Pl. IVf) is narrower and the right side is cut along the whole height. Each medium-sized mask has a pointed form, and the base of the face is cut almost at a right angle at the level of the mouth. The nose is long and rounded, and it has a ridge at the root, with the arches almost joining in an inverted V. An oval contour with a squared base and a bulging face, mask -38 (Pl. IVh) separates the upper part in two by the median flattened portion, whose extension constitutes a nose with delicate wings, light flaring, and the septum pierced by a feather. The rather narrow mouth forms an oblong projection with a double curve.

Mask -35 (Pl. IVa) is perhaps not even Eskimo and might originate on Vancouver Island. Only the median ridge of the forehead, the periphery of the eyes and the nose, and two small round projections at the location of the cheekbones

give some relief to this curved face, whose features are exhibited by the openings—round eyes, triangular nose, and rectangular mouth bordered by a strip of pegged skin.

One characterized by height, the other by breadth, D.47.13.32 and -45 are reminiscent of the same prototype. A narrow rectangle with rounded corners, mask -32 (Pl. IVc) is flatter; mask -45 (Pl. IVe), a large regular oval, is more bulging. The features are practically the same: the nose is flat on top, relatively longer on -32, with wings raised, mouth arched, while the chin is better outlined on -32. Without the ability to develop an arc on this cramped face, the arches of -32 descend obliquely. Each has a tenon at the base and another at the top; mask -45 preserves a fragment of framework and, at the back, two transverse bars, the lower enlarged for gripping with the teeth. A little smaller than -45, -43 (Pl. IVb) bears a vague resemblance. On the interior of a more acute oval, the more strongly bulging face is divided into two lateral surfaces by a median ridge that, weakly begun on -45, occupies here the whole top, suppressing the nose passing through its axis, with only two small round holes as the nostrils. The brows, arched like those of -45, and the mouth in an open V are the only features in relief.

Masks with Borders of Feathers

From Kodiak come very probably the dance masks of small and intermediate dimensions. They are decorated with black, white, and red paint and a border of feathers, perhaps representations of stars. The most typical masks appear as flat or slightly bulging disks (1 cm thick) on which the features emerge in weak relief or are even indicated by painting alone. Expressed with paint or with sculpting, the openings (eyes, nostrils, mouth) do not go through, with rare exception, the thickness of the wood. Nevertheless, they are clearly dance masks, for the concave back has bars for gripping. Some are surrounded by a band of seal skin that is pegged along the periphery.

On D.47.13.67 (Pl. Vg) the only sculpted elements are the nose, a thin added panel, and

the rectangular mouth. Besides the mouth and the eyes, equally rectangular black spots and bands of color create a succession of horizontals on the face. Above the crescent-shaped eyes of -75 (*pɣgɣmalkha*?) (Pl. Vh) the brows, like circumflex accents, are surmounted by lines that follow their contour, evoking a furrowed forehead. The base of the face is a half moon, the mouth oval. Mask 81.21.26 (Pl. VIa) (*iulyk*), of greater diameter, is only distinguished from the preceding by the eyes, round cavities, and a mouth divided into three oval compartments. With an almost uniform surface, D.47.13.73 (Pl. Vb) provides just one barely visible ledge. The V is clearly separated from its arches; a small red cup replaces the nose. Below the mouth, which is a crescent with the tips pointing down, a black semi-trangular motif (a tattoo?) descends. A little thicker, -71 (*iɣaɣlik*) (Pl. Vf) (derived from *iqax*: baidar in Aleut?[9] *Iɣaɣlik* means "possessor of a baidar" as *umialik* "possessor of the umiak") also has more relief; the surfaces with weakly bulging cheeks descend from a receding forehead; at the bottom the mouth forms a projecting V that joins the level of the nose, which has a flat top and is an extension of the forehead. Oval and slightly convex, -70 (*agaiukhlɣak*) (Pl. Ve) is divided into two lateral surfaces by a ridge running from the top to the extremity of the long nose; the base of the face projects, and the mouth is an inverted triangle. On mask -69 (*ɣnakhtɣlik*) (Pl. Vd), which has a double-curved contour, the base of the face projects forward, like the preceding ones. But the arched mouth occupies the full breadth of the mask. The brows point obliquely upward (the eyes are cut through the thickness of the mask here), but the trapezoidal nose is very short.

The larger (about 18 cm in diameter) mask -65 (*ɣnnɣliuk*) (Pl. VIc) presents—an important detail—only the right side of the face, with the features in weak relief: a rather long trapezoidal nose, flat on top, lips forming flat areas on both sides of a horizontal slit. The level left side of the faces painted in black with some traces of white dots. It seems likely that this mask represents a half moon—either the man or the woman in the moon. In Alaska the moon is of the male sex and, according to Pinart,[10] he puts on a mask corresponding to the different phases of the heavenly body, coating his face completely with black for eclipses. His wife is his collaborator since the day when, having discovered chunks of the moon, she placed on his face the almost full moon, which stuck there. M. Lantis recalls in this connection that the Chukchi describe the face of the woman of the moon as half blackened by soot. Less developed than in the southern regions where, divinity par excellence, the moon governs the seas, thunder, and earthquakes; ensures adherence to taboos; and rigorously punishes infractions. The cult of the moon, dispenser of game, has, however, maintained importance in the south. Birket-Smith finds it weakened among the Chugach, who either ignore or have forgotten the widespread theme of sun-moon incest in Alaska and Greenland. But many years have elapsed between the passage of Pinart and that of Birket-Smith, and in 1870 the inhabitants of Kodiak still knew a version of these incestuous lovers.

Nowhere in the Eskimo domain or in Northeast Asia has the sun, source of light and warmth but less constantly present, received a cult comparable to that of the moon. Feminine in most cases yet masculine in some (Chugach), either benevolent or malevolent, its power is admitted without its nature or its action on human destiny being well defined. The solar journey is represented in the ceremonies of Alaska; the sun is seen on "strong" Chukchi and Siberian Eskimo (Ivanov 1954:447, figures 1, 2) shamans' drums and on various Alaskan masks; there are even masks said to be "of the sun." Those reproduced by Disselhoff, surrounded by a panel forming a

---

[9]   The word *baidara* is used throughout the original French text. Based on later references in the text to hunting and to two occupants, this is probably the Aleut *baidarka* (*kayak* among the Eskimos) and not the large Aleut *baidara* (*umiak* in Eskimo). The reference to two persons may also indicate a post-Russian contact time when a Russian hunter might accompany a native hunter—*Trans*.

[10]   Notes reproduced by Margaret Lantis (1938a:143).

halo or a border of feathers, have the corners of the eyes and the mouth dipping downward. This convention—which among us would be applied to the moon and which, along with the absence of animals on the panel—distinguishes them from masks said to belong to shamans, allows us to classify D.47.13.74, -66, -68, and 81.21.27 under the rubric "masks of the sun." Indeed, mask -74 (*nalɣmalik*?) (Pl. VIe) has very weak relief (maximum of 0.6 cm at the base of the nose), and the arches, eyes, and mouth are arced with downward corners. The arc of the brows is stressed on -66 (*iiukhiɣlik*) (Pl. VIf) by a line (wrinkle?) that follows its contour, but the bottom of the face is heart-shaped and the curvature of the upper lip very accentuated. Similar to the preceding in features and disposition of the paint, -68 (*ingilajiik*) (Pl. VId) and 81.21.27 (*cɣmmɣčilk*) deviate in size and volume; they are no longer small flat disks but rather of medium dimension and strongly convex; the relief is very marked, the openings passing through the wood. The only differences between them are only a more arced mouth on 81.21.27 and a nose that is long and modeled instead of having a flat top as on D.47.13.68, whose septum is pierced by a feather. The small -75 (already described) should be added to those, as well as the -71, though the mouth is oval on the one but in a separated V on the other. If, setting aside the half-moon D.47.13.65, we put the figures with horizontal features under the rubric "moon" with the addition of -67, whose geometry had struck us, then -72 ((*ašik*) Pl. Vc)[11] would be part of it. Small, bulging, and oval in form, its arches are lightly arced: the eyes and the swollen mouth are rectangular, and a horizontal black band bordered by white passes through the face at eye level. Four small wooden pendants are pegged under the lower lip, and a double border surrounds the mask—the inner covered by a band of skin and the outer intended for feathers.

Resting on rather fragile analogies, this classification is of course proposed with great reserve. (We note in passing that a motif in the form of a crescent adorns the forehead of -68 and -74, masks of the "sun" type.) A third type, with features obliquely upward, would be illustrated by masks -69 and -70, but the mouth does not participate in this movement. A quite isolated mask, in the form of a turtle's carapace, D.47.13.76 has (Pl. VIb) four perforated disks at the eyes and corners of the mouth; the short nose has a flat top with the end divided into two lobes. Two borders surround the mask. The first border is circular, covered with skin, and follows the contour; the elliptical second border runs past it at the base and at the top.

The distribution, varying in importance, of the painting in black, white, and red zones indicates a symbolism whose rules we do not know. Perhaps it has a connection with the different phases of the heavenly bodies, with the beliefs of the Koniagmiut relative to the sun, the moon, and men-stars. At the very top of these masks is inscribed an inverted triangle that is half red, half black. It is absent only on the upper part where a black background would prevent it from standing out; it is then replaced by vertical strokes or white circles (D.47.13.68, -72, -74, 81.21.27). On the half moon—white on the right, black on the left—only the right half of a triangle is figured, in red. What symbol does it express? Among the Chukchi, and probably the Siberian Eskimos, it is a schematization of the whale as well as a female symbol. During the festival of the whale, the Chukchi gird their heads with a headband that is topped by a feather representing the fountain of the whale and painted with soot at the corners of the lips, on the tails of whales, and sometimes even the entire figure of the whale in the middle of the face (Ivanov 1954:442, figure 17, 1 and 2). Mask -3 (Figure 2), one of those restored by the Eskimo Nenetegin, also bears the tail of a whale under the mouth. This motif was known in southern Alaska: on Kodiak a magnificent pre-Koniagmiut lamp of diorite with this motif

---

[11]   *Ašik* would perhaps be the same root as *ašituk,* which according to Pinart (1873a:678) means "bad," literally then "that which has much *aši.*" The late Dumont-Desgoffe suggested another kinship with *assik*, meaning "portrait, drawing, painting" in the western Greenland dialect.

was discovered by Hrdlička (1944:Figure 219a). The tail part represents the whole of the whale; schematicized to the extreme, it would be reduced to a triangle. But in all the cases just mentioned, the tail is perfectly recognizable, the characteristic bifurcation—very neat. The red-black bipartition of the triangle makes even less likely the hypothesis of a schematization of the whale. One can only reasonably presume that the right (red) side is associated with light and the black left with darkness. This triangular ornament is, with the format and painting, the only common element between the small masks and D.47.13.37 (Pl. Va). A rectangle rounded at the angles, mask -37 is divided into two lateral surfaces by a median ridge that descends to the mouth. There is no protuberance on this face: two holes represent the eyes, the nose is made in the median ridge; at the bottom of the receding face two incisions in an inverted V form the mouth. Two bands of skin are pinned: one above the eyes, the other above the mouth. The mask does not have a border. Its name, *paiulik*, means "the one that possesses one or several openings," from *paia* "all the kinds of openings leading to the interior," from where derives *paiyk* "entry of the winter hut" (Rubtsova 1954:379).

The halo of feathers, of which nothing often remains, could symbolize the luminous rays emitted by the heavenly bodies,[12] but all suggestion is precarious. We have seen how the shamans' masks of Jacobsen were easily confused with the sun masks. Masks also coming from Kodiak, and apparently of the same category as ours, are inscribed in a very different social context. Many Russian travelers of the nineteenth century described the ritual ceremonies and recreational festivals they witnessed. To this second category would belong the six masks of the Voznesenski collection,[13] published by Lipschitz (1955:Figure 4): the hunter, the sick person, the jester, the noseless infirm, the naive, and the amorous, listed by Voznesenski himself according to their order of entry into what he called "the mystery in six acts," whose description unfortunately remains in manuscript form. While it is difficult to make a good approximation, the last two specimens belong to the family of masks with borders, on which feathers mingle with other accessories. In spite of their name, they are not at all realistic. With the oblique descent of the arches and eyes, which give to the naive figure (Pl. Vi) an expression that could qualify as sad, is associated a V-shaped mouth separated into two compartments. The lover (Pl. Vj)—displaying horizontal features and decoration—is inexpressive. Ornamental circles are on two of the "sun" masks (D.47.13.71 and -74) and on -39 and -40. These are classified with the figures with projecting mouths but belong, by their decoration and border, to the present category, and also on the formidable *šugišat*, which will be analyzed later. The symbolism of these circles appears rather religious to us and poorly agrees with an amorous personage as on the rest of the masks.

The second "entry" of the "mystery in six acts," another Voznesenski mask that does not belong to the family of masks with borders of feathers, is called "the sick" (Figure 3a) and corresponds with D.47.13.54 (Figure 3b). At a thirty-year interval, it is interesting to follow the evolution that tends toward the exaggeration of details. The visor-like forehead on -54, above, is streamlined and ornamented on both sides by a red disk with rays. The skew of the arches and the eyes are more marked; under the mouth, formed by two openings in a V, two enormous elliptical protuberances occupy the whole bottom of the face. The more developed decoration includes, beyond the red strokes, spotted with red and green that border the arches, a V band at the middle of the face that is green with red border and dotted blue and red. This angular trend with the oblique is affirmed in this series, both in the painting and the sculpture of very open Vs, while the "sick" of Voznesenski is still treated with curved lines.

---

[12]   Cf. in this connection Disselhoff after Turner in Baessler Archive 19, p. 184.

[13]   Of the Voznesenski collection, S. A. Ratner-Sternberg unfortunately published only the Tlingit part in the *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* [Bulletin of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography], VIII, 1929.

Figure 3a. "The sick." Koniagmiut. Voznesenski collection (after Lipschitz 1955:364).
Figure 3b. D.47.13.54. The Pinart specimen, thirty years after Voznesenski.

Masks on Small Wooden Panels

On Kodiak there are painted animals associated with masks on panels, wild game released by the moon, assistants of the shaman? The Pinart collection contains several masks or rather sculpted figures on panels, two of which are topped by animals facing each other (?). With neither border nor accessories, the sculpted head at the base of the pointed panel is a little less than the total height and almost the whole breadth; it is carved in the panel. Rather thick (4 to 5 cm) and deprived of eyes and mouth, the face, a regular oval, has a heavy aspect: the arches and the brows strongly marked, a nose flat at the top, and a nutcracker chin. More recent, D.47.13.61 (Pl. VIIc) is better preserved than -62. Two red-green-blue bands cross the face horizontally at half height and join in a point at the top of the nose instead of starting at the root, and descending toward the sides as on -62. On the latter only the chin is painted red; on -61 the motif has much more importance: a red triangle bordered by two broad blue bands. Each wears on the forehead the same triangle as the small feathered masks but are uniform in color: green bordered by red-blue-green for -61, red bordered by blue-green-red for -62, whose point descends almost to between the brows. Two superimposed series of facing red and blue animals appear above the head; they are very effaced on -62, rather clear on -61. There is a predominance of reindeer, perhaps some killer whales[14] (on the top of -61, on the bottom of -62). Two baidars are on -61—one on the top left of the face, the other in the center; they are quite recognizable by their forked bows, each mounted by two characters in the center hoisting a fish.

[14] *Orca gladiator* [*Orcinus orca*—*Trans.*], *kasatka* "swallow" in Russian, *akh'luq* in Alaskan Eskimo, *mysiun'ysiak* in Siberian Eskimo.

Are these shamanic images or spirit masters of game? The number of subjects and the presence of baidars indicate a relation to the hunt. But we are tempted to see them as—rather than images of spirit masters or shamans—images of ancestors who are represented as blind because they are dead, with their eyes turned toward another reality, and surmounted by their principal main trophies. These commemorative panels may have served to the glorification of ancestors, at the same time propitiating them, as they are also dispensers of game.

Whatever the significance, the individual offers a singular resemblance to an anthropomorphic sheath for a biface adze-pick (Pl. VIId, e, g, j) that was published by Volkov and Rudenko in a study dedicated to ethnographic collections from the early Russian possessions in America (Volkov and Rudenko 1910:158, figures 1–2). This Janus presents a gay (beneficial?) face on the stone end and a sad (maleficent?) face on the handle end—at least judging by our European conventions. In any case, the expression on the two faces is not the same: round eyes and the corners of the mouth raised on the first. The second has the eyes closed, the mouth stretched as if in pain, and is topped by a decoration of lines dropping toward the sides. This last head especially resembles ours. It is less primitive and more expressive, owing to the presence of eyes, small rectangular spots, and a shallow oval cavity for a mouth. The rest is almost identical; they share the same decoration of lines and dots and bear the same triangular motif at the top, bordered by oblique strokes replaced, on the other face, by a crescent. Volkov and Rudenko describe only the weapon, not the heads, and do not indicate the exact origin. They only mention the "slave killers" of Niblack, used by the Tlingit for sacrificing slaves on the occasion of funerals for chiefs or construction of houses. Niblack (1888:11, pls. XXIII, XXV, XLVI, LVIII, LIX) actually reproduces Tlingit and Haida war clubs as well as ceremonial daggers and rattles with human or animal heads. Unfortunately, Niblack's slave killers differ completely in form and type

of images—close to the series of Kwakiutl and Nootka clubs with eagles' heads—from the specimen of Volkov-Rudenko. In form, the latter approaches much more closely stone adzes of the Haida (Niblack 1888:Pl. XXIII), but they do not have its bust in wood: the stone blade is fixed directly to the handle by bonds of spruce root, without the intermediary of that anthropomorphic sheath. Tool or weapon, the Volkov adze-pick seems then a hybrid that is Indian in form, Eskimo in decoration, perhaps Aleut (?)—in any case, a ceremonial object. And the stern-faced character, very close to a sculpted image at the base of our ritual panels, could in either case represent a deceased person whom one wanted to honor.

Also on panels but without any typological or functional relation with the first two, D.47.13.63 and -64 and 81.21.28 belong to the much more common category of masks with accessories of painted wood. Not carved from blocks, as -61 and -62, they also differ from masks with borders of feathers because they are on panels and surrounded with halos. The halo sometimes bears feathers but more commonly a multitude of geometric accessories in wood. Masks of this type, when used for dancing, are fixed on a smaller support. The accessories overflow all around and undulate with the movements of the dancer—an effect, it seems, much appreciated. This has to have been the case with -64 (Pl. VIIf). The support, which has disappeared, was certainly not as high as on the panels of -63 and 81.21.28. It allowed the wood pieces in the shape of laurel leaves to float freely, held only by a tie at the top of the rectangular laths fixed along the border. But the rigid arrangement of the other two did not permit any swing in the immobilized trim on the panel; these two masks were probably destined for display rather than for the dance. All three, nevertheless, bear the same name: *allaiak*, translated into Russian as "man" for -63 and 81.21.27 and as "woman" for -64. Masks -63 (Pl. VIIi) and 81.21.27 are identical except that the latter has lost its halo. Their realistic character distinguishes them from all others

in the collection (we note only the absence of a chin, the mouth going all the way to the bottom of the face). The rather broad oval is regular, the forehead receding. The arches, with double curves superimposed on two different surfaces, shade the eyes, which are carefully treated in an unusual way: bulging eyeballs painted green on the interior of an almond-shaped cavity bordered in red and a small round red pellet with a white dot expressing the pupil. With raised wings, the nose is short, the mouth small, the upper lip slightly arced. A red and green dotted line follows the curve of the arches and the contour of the face and passes under the nose; red and green dots descend under the eyes, and red and green strokes descend between the nose and the mouth; on the forehead is an image of the sun. Arranged in a ring, small disks of wood with the extremity carved into a peg and pegged into the frame alternate at the top with wooden leaves shaped like ribbed laurel leaves. The whole is colored red, green, and white. Bordered by white reindeer hair, the panel itself has a white background framed by a red band, a green band, and a punctate line.

The female *allaiak*, with less accentuated features, has a simple curve of the arches. Eyes are reduced to pupils, from where descend toward the sides a sowing of red and green dots. A narrower nose is clearly upturned[15] and offers some differences in the decoration. The forehead is ornamented along the whole periphery with triangular dots; a vertical white line with oblique white and red strokes rising toward the top (plant motif?) replaces the image of the sun. This mask is somewhat reminiscent of Dall's Figure 67, Pl. XXVI, but its much less luxurious framework bears only triangular white and green pegs with red and white strokes.

Accentuated as we have seen, the eyes and the arches of D.47.13.63 and 81.21.27 confer to the face an expression that we might qualify as dramatic, even frightening. But we cannot jump to a conclusion; they might also be comical. Green and red masks, decorated with white reindeer hair, were used at Saint Michael (at the mouth of the Yukon) during the festival of Inviting-In to provoke laughter. Laughter of the hosts and also of the spirits does not at all remove their religious character. Far from being irreverent, laughter is a mark of gratitude and propitiation, offered to the spirits among the Eskimos as among hunters of northern Siberia. Humans manifest their gratitude for the benefits received by a gaiety they hope is communicative. The laugh disarms hostility. Better, it induces benevolence and the efforts of the shaman, and the festival participants tend to create that favorable atmosphere that will dispose the great purveyors of game toward lack of restraint, toward largess. As if their divine solitude were weighty, the world where they move without joy, the spirits, themselves perhaps of human origin, seek the society of men and their diversions, for which they seem nostalgic. In the Altai, they come at night to listen around the temporary huts to the accomplished musician-storyteller whom the hunters take on their expeditions for the distraction of the spirit masters more than for their own. An official festival gladdens them even more. According to an Aleut myth, such would be the primary function of festivals with masks initiated by the shaman: to entertain the spirits who, in return, promise to make the whales become stranded on the shore (Ivanov 1928:488). "If they (the Eskimos) did not dance," explains the Unalaklit chief, "the spirits (*inua*) would be angry and the animals would stay away" (Hawkes 1913:3).

Could our dramatic masks in reality be comic masks, as "grotesque" masks were in fact frightening? The clues that rest only on the use of the colors are insufficient; besides, these masks on panels are not made to be worn. According to Himmelheber (1938:46)—but his information is rather brief—when the ring of accessories girdles the head, it represents auxiliary spirits, companions of the shaman's trip, and the two concentric series would delineate—the inner one the terrestrial world, the outer one the

---

[15] The French expression "en pied de marmite" (lit. "caldron foot shaped") is a slightly derogatory description for an upturned nose, as it was traditionally considered undesirable in French culture—*GPN*.

upper world. It is true, our geometric pegs do not permit the arrangement of the wings, heads, or feathers reported by Himmelheber. Are the circular disks and radiating lines eyes? Are the triangular dots weapons? Do the wooden leaves have a relationship with vegetation? Finally, should we see in the panel—the support itself—a representation of the universe, and does the border of reindeer hair symbolize the foam of the sea as does, in some cases, the circle of feathers?[16]

Even if the symbolism remains obscure, we cannot consider, as Dall believes, these accessories to be purely decorative (Dall 1881–1882:129). Even mobile (which is not the case here), the assemblage was not intended solely to have graceful movements, as prized as those may have been. It is possible that their use became generalized: the halo no longer being reserved only for shamans, that esthetics became more important, and that the religious significance dimmed in favor of the simple visual pleasure. But originally the accessories possessed a symbolic value, even if those interested no longer recognized it. Before conferring grace or dignity to the head, this device could have played a defensive role around this part of the body, man's most important, most vulnerable feature. And this evokes in us the address of the Altai shaman to his spiritual auxiliaries, envisaged as protective circles: "circles around my head whirling… circles of the costume I wear."

Mask and panel merge in D.47.13.44 and 81.21.29 and -30; in other words, we are dealing with anthropomorphized panels. On *kɣaɣkge* (Pl. VIIa), which is pointed, a median bar occupying three-quarters of the height simulates the nose; two small rectangular slits at about three-fifths of the height—the eyes, and two curved slots in a half circle—the mouth. The right side of the face is painted black, the left is red with traces of white circles; a rod forms the border, fixed to the tenon at the top and to the two transverse

bars. Narrower, more acute at the top, and for 81.21.30 (60 cm) almost twice as high, 81.21.29 and -30 have no features other than two eyes, small oblong slots located even lower than on D.47.13.44. Mask 81.21.30 is painted entirely red; -29 (Pl. VIIh) is black from the top to the eyes except for a median band (location of an ancient bar as on D.47.13.44?), then red with a black triangle at the very bottom. The extremities of the gripping bars are broken. But remnants of wood and of fasteners, and perforations on the periphery, let us suppose that the masks had another bar and perhaps a border. The notches for the features and the presence of gripping bars indicate that they were indeed dance masks.

No longer pointed but circular (mean diameter 23 cm), without a border but with tenons, D.47.13.46 and -47 offer a flat surface that is uniformly painted red. The only features expressed are the eyes (small horizontal slots passing through the mask), and the nose: on -46 two tiny holes, on -47 (Pl. VIIb) a rectangular vertical opening—perhaps made to accommodate an imbedded nose. They do not have a gripping bar, but the notches of the interior of the slightly concave face indicate that they could be applied to the face.

Masks of Solid Wood

A dozen figures in solid wood seem to be masks detached from panels or, less probably, destined to be embedded into them. Three of them correspond to *chougichak*, "those who possess the greatest power and (whom) they (the Koniagmiut) regard with terror," Nos. 212–214 of the Pinart *Catalogue*, coming from Iliaski Bay, Afognak Island. They are noted under the plural form *šučisat* and *šugišat*[17] and translated into Russian as "human being" for D.47.13.55 (Pl. VIIIg) and 81.21.31, and as "woman" for D.47.13.49 (Pl. VIIIe), as in the group of the three *allaiak*. In the form of an artillery shell, characterized by a very streamlined forehead,

---

[16]   The feather or plumed fur on the Chukchi ceremonial band represented the jet of water, more exactly the "fountain" of the whale.

[17]   *Šugišak* should be compared with *snugik* "stranger" or *šuganan*, a name under which the Aleuts designate the mythical race of giants who preceded them. Aleut has the singular in *q* like Eskimo but forms the plural *n* in place of *t* (cf. Geoghegan 1944:26, 120).

visor-like brow arches, the bottom of the face projecting forward, and a very broad mouth, they are reminiscent of certain types of the series of large masks (D.47.13.30, for example), but whose mouth is generally round. A little smaller, less streamlined -49 has horizontal arches. The forehead, cheeks, and nose of the first two are ornamented; on a background of green are red and white vertical lines from which oblique red and white lines (schematization of foliage?) go upward. Below a line passing under the nose, the base of the face is white with red circles. For the female *šugišak*, the decor is no different, only the shades: white for the upper part with red and green motifs, red with white circles for the base.

Mask D.47.13.51 (Pl. VIIIi) bears the name *kučukuok*, perhaps in connection with the Aleut *kušuguk* "irascible" (Geoghegan 1944:113). Its basinet-shaped forehead[18] and its round project-ing mouth liken it to the large mask D.47.13.12 (Pl. Ic), but its nose is short and rather broad with raised wings. The top of the face is white, the contours underlined in red and green; the bottom is red, decorated with white lines radi-ating around the mouth; on the periphery red triangles topped with green circles alternate with green triangles topped with red circles. By the dislocation of the nose, which forms an uninterrupted ridge from the top, by the form of the arches, and the prognathism, mask D.47.13.53 (Pl. VIIIh) is reminiscent of the large mask -24 (Pl. IIi). Its name *ngakhlainak* is perhaps the same root as the Aleut *ngagnaq* "frightening, formidable." The median ridge is painted white, bordered by red and green. The features are underlined in red and green, the base of the face bears traces of black and green, the nose-mouth space forms a red triangle, and the periphery is ornamented with the same triangle-circle motifs as the preceding. The last two masks can be grouped with the three *šugišat*, from which they deviate little, in the category of "terrifying" masks. Their resemblance to a certain number

of large masks with large or projecting mouths confirms this character.

The following four masks present the same characteristics, but, with appreciable differences, they have no openings; the mouth is broad, expressed by a flat surface or replaced (D.47.13.57) (Pl. VIIIc) by two lobster-claw pro-tuberances. Yet the first five had holes drilled more or less deeply for the eyes and nostrils, as well as a slot for the mouth. This last group has dumb and blind faces, D.47.13.61 and -62, but they bear directly on the face the marks spread elsewhere on the panels: a baidar with two occupants (left side of the forehead of -50) (Pl. VIIIf), fantastic animals (forehead of -56, left side of the forehead of -57), contorted per-sonages with enormous hands (forehead of -58, right side of the forehead of -50). On the right side of -57 is figured only a red arm bordered in blue, terminated by a red hand with green palm and spread red fingers tipped in blue. It is an enormous hand, a mark or will to power. All these masks are decorated at the eyes; oblique and dotted lines (-57 and -50), bands descending toward the sides (-56) (Pl. VIIIa), birds perched in trees (-58) (Pl. VIIIb). On the right cheek is a red bird in a tree with a blue trunk and red branches; a blue bird in a red tree with blue branches on the left cheek (a very shamanic motif); in addition, a triangular motif fills the whole middle of the face. The median ridge of three others bears decorations: stylized foliage (-50), a broken stick (-56), hoops (-57). These masks are distinguished from all the others by the distribution and variety of the tones (white, blue, red, green, violet) and elaboration of the decoration. The richness of the shades lets one suppose an Aleut origin or influence (Ivanov 1928:479–480). Painters much more capable than the Eskimos—their magnificent helmets testify to it—the Aleuts used a more extended range of colors. They liked color to the point of making it an object of offering, dipping feathers that project in all directions, in red and green,

---

[18]   The French term "en bassinet" ("bassinet-shaped" in English) seems to belong to the armor vocabulary, where here it means "pointed, cone-shaped"—*GPN*.

accompanied by prayers for success on the hunt and in war.[19] The symbolism of the colors themselves we can only conjecture. On the masks of cannibal spirits, the red circles represent blood stains, but red is also the beneficial color of the sun, and the Koniagmiut smear it on their faces before going to sea (Ivanov 1928:487).

Voluntary absence of eyes and closed mouth: would there be incompatibility between the organs of sight and speech on the one hand and the painted representations on the face? Should vision and voice be "turned toward the inside?" If the mask was carried by the shaman that would be conceivable, but these are sculpted blocks that cannot be worn on the face; isolated or on panels, they serve uniquely to support the figures traced on their surfaces. The subjects—fantastic beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, birds perched at the top of a tree (tree of life? of the clan? of the world?)—do they have a relation to the shaman or to the spirit masters? The bipartition of colors might reveal a double nature: light-dark, auspicious-inauspicious, even masculine-feminine. Fashioned into a head with traits at the same time neglected and emphasized, this block, this bearer of essential signs, itself alone represents a universe.

Aleut Funeral Masks

Although Pinart had already discussed Aleut funeral masks that he discovered in the cavern of Aknanh, we do not judge it useless to add some details and some new suggestions. Of six masks (five anthropomorphic, one zoomorphic) from the Boulogne collection, two (D.47.13.1 and -3) are reproduced (reversed) by Pinart (Figures I and IV). On the other hand, absent are Pinart's Figures II and III, which are frontal views, while all the specimens D.47.13 are profiles (two from the right, three from the left). The group should therefore comprise at least eight masks.

As objects of a very particular stylization, these masks—despite their violently angular surfaces—have received an extremely skillful treatment. The contour is squared, the top slightly rounded, the base at an acute angle. On one thin surface stands out an eyebrow in the form of a horizontal (1, 3) or arced (2, 4, 5) flange that was formerly painted black. Also standing out is an extraordinarily powerful nose that is depressed at the root, convex (5) (Pl. IXe), with a square base (1) (Pl. IXd), more rounded with -3 (Pl. IXb), with lateral ovoid nostrils ending in a comma, and the tip downward (5) or upward (1), as in Dall's Figure 73, Pl. XXVIII; a mouth slit immediately under the nose, with thick lips, the lower projecting more or less strongly, a square and very prominent chin, in particular on -5. The eye, expressed by a light engraving that is sometimes almost worn away, is oval (except on -2, which is round). Numbers 1, 3, and 5, which have preserved the top and the base of the nose entirely, are three-fourth views rather than profiles. On the other hand, only the triangular wing remains of the rather short nose of -4 (Pl. IXa); it is high and pulled up, with the nostril rather straight and elongated, and this mask has a less accentuated relief. In very poor condition, mask -2 preserves almost nothing of the forehead and only a fragment of the wing of the nose, heavily indented; the cheekbone projects prominently, the mouth rises at one corner at an acute angle and has teeth (wooden pegs with an oval section). Each mask has a perforation under the corner of the mouth intended for the insertion not of a labret, as one would be tempted to believe, but of a bar for gripping (Dall 1881–1882:142).[20] Of the paint, black (eyebrows), green (interior of the nostrils, a decorative motif), and red (lips of -3, decorative motifs), only a few traces of red remain.[21] Besides the curved lines descending from the eyebrows to the commissure of the mouth, the decoration includes a design in the

The Koniagmiut, using mineral colors, carbonized them before pounding them with fish eggs, blood, sometimes water (Ivanov 1954:425, after Khvostov and Davydov). And they extracted from wood, in imitation of the Aleuts, a white color with which they smeared masks and helmets.

However, ordinary Aleut masks bore labrets.

Black, dark red, and green-blue are the three colors most commonly seen on helmets and funerary masks.

form of a spiral-shaped crook on the wing of the nose of number 1 and, on the forehead of 3, a square inscribed in a circle surmounted by three triangles (part of a star?) that Pinart calls "fleur rouge" [red flower]. As for the zoomorphic mask (6) (Pl. IXc), it represents without doubt the sea lion to which Pinart alludes.[22] It is a right profile, elongated, hollowed, and retains traces of red paint. A large oval eye is engraved on the slightly protruding face. The teeth of the engraved mouth, expressed by rather deep incisions, appear around the throat. Numerous holes, some trimmed with wooden pegs, simulate the snout.

The anthropomorphic masks belong to the same type as the faces, also from Unga Island, published by Dall (Dall 1881–1882:Figures 73–75, pls. XXVIII, XXIX) and reproduced with more details by Covarrubias (1954:Figure 47). But the art of the sculpture seems even more developed on these expressive profiles, where the gentleness of the modeling contrasts with the vigor of the surfaces. At the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, two specimens of faces from Atka Island (collected by Captain Archimandritov) have the distinction of a frame covering the forehead and descending along the cheeks (No. 538, I). In the absence of the frame that must have existed—the pegs along the periphery testify to it—538-2 exhibits a rounded forehead. This detail vaguely evokes the articulated pieces of ivory masks found in tombs 64 and 77 at Ipiutak (Larsen and Rainey 1948:Pls. 54, 55). Other specimens differ completely. Thus, the mask discovered in a cave on Kagamil Island has no other relief than the mouth in an inverted V of which the lips form a bulging ridge (Bank 1953:44, figure

17h). The whale bone masks excavated at Port Moller (cf. Moffat-Weyer 1930:Figures 12, 13) differ both from the Aleut type and the Eskimo type.[23] Moffat-Weyer adds that they were probably not funerary masks, that they did not have the crosspieces of wood permitting them to be taken between the teeth as among the Aleuts, on Kodiak, and in Prince William Sound. Rather, this seems to indicate the contrary: what need would the deceased have for gripping bars that would serve in the dance? But the question is more complex. Pinart alludes to two types of masks: those placed on the faces of the deceased and the others borne by funeral dancers and broken up after the ceremony. Yet he is not certain which masks are of which type, and his opinion seems to have varied. Of the four masks that he reproduces, only the first (our I) is strictly mortuary, he says in *La caverne d'Aknanh* [The Cave of Aknanh]; the others would have been for dancing. Elsewhere he places them all in the funerary group (Pinart 1872:25, 1873b:16). In any case, our five anthropomorphic masks refer to a unique type and their use must have been the same. Explaining that the holes at the commissures of the mouth are for the insertion of a gripping bar, the question seems settled; these figures were dance masks and the nostrils served as eyeholes, as Pinart indicated. But why are these masks presented in this form of profile or in three-quarters? The break is so regular that one is tempted to think the figures were sculpted directly in profile—if the condition of the nose, almost always preserved in three-quarters, did not exclude this hypothesis. Among the Eskimos one also encounters half-masks representing the deceased,[24] a representation that is not

[22]   It is the Russian *sivuč*, *phoca* (*otaria*) *leonina* (*jubata*), the seal with a mane, *ulg'ak* in Siberian Eskimo. The name *lavtak*, which Pinart cites, has in Russian the double sense of bearded seal or sea hare (*Erignathus barbatus*), in Siberian Eskimo *makliak*, and of the skin of a sea mammal (seal, walrus, sea lion) removed with the fat and used as covers for the baidar, etc.

[23]   We cite as Eskimo masks or funerary figures: at Kodiak the two heads-portraits, one of ivory, the other of bone. They are extraordinarily realistic, from the pre-Koniagmiut period, and were discovered by Hrdlička in the Uyak site, at the same time as a skull with ivory eyes (Hrdlička 1944:Figures 50, 51); at Ipiutak the articulated masks mentioned above, displayed an extremely stylized decor. Between these two points one has noticed, on the Kuskokwim, masks placed not on the faces of the dead (none, besides, have ever been found in that situation) but on top of the graves (Lantis 1947:16).

[24]   Cf. the very pretty half-mask (with the nose whole) worn by the shaman in a pantomime in honor of the dead and representing a dead person (Schneider-Lengyel 1934:Figure 28).

always systematic.[25] Pantomimes reproducing the actions of the deceased took place during the Eskimo great Feast of the Dead, perhaps also among the Aleuts and among the Eskimos at the disappearance of prominent persons. During the course of the funerary ceremonies the actors wore masks, personifications of the dead, which they would have broken in two later in order to signify the separation, the releasing of the soul. Among the Aleuts and Eskimos, the procedure was to break or burn the masks after the festival. Here, however, there is obviously no desire for complete destruction; if such had been the case, the masks would have been broken to pieces and thrown into the sea instead of being deposited on or at the side of the corpse. It does seem to be the same masks that the dancers would have placed on the deceased or at their sides at the end of the ritual, either after having broken them or leaving them whole. Subsequent breaking must therefore have been caused by freezing, making the weakest points of the curved shell yield. This would explain why faces and profiles have been found side-by-side in the same cave; otherwise all would have been broken purposely.

Another half-mask, that of the sea lion, lacking openings, could not have served in the dance (the same is true of the second of the two Archimandritov masks). It could not have represented a deceased; nor, if we suppose that it covered the face of a dead person, could it have played that protective role. According to Pinart, they would have been mortuary masks, guaranteeing the deceased traveler protection against the gaze of evil spirits. Was it really protecting him, or facilitating his integration into the new society where he was going, helping him get admitted into a fellowship, of which these geometric and spiral motifs, inscribed on the face, were perhaps the distinctive mark? The masks are not associated with ordinary people,

who were never buried with them. Rather they are only deposited in caves with the deceased, probably an aristocracy of whalers, as Pinart suggests. That justifies the presence of the sea lion, the most important game along with the whale, and the wooden reproductions of blades, arrowheads, harpoons, etc., which accompanied the dead. This fellowship of whalers formed a wealthy and feared cast with hereditary privileges, with secret and sinister practices. Its members, subject to strict prohibitions, underwent a long initiation, more magical than technical: the acquisition of songs, of incantatory formulas, of amulets, and above all, of human remains (Lantis 1938b). The theft of corpses of deceased whalers on Kodiak, as in the Aleutians, was a very common practice. Whalers stole the largest number of bodies possible, bathed in water where they had macerated them and drank from this water, extracted the body fat in order to coat their weapons with it, and mummified the bodies in order to take them along with them, eventually sharing the deceased comrade, pieces of whom they used as talismans and to rub on the points of their spears.

The spiral tattoo that adorns many masks we will call rather a motif in the form of a crook. On the Pinart mask, the shaft is lost in the upturned comma formed by the nostrils, but it is quite visible on the Dall specimen (Figure 75, Pl. XXIX). And on the Covarrubias reproduction, one clearly sees two decorations, the more compact one on the forehead, the other leading to the corner of the mouth.[26] This same decoration is repeated on an object from Aknanh Cave, vaguely resembling a paddle (Figure 7, Pl. V of Pinart), and perhaps on an anthropomorphic panel (Figure 5, Pl. V). It especially appears, single or double, isolated or paired, with one or several spirals in multiple combinations, on the magnificently painted and decorated large wooden helmets that are shaped as cones or

---

[25]   On the three Jacobsen masks (Disselhoff 1935:Figure 20), two are of profiles, the third a face. But do the profiles represent the state of the mask *before* or *after* the ceremony?

[26]   In the first case it is rather similar to the comma-shaped motif of the Ainu, which Montandon believes symbolizes lightning and that he likens to the Chinese *yin* and *yang* and the Japanese *mitsutok* (cf. Montandon 1937:159–162).

have elongated visors.[27] Ivanov (*Aleut Hunting Headgear*) sees in it a stylization of a bird's head. His proof—supported in the figures of panels IV and V, which trace the evolution of the motif—seems rather convincing. A certain number of Eskimo helmets and visors from the Bering Sea are also decorated with perfectly recognizable birds' heads sculpted in bone or ivory. Besides these realistic figures, the Ivanov helmet (2 Pl. II) from the Bering Sea possesses ivory plates fixed laterally and with a stylization very similar to that of the Koniagmiut helmet from Katmai (Ivanov Pl. II); the only difference is that concentric circles replace the Aleut spiral on the Eskimo. The circle—simple or concentric, pointed or not, sometimes with radiating lines—is a favorite motif of Eskimo art.[28] So there is no need to go searching, as Pinart does, for distant analogies with Oceanic art; the top of the same motif is treated in concentric circles by the Eskimos and in spiral by the Aleuts, the spiral deriving probably from the circle. Some Aleut helmets have on the side small added-on crooks sculpted from bone (Volkov and Rudenko 1910:Pl. IX, figure central (reproduction in color); Ivanov 1954:55a, p. 487; 57a, p. 494; 59a, p. 497). Most frequently painted, they sometimes look like large brackets that follow the length of the sides (Ivanov 1954:54b).

Stylization of a bird's head, but what bird? Ivanov suggests the raven or the eagle. The thunderbird appears on the interior of a medallion on the helmet of the Voznesenski collection (Ivanov 1954:55a, p. 488). A kind of eagle multiplied, even more terrible than the killer whale, and according to the Eskimos of the Bering Sea, feeding, like him, on whales. Though confirmation is lacking, it is supposed to have had a place in Aleut mythology. However, the representation is isolated and the realistic heads, from which the crook motif would have derived, are more evocative of the raven. It is an essential character, Creator or Creator

helper in the mythologies of Northeast Asia and northwestern America. Did the whalers, at least the elite among them, have the right to the Raven sign? In a region situated more to the north, the Eskimo, when lucky in the hunt, was authorized to display a raven trophy for several months. Aleut men and women tattooed their face and hands, primarily with geometric designs, lines and dots, symbolic writing—all easily decipherable to insiders, fixing and glorifying exploits accomplished either by the interested parties themselves or by their fathers or husbands. Each whale killed was signified among the Mackenzie Eskimos by a line and among those of the Diomede Islands by a dot (Lantis 1938b:447). The more or less detailed geometric motifs engraved on mortuary masks represent hunting tattoos, the number of traits in relation to the number of successful kills. As for the helmets, the zoomorphic—without doubt the most ancient—were used only in the hunt. Regardless of whether they preceded masks, they are themselves a sort of mask that is used in direct action. They rise above the face instead of covering it, but does the human *inua* not appear at the center or base of the zoomorphic masks of the Bering Sea? The hunter changes personality or takes on another. Going on the seal hunt, he covers his head with the helmet-head of a seal as a substitute for the real head that probably preceded it. This helmet will act with the same efficacy as the talismans of the original animal and the Siberian "songs of love" by persuading the desired game to respond to the invitation and telling him that, in the human environment, it will find itself at home. During the ritual winter dances, the masks are used conjointly with the helmets. They are no longer zoomorphic but have complex decoration, most likely combining magic, memorial, and social distinction values. Indeed the helmets, superbly decorated and very expensive, were owned only by a privileged few. A helmet was estimated as equal to three baidars

or to three slaves; the number of slaves varied, among the more fortunate, from five to twenty (Ivanov 1928:481). Its decoration was much more elaborate than that of festival masks, which were generally temporary objects. Sculpted by men, painted by women, it was maintained, repainted, and kept with care as a precious object among all. On the mask of the dead were reproduced the signs-attributes that decorated his helmet or his face during his life and that assigned him his place among his future hunting companions in the beyond.

Utilization

Surprising as it may be, there is little literature on the role played by Eskimo masks. On the one hand we have descriptions, rather few in number, purely formal and in general summaries. Eskimo masks, very highly valued, sought by collectors, and enjoying universal prestige, should, because of both their symbolic and their artistic content, have aroused studies and commentaries. On the other, there are also some more or less complete accounts by witnesses of feasts relating the entrance of the personages, the episodes, without any effort at coordination or attempt to analyze anything deeply.

Of his Koniagmiut series, Pinart simply indicates that they "were used in shamanic or religious dances"—skimpy information. "Shamanic" and "religious" are evidently synonyms for Pinart. But the term "shamanic" can be understood and has been used in various ways in the literature concerning Eskimo masks. The frequent designation "masks of shamans": does it mean a mask worn by a shaman, representing him, or indeed representing the spirits that are his familiars? Does the shaman wear a mask, and if so under what circumstances? The Indians have representations of shamans, and we know of an Eskimo mask from southern Alaska that is said to be "of a shaman," whose realism classifies it in the heads-portraits (*Masks* 1947). Rare, if not unique, this type of image does not interest us directly. According to Veniaminov,

Aleut shamans and those of the adjacent Eskimo territories not only utilized them but made and painted them themselves (Ivanov 1954:482, 488). And they alone had the right to do it. In general, however, more recent information indicates that the *tunghalik* only directs the work of the performers, who reproduce what he has "seen." In private circumstances (i.e., healing sessions) the shaman performs, unlike his Siberian colleague, with his face uncovered. Divergent opinions exist on wearing the mask during the collective ceremonies, but perhaps they can be reconciled. As director of the stage, the function of the shaman prohibits him from participating personally in the drama that he organizes, whose unfolding he monitors. He appears only at the essential moment, preamble or epilogue, and then only as the actor who consults the spirits in order to penetrate their moods. At the end of the Feast of Inviting at Saint Michael, the shaman, after having twirled to achieve a trance, assures the public of the satisfaction of the *inua*. Rainey (1947:247–252) reports analogous facts among the Eskimos of Tigara: it is individual divination and no longer collective notification. But it is also carried out immediately after the "seated" ceremony and in direct relation to it. At the conclusion of the Festival of Bladders, the shaman, having "followed" the bladders returned to the sea, relates the praises and criticisms issued by the animals' souls (Nelson 1899:390–391). It is not specified in the last two cases whether the *tunghalik* wears a mask, but at Saint Michael it indeed has one. At Aleut divinatory sessions, the shaman placed on his face the image of the *kugaq*, which he incarnates, and thus spoke under the inspiration of the spirit. The most standard use of the mask! We do not know, however, whether this was true for the Eskimo shaman mask. It has nothing to do with the Siberian shaman mask. As a piece of fabric, fishnet, fringes, even simply hair hanging, it is more rarely a genuine mask. Rather it is a screen that the Siberian shaman places between himself and the world here below that he is going to leave. If necessary, he just closes his

eyes to realize that separation and turn himself inward.[29] Arranged on the plank-halo, the animals (his auxiliaries) are nevertheless supposed to bring their contribution to the *tunghalik*; this type of mask would then be something more than just a support to a spirit. More precise yet are the Tlingit *yek*, represented in miniature, which according to their location on the mask, reinforce the visual, olfactory, or other faculties of their master (Swanton 1904–1905:463–464). The Indian influence seems here manifest, although the costumes and, for lack of masks, the coiffures of the Siberian shamans are decorated with symbolic animal representations: the antlers of a reindeer express rapidity; the snake knowledge of the subterranean world; and as among the Tlingit, the wood worm strong perception.

In the shamanic category, nevertheless, the individual masks are not the most numerous. Equally plentiful are masks of spirits that are revealed to the shaman in various circumstances and carried by someone other than the *kalalik* himself, and simultaneously by several performers. The shaman alone knows the appearance of those changeable spirits, which they desire to see fixed on temporary supports; he knows their wishes, their needs, the motifs of their wrath, the means of appeasing it. The theatrical representations sometimes illustrate the adventures lived by the shaman in other worlds. Other men can, episodically, be favored with visions, but they are not qualified to organize the ritual. The repertoire of forms is contained in the framework of shamanic traditions which, with local variations, do not leave much room—whatever may have been said—for individual creativity.

The ceremonies—whatever the title, the episodes, or the incidents that they provoke (concentration of the community, participation of other villages, contests, exchanges)—are, for

the most part, oriented toward the hunt. Into the Aleutians and the Kodiak Archipelago, the *kugan agalik* and their equivalents, an invasion in a deafening din of bloody "demons"[30] has been interpreted with the unique objective of scaring women, thus strengthening masculine cohesion and authority. Perhaps it was also a way to neutralize the "demons" after giving them the satisfaction of this demonstration, and these *kugan* may indeed just be particularly terrible spirit masters. In Kodiak itself the myth of the origin of the masks, reported by Pinart (cited by Lantis 1938b:151), is indeed related to the hunt. In a dream an unlucky hunter obtains supernatural help that he had implored. The masks that appear to him, the chants that he hears, he will teach to his people after becoming a great hunter; thus they will reproduce and recite them.

Six months of the year during which the game sleeps under the sea as plants sleep under the ground, the great festivals take place that are to ensure the return of the animals. At Tigara, the community gathers around the shaman for a propitiatory séance in which he is the sole actor. At other times all the inhabitants participate in the ceremony. Restitution of souls to the sea, thanksgivings and requests to the master spirits, renewing of alliances with the dead—everything tends toward this unique end: to guarantee the existence of men, whom the rarefaction of game would put in peril. Through the mouths of their namesakes, masked in their semblance, during solemn commemorations, the dead inform the living of the benefits they have granted them, that is to say, of the number of animals they have sent them. At the same Festival of Inviting—where nonreligious entertainment seems to take such a large part with scenes of daily life, amusing pantomimes, and exchanges between the Inviters and the Invited—the animals are honored, their spirits remain the main "invited,"

---

[29]   The explanation of the closed eyes given by the Saora of India is not very different: during the trance the shaman has his eyes closed because his soul is absent (Verrier 1955:65). In this case, it would not be a voluntary departure, an ecstatic voyage, in that the soul plays an active role, but it is one of temporary expulsion by the spirit installed in the shaman (possession and not ecstasy).

[30]   Represented perhaps by the *šugišat*, which, according to Pinart, inspired extreme terror.

and their pleasure alone matters. Among the Eskimos of Siberia, this festival, celebrated at the end of December or beginning of January under the name *Saiak*, is under the sign of the gift and the counter gift ("all open, all free, take everything"). On the occasion of the re-leading of the walruses killed and in front of their heads (Vovlov 1952:326–330), the festival is organized in honor of a certain Being "living beyond the sea"; this corresponds probably to the Chukchi Keretkun. In the Festival of the Whale, figure masks of the whale and of its "master," reproduced in paper by the Eskimo Nenetegin, in reality are made from the hide of a *nerpa* (ringed seal) and decorated with bear fur tufts (Ivanov 1954:432–433).[31] In other ceremonies of the Siberian Eskimos, based on evidence attained *in extremis*, participation of the shaman, at least as much as one could see, was rather limited, as the master of the house acted as principal master of ceremonies. At the Kamygtak (Festival of the Boots), the master of the house himself summoned the spirit that was being honored on that day, assembled his relatives, and chased the evil spirits—all to the beat of the drum. (This makes one think of the individual shamanism of the Chukchi.) Each couple, on a rotating basis, followed the example of the hosts, mimicking the act of attracting the whale, suspended to a rope fixed to the ceiling. Like the Festival of Messengers at Cape Prince of Wales and Nunivak, as well as the Siberian *Kaziva*, a variant of the *Saiak*, several accessories were used: decorated boards, ceremonial paddles, and sculpted whales, which were rotated from right to left (the direction of the sun) around a pole (the name of the festival itself means "to turn").

We do not know if there were masks, but there was already theater. A more or less perfected device permitted moving these accessories; it lent life to this decoration, the painted scenes being animated, which were commemorations of past events or rehearsals of actions to come. Above the wooden whale rose the "fountain," a jet of white powder blown upward; the baidars glided along the straps and came to strike the animal. The axis of the spin, the ceremonial pole perhaps also served as a support for the summoned spirit. The husband and wife "brought the festival," that is to say, the spirit of the sea, to the house in the form of sea water. This they sprinkled at the foot of the post, where it remains for the duration of the festival. A stake surrounded by grass served as the post in Alaska. Among the Chukchi, the post wore a mask, the meaning therefore being perfectly clear. The dancer who was to personify the spirit took down the mask then put it back in place when the dance ended. Statue, post, or mask—*Keretkun* among the Chukchi, *Kasak* among the Siberian Eskimos, in the Aleutians *Kugadakh* and *Taijaguchsi-dakh*—the god was present. The movement of the accessories was not indispensable or practiced always and everywhere: the display of the scene alone was sufficient. The presentation of the "net of Keretkun" or of the scenes of the hunt painted on paddles and boards had attractive value, materialized desire, fixed and prolonged incantations. During the four days of the "sitting" ceremony at Tigara, elders related the history of each figure on the suspended *qologoloq*. Then the masks were "killed" with a miniature weapon, but the *qologoloq* were retained and stored (Rainey 1947:247–249), because unlike the masks, the accessories of the festivals are permanent. The faces on the boards D.47.13.61 and -62 were without doubt used in similar ceremonies to glorify the hunting exploits of the ancestors, who would help their descendants in renewing them. Boards on which animals and weapons were painted accompanied the coffins placed on the scaffolds at Saint Michael, unless

---

[31]   The "hairy face" of the Chukchi was of reindeer fur, and the wooden mask is not known in Northeast Asia except among the Koryak. These masks represent rather crudely, in anthropomorphic form, the Great Raven and his family, who are in charge of chasing the *kalau* from their houses. Despite their severe aspect they have become simple comical masks carried by young people who beg from house to house. Vladimir I. Jochelson (1905–1908:Pt. I., pp. 79–80, figures 35–37, pls. 83 and 84) has compared them to the Eskimo masks of Point Barrow, which they do resemble but have a longer shape.

the coffins themselves had been decorated with these motifs (Lantis 1947:15).

Other Forms or Substitutes for Masks

In the absence of masks the Eskimos painted their faces and, in Siberia, wore waterproof garments made of seal intestines. According to Ivanov, the ritual facial paintings would be relics of ancient masks. The painting has in fact survived the masks in Siberia, but it could have preceded them. In various places their presence is mentioned side-by-side though evidently not simultaneously. At dances the Koniagmiut painted their faces white above the eyes, black below, their noses white at the root, the tip red. The painting of the masks likely repeated the facial painting. For the *Kaziva*, the Siberian Eskimos colored one half of their face black with soot, the other red with clay, like our mask of the half moon. But over a painted face the mask would be redundant, whereas masks and body paintings were not exclusive. On the contrary, they were complementary: Davydov, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, saw a masked Koniagmiut whose body was decorated with paint. And as soon as decoration occurs, there is representation. The master and mistress of the house use graphite to trace lines that are of prophylactic value on the faces of their guests "so that they may be without illness." But when they themselves wear on their faces complete or partial representations of the whale, they incarnate the sea spirit and his wife. Their ritual headbands and waterproof garments help them enter, almost literally, into the skins of their characters.

Skin and clothing are, in effect, hardly distinguishable and are almost interchangeable terms. A wolf in the winter, the killer whale is supposed to change skins in the summer, changing its vestments at the same time as it changes elements. Taikynaun sees three suitors coming to her in the semblance of men on whom only the color of the *kukhlianka* indicates the species: white for the white fox, red for the ordinary fox, black for the killer whale (Rubtsova 1954:146). If the shaman is powerless to make his spirits come into a foreign territory, the non-shaman, his friend, borrows his *kukhlianka*. "As soon as he put it on, the shaking came over him. Violently he began to tremble." The power passed from one to the other with the clothing. The substance of the individual remains attached to his clothing like the substance of the animal to the pieces of its skin, which cry like seals or walruses under the breath of the shaman. The difference does not exist for the animal; for the man it is relatively recent, but it has taken on importance. The man feels this discrepancy but finds it difficult to express. The shadow of the seal has found itself a man's body; the previous zoomorphic envelope has been destroyed. Now this new human body must be clothed, and the next day the transformed seal goes up to ask for clothing from the celestial spirit. And this step is no less essential than the acquisition of a body; with the clothing alone, he will obtain the definitive status of a human being. Originally skin and clothing were equal, the appearances varying with the envelopes. The fur adheres, and the young woman metamorphoses into a bear. Naked, deprived of his bestiality, the man has recourse to artificial protections; he will willingly wear this garment again, which has clung to him so long and which will be his first mask. Later the true mask will intervene, fur and later sculpture, keeping only the face of the being, the essential part. By its mobility, the mask itself simple or complex, offered multiple combinations. It plunged man again into the fluid universe of primitive indifferentiation, with its constant mutations, appearances that one changed at will after having exhausted their possibilities; it reopened to him access to forms since then fixed, removed the barriers tardily erected between gods, men, and beasts. For its part, the spirit—the wandering *tunghâk*, ghost in quest of reincarnation, animal sighing after its human double—came willingly to slip into the support offered to it. Thus each escaped temporarily from a world too defined for the one, too inconsistent for the other, meeting each other in their mutual desire to find a body

for the one, to leave a body for the other. Honoring his "masters," at the same time the man satisfies a deep need, not yet resigned to being only himself.

Here is a specimen of descriptive sheets that I drew up in 1949 for the catalog of the Pinart collection at the Museum of Man:

D.4713.54:

1. Southern Alaska. Kodiak Island.
2. Medium size mask.
3. Generalities: fir wood. Thick. Rectangular, round toward the base, pointed at the top.
   Description:
   Profile: visor at the top, marked change of level between the visor and the forehead, the rest is on the same plane.
   Back: concave, deeply hollowed, with cuts for the eyes, nose, and mouth.
   Front: Long keeled visor, the eyebrows expressed in two levels descending toward the cheeks. Lateral surfaces with light declivity toward the sides. At the base of the face: two elliptical protuberances.
   Detail: arched eyebrows obliquely upward. Eyes placed very near the arches: two small oblique slots in the same direction as the arches, going through the mask. Nose flat on top, an extension of the forehead, ends in a V; round nostrils go through the mask. Very broad mouth: two slots lightly arched, forming a V ascending above the level of the base of the nose, exactly bordering the two protuberances of the base, which are separated by a furrow.
   Tenons, the one at the base larger than the one at the top. A mounting hole on each side at eye level.
   Paint: visor: green background decorated on each side of a red disk with red rays punctuated with blue. Traces of a white border and a red border at the base of the visor. For the mask: white background, interior of the visor red, as well as the eyebrows and around the protuberances of the mouth. On the upper part of the arches: a border of red lines perpendicular to the arch and surmounted by red dots and green dots. In the middle of the face: a band in an open V passing over the nose, painted in green with a red border and bordered by blue dots on the upper part and red on the lower part. The protuberances have a red background, painted over with green, with a blue zoomorphic (?) representation.
   Dimensions:
   Height: 29 cm 5.
   Breadth: 17 cm.
   Thickness: 11 cm.
   Height, top (visor part): 13 cm.
   —forehead proper: 5 cm 5.
   Total unevenness (between the visor and the root of the nose): 5 cm 5.
   —between the visor and the forehead: 4 cm.
   —the forehead and the eyebrows: 0 cm 3.
   —the eyebrows and the root of the nose: 1.
   Spacing of the eyes: 6 cm 3.
   Length of the nose: 7 cm
   Breadth (at the root): 2 cm 3.
   Breadth (at the base): 3 cm 5.
   Space nose-mouth: 2 cm 5.
   Breadth of the mouth: 13 cm.
   Projection of the protuberances: 1 cm 5.
4. Characteristics of the mask: parallel series of very open Vs, both in the sculpture and in the painting. Same type as the mask of the "malade" ["sick one"], collected thirty years earlier in the same region by Voznesenski.
5. Koniagmiut.
6. Collected by A. Pinart.
7. Deposit at the Museum of Boulogne-sur-Mer.
8. Lipschitz. "O kolleckciiakh Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii sobrannykh russkimi putešestvennikami…" Sbornik Muz. Antr. i Etn. XVI, 1955, p. 364.

PLATES

I. Eskimo masks: a–c: D.47.13.15, 26, 12; d: type from Anvik (after Douglas and d'Harnoncourt, p. 176; e–i: D.47.13.17, 16, 22, 30, 8).

II. Eskimo masks: a–i: D.47.13.40, 31,39, 52, 60, 59, 25, 18, 24.

III. Eskimo masks and others: a–b, d: D.47.13.33, 9, 28; c: 81.21.25; e: "grotesque" type from Prince William Sound (after Dall, p. 126); f: D.47.13.7; g: Anvik: "The Mermaid" (after Chapman, p. 28); h–i: type from Prince William Sound and figurine from Port Moller (after Dall, Pl. XXIII); j: Bella Coola mask (after Wingert, Pl. 74).

IV. Eskimo masks and others: a: D.47.13.35 (Vancouver Island?); b–f: D.47.13.43, 32, 29, 45, 41; g: 81.21.6 (Afognak Island); h: D.47.13.33.

V. Eskimo dance masks: a–b: D.47.13.37, 73, 72, 69, 70, 71, 67, 75; i and j: "The Ingenuous" and "The Lover." Koniagmiut. (Voznesenski Collection; after Lipschitz, p. 364).

VI. Eskimo dance masks: a: 81.21.26; b–f: D.47.13.76, 65, 68, 74, 66.

VII. Eskimo plank masks: a–c: D.47.13.44, 47, 61; d, e, g, j: Tlingit (?) pick-adze with anthropomorphic sheath (after Volkov and Rudenko, p. 158); f, i: D.47.13.64, 63; h: 81.21.29.

VIII. Eskimo masks of solid wood: a–i: D.47.13.56, 58, 57, 36, 49, 50, 55, 53, 51.

IX. Aleut masks: a–e: D.47.13.4, 3, 6 (sea lion), 1, 5.
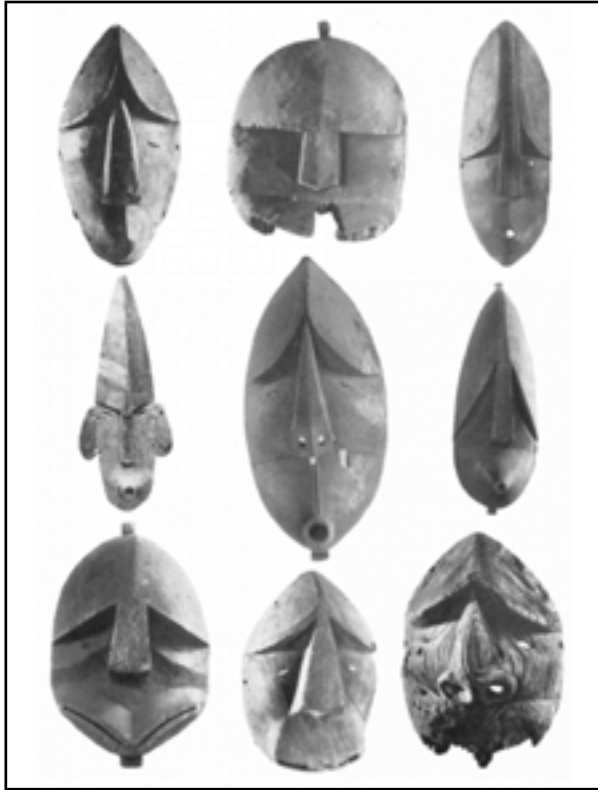
Plate I
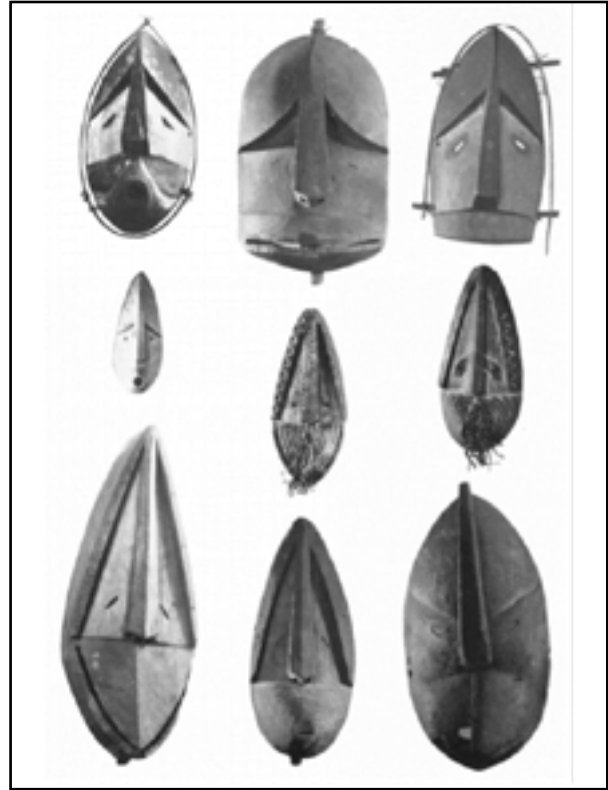
Plate II

Plate III
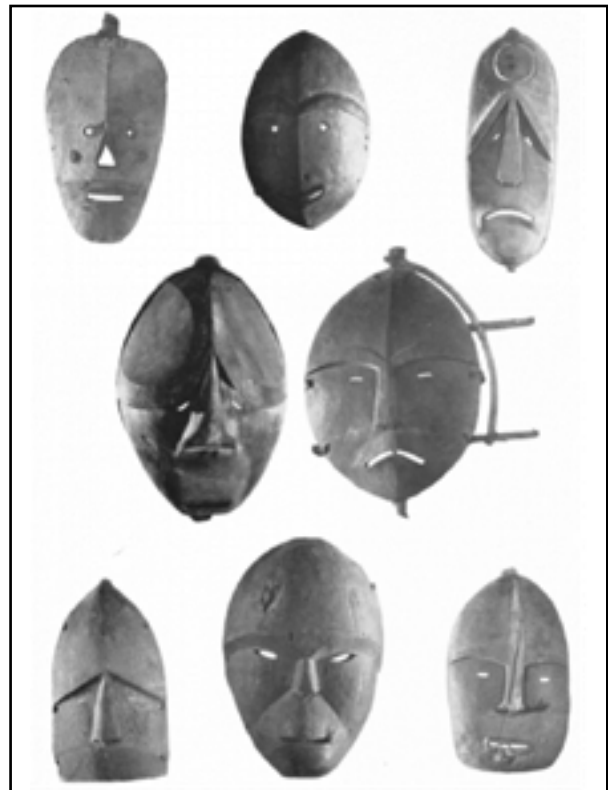
Plate IV
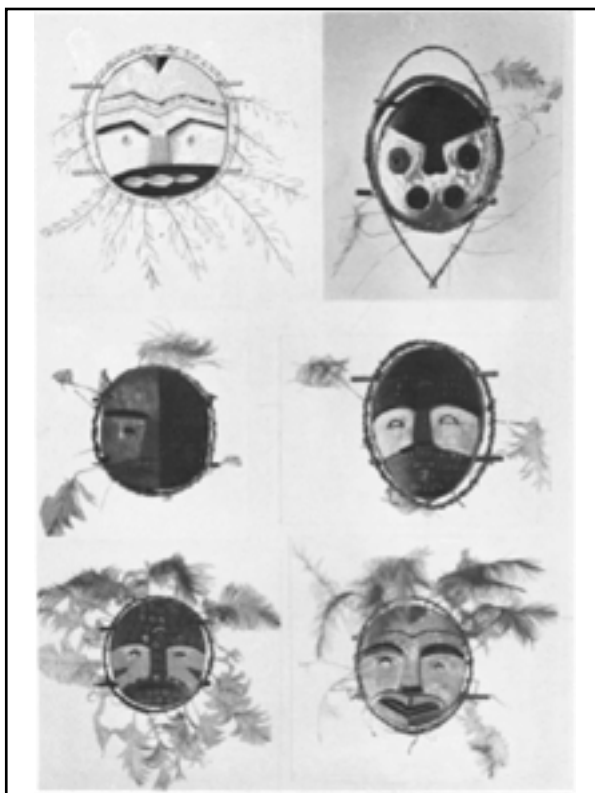
Plate V

Plate VI

Plate VII

Plate VIII
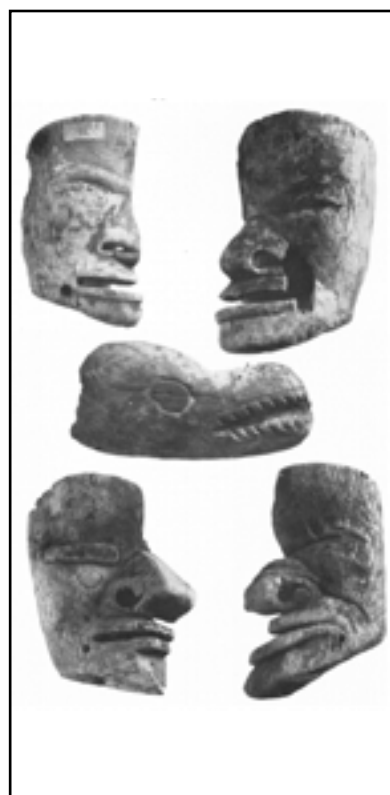
Plate IX

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES CITED

Bank, Theodore P., II
1953　　Cultural Succession in the Aleutians. *American Antiquity*, vol. XIX(1), July.

Birket-Smith, Kai
1921–1924　500 Eskimo Words. *5th Thule Expedition*, 3(3).
1953　　*The Chugach Eskimo*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets publikationsfond.

Bogoras, Waldemar
1909　　*The Chukchee*. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. VII. New York: Leiden.

Chapman, John W.
1907　　*Notes on the Tinneh Tribe of Anvik*. 15th International Congress of Americanists. Quebec.

Cole, Douglas
1985　　*Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Covarrubias, Miguel
1954　　*The Eagle, the Jaguar and the Serpent. Indian Art of the Americas*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Dall, William H.
1881–1882　*On Masks, Labrets and Certain Aboriginal Customs*. 3rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington.

Davis, Robert T.
1949　　*Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Disselhoff, Hans D.
1935　　*Baessler Archive*, vol. 18. Universitätsbibliothek der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Douglas, Frederic H., and Rene d'Harnoncourt
1941　　*Indian Art of the United States*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Erman, Adolf
1870–1871　Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen an der küsten des Berings-Meeres [Ethnographic Perceptions and Experiences on the Coast of the Bering Sea]. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Bd. II–III.

Geoghegan, Richard H.
1944　　*The Aleut Language*. Washington: U. S. Department of the Interior.

Golder, Frank A.
1903　　Tales from Kodiak Island. *Journal of American Folklore*, XVI.

Haakanson, Sven D. Jr., and Amy F. Steffian, editors
2009　　*Giinaquq Like a Face: Suqpiaq Masks of the Kodiak Archipelago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hawkes, Ernest W.
1913　　*The "Inviting-In" Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo*. Canadian Geological Survey. Mem. 45, no. 3. Anthropological Series. Ottawa.

Himmelheber, Hans
1938　　*Eskimokünstler* [Eskimo Artists]. Strecker und Schröder, Stuttgart.

Hoffman, Walter J.
1897　　*The Graphic Art of the Eskimos*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Hrdlička, Aleš
1944   *Anthropology of Kodiak Island.* Philadelphia: Institute of Anatomy and Biology.

Ivanov, Sergei V.
1928   *Aleut Hunting Headgear.* 23rd International Congress of Americanists. New York.
1954   *Materialy po izobrazitel'nomu iskusstvu narodov Sibiri* [Materials on Images of Art of the Peoples of Siberia]. Work of the Institute of Ethnography, vol. XXII, Moscow-Leningrad.

Jacobi, Arnold
1937   *Carl Heinrich Merck's ethnographische Beobachtungen…* 1789–1791. Baessler-Archiv, 20.

Jenness, Diamond
1928   *Comparative Vocabulary of the Western Eskimo Dialects.* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XV.

Jochelson, Vladimir I.
1905–1908 *The Koryak.* Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History. Leiden, P. I.

Krickberg, Walter
1932   *Nordamerikanische Indianermaske* [North American Indian Masks]. Berlin, Dere Erdball, no. 2.

Lantis, Margaret
1938a   "Mythology of Kodiak Island." *Journal of American Folklore*, LI, April–June.
1938b   "Alaskan Whale Cult." *American Anthropologist.* Vol. XL.
1947   A*laskan Eskimo Ceremonialism.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Larsen, Helge, and Froelich Rainey
1948   *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture.* Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Lavrov, Igor L.
1947   "Risunki Onno" [Onno Drawings]. *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, 2.

Lipschitz, B. A.
1955   *O kollekciiakh Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii sobrannykh russkimi puteshestvennikami… Ibid.* [On the Collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography Collected by Russian Travelers… Ibid.], XVI.

Masks
1947   *Masks.* University Museum Bulletin, 13(1). Philadelphia. November.

Moffat-Weyer, Edward, Jr.
1930   *Archaeological Material from the Village Site at Hot Springs, Port Moller, Alaska.* Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol. 31. New York.

Montandon, George
1937   *La Civilisation aïnou et les cultures arctiques* [The Ainu Civilization and the Arctic Cultures]. Paris: Payot.

Nelson, Edward W.
1899   *The Eskimo about Bering Strait.* 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

Niblack, Albert P.
1888   *The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia.* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Oldman, William O.
1943   *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts.* New Plymouth, New Zealand.

Parmenter, Ross
1966   *Explorer, Linguist and Ethnologist: A Descriptive Bibliography of the Published Works of Alphonse Louis Pinart, With Notes on His Life.* Los Angeles: Southwest Museum.

Petroff, Ivan
1884   Report on the Population… of Alaska. 10th U. S. Census, vol. VIII. Washington.

Pinart, Alphonse L.
1872   *Catalogue des Collections Rapportées de l'Amérique Russe* [Catalog of Collections Reported from Russian America]. Imprimerie de J. Claye, Paris.
1873a   Eskimaux et Koloches; Idées Religieuses et traditions des Kaniagmoiutes [Eskimos and Tlingit; Religious Ideas and Traditions of the Koniag]. *Revue d'Anthropologie* 2.
1873b   Voyage à la côte nord-ouest [Voyage along the Northwest Coast]. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*. December.
1875   *La caverne d'Aknanh, île d'Ounnga, archipel Shumagin, Alaska* [Aknanh Cave, Unga Island, Shumagin Archipelago, Alaska]. E. Leroux, Paris.

Rainey, Froelich G.
1947   *Whale Hunters of Tigara*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, t. 41, no. 2.

Rasmussen, Knud
1921–1924 *Alaskan Eskimo Words*. 5th Thule Expedition, 3(4).

Ratner-Sternberg, S. A.
1929   Tlingit part of Voznesenski collection. *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* [Bulletin of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography], VIII.

Rubtsova, Ekaterina S.
1954   *Materialy po iazyku i fol'kloru Eskimosov* [Materials on the Language and Folklore of the Eskimos]. Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad.

Schneider-Lengyel, Ilse
1934   *Die Welt der Maske* [The World of Masks]. Verlag, Munich: R. Piper & Co.

Swanton, John R.
1904–1905 *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians*. 26th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Thalbitzer, William
1928   *Cultic Deities of the Inuit*. XXII International Congress of Americanists, 1926, vol. II, Rome.

Verrier, Elwin
1955   *The Religion of an Indian Tribe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Volkov, V. V., and S. I. Rudenko
1910   *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* [Bulletin of the Museum of Physical Anthropology and Ethnography] I.

Vovlov, I. K.
1952   Eskimosskie prazdniki [Eskimo Festivals]. *Sibirskii Etnograficheskii Sbornik* [Siberian Ethnographic Bulletin]. Moscow-Leningrad.

Wingert, Paul S.
1949   *American Indian Sculpture*. New York: J. J. Augustin.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Richard L. Bland, formerly an archaeologist for the National Park Service in Alaska, Heritage Research Associates in Eugene, and the University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History, now translates books and articles into English.

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

Robert Kopperl

Affiliation Willamette Cultural Resources Associates, Ltd.

Correspondence Bob@willamettecra.com

In the early summer of 2020, members of the Association of Washington Archaeology (AWA) Board of Directors and committee members volunteered their time to create a thoughtful statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion. I will refer to this as "the Diversity Statement" below (AWA 2020). It was not perfect, and it was too long in coming, but it was a first step toward an organization more grounded in its awareness of social justice. Rich Hutchings' 2021 commentary "Whistlin' Dixie? Comments on the Association for Washington Archaeology's Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion" in *JONA* 55(1) aims to undercut the momentum of social justice work by the AWA seemingly in an effort to promote the author's reputation as a social justice leader and scholar. My views presented in this response are my own, and do not reflect those of the AWA Board or AWA as an organization. My views are also presented here without the pretense of being any kind of formal work of academic rhetoric, but as someone who has been a continuous member of AWA since the early 2000s and served on its Board for 14 years. My response contrasts the Diversity Statement as an authentic action by a group of archaeologists with Hutchings' cynical polemic that dismisses it outright.

Some of Hutchings' opinions are thought provoking. He deserved to be heard, and he presents some important jumping off points for reflection and self-awareness about our place in the world of volunteer-driven non-profits. However, having been a member for just one year in 2005, he presents an opinion from outside an organization to which he does not have membership or much history. To my knowledge, he has not previously voiced his concerns about the AWA mission or social justice work of the organization.

Hutchings' opinions about AWA and its Diversity Statement stem from a fundamental misunderstanding of AWA as an organization and the goals of the Diversity Statement. From the start, Hutchings draws a comparison between two groups—AWA and Black Lives Matter (BLM), including institutional origins and stated missions. Without really directly stating what *he* thinks AWA is, he instead emphasizes the differences between AWA and BLM, asserting that they are, paraphrasing here, "strangest of bedfellows." This is a false equivalence and an attempt by Hutchings to convince his readers that AWA as an organization is dishonest or perhaps ridiculous in attempting to be like the BLM movement. There is nothing in the Diversity Statement that suggests AWA intends to be the same kind of movement as BLM. The anti-racism movement led by BLM has inspired many organizations to take on more social justice work. Of course, the AWA should already have been working harder on behalf of its Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) members and the BIPOC communities they work with, but guilt about previously complacency should not prevent renewed commitment to action.

Regarding the Diversity Statement, Hutchings (2021:190) provides an excerpt from its

entirety, which was published on the AWA website on July 18, 2020 (Association for Washington Archaeology 2020). That 2020 Statement was one of *observation* by AWA ("we see"), of *empathy* ("we feel"), of *recognition* ("we reflect") of how the pathologies of our society have created imbalances *within* the discipline of archaeology. Much of the document, especially at its end, is about *action* ("we commit"). Hutchings faults AWA as an organization for making this statement, and if an organization made such a statement and left it at that, his criticism might be more justified. However, AWA is an organization that is committed to supporting the people doing archaeology. Organizations such as AWA use their mission statement as an anchor, but AWA is more than just the mission statement, which centers on archaeological resources of Washington, their preservation, and the lessons they can teach. *It is people who do the work entailed in that mission*, so for AWA to be chided to "stay in your lane," so to speak, based on its mission statement in this situation is to belie a substantial lack of understanding of what AWA is about. Since issuing the Diversity Statement, AWA has facilitated creation of Community Groups within the Association that provide appropriate places to discuss and share experiences among its BIPOC archaeologists. It has sought ways of expanding its grant wing to fund the needs of *all* practicing archaeologists more equitably in Washington. And it has continued to prioritize its responsiveness to real-world social injustices that tangibly affect the people who compose its membership. Whether this truly is "walking the walk" could, and always will, be open to interpretation, but I see no issue here. Below I present counterarguments to five general critiques Hutchings levels at AWA.

Critique 1: It is disingenuous that AWA seized this moment to put out an anti-racism statement. Why, he asks, did AWA *not* make a similar statement earlier in its organizational existence? He genuinely seems bothered by the timing, calling it "White co-optation…and virtue signaling," or "performative" (Hutchings

2021:192). It is a fact of life in the 2020s that people worry about virtue signaling when they try to make good choices. But pragmatically, AWA was reacting to a national movement that points out where institutions like the ones we work within need to change. So, we are trying to change. Attempting to behave virtuously and hold ourselves accountable with this Diversity Statement is different from only using words to signal something that may or may not be true. He may ask with some validity, "Why now, AWA?" but I can ask the same of him, "Where have you been with your insights since your membership lapsed in 2005," and, "Why publish in a journal instead of engaging with the AWA board members?"

Critique 2: The Mission of the AWA has nothing to do with Social Justice/Black Power/ Red Power. Hutchings (2021:192–194) moves on to his next two issues—White Co-optation of Black Power and of Red Power. He asserts that AWA does not provide any legitimate reason to connect itself with the Black Power movement. He warns, with good reason I feel, that the tendency of organizations to jump on the Black Power bandwagon has the danger, "to eclipse not just individual Black voices but the larger movement" (Hutchings 2021:193). To Hutchings, the AWA Diversity Statement is instead a stepping-stone to a conversation about how archaeology can help Indigenous people. But, he maintains, AWA tries but fails in connecting with the Red Power movement. Again, he compares mission statements, this time AWA with the mission statement of the Council of the Red Nation. AWA has, however, never claimed to link itself to other social justice movements in this way. Must the mission statement of AWA be focused on ending systemic violence and oppression for the organization to be able to issue a statement such as the one from 2020? Like many other members, I feel that AWA can change and grow, and it is my belief that the Diversity Statement is there to help direct that growth. I am unsure if Hutchings is even aware of the work AWA is doing toward

being an anti-racist, anti-colonialist, and diverse organization beyond the Diversity Statement AWA put on its webpage.

Critique 3: Using the "royal we" and other representation issues. The next main issue Hutchings (2021:195) addresses is what he terms Naming and Representation. He is clearly bothered by the "royal We" used in the Diversity Statement. He seems upset that its declaratory parts: a) connote that the Board is, essentially, making a statement that did not originate from the membership at large; and b) that the Diversity Statement also included more inclusive language about "our discipline." So much of this critique seems to be semantic. Using the term "we" reflects that multiple authors wrote the document that the AWA Board sought input from the membership regarding the Diversity Statement. This is a non-issue. It also stems from a fundamental misunderstanding of the identity and purpose of an organization for which he has not been a member for a very long time. If a piece such as Hutchings' honestly tries to represent itself as objective "analysis," then it cannot pick and choose in its text when to be nuanced, when to ignore nuance, and when to dive down semantic rabbit-holes. This is *especially* relevant if one is declaring linguistic and semantic malfeasance to frame its accusations and arguments. A note: I do appreciate his suggestion to mind the capitalization of the terms White and Black (Hutchings 2021:197).

Critique 4: The AWA Diversity Statement does not align with "academic archaeology" that is oblivious to its racism. Hutchings asserts that most academic archaeologists today would claim they are not racist, but that community-based practices do not transcend racist and colonialist origins and current practices. I believe he misses the nuance of how AWA in the Diversity Statement framed the history of the discipline as something of which we cannot just rid ourselves. Academic archaeologists are part of the AWA membership, and CRM and academia are becoming more united, especially in the Pacific Northwest. He fails to realize that

AWA is not an academic organization, nor is it a CRM organization, but unites agencies, academics, CRM professionals, Tribes, and museum professionals who study and protect the material remains of the past.

Critique 5: Archaeology is racist so we should stop doing it. Hutchings' commentary draws to a close with several "Challenges." Hutchings (2021:197) notes that archaeologists, "assume and routinely present themselves as allies of Indigenous people," in part because we are trained to believe we are experts in the pursuit of archaeology. I am unsure how recently or frequently Hutchings has participated in archaeology in Washington, but it seems like he is speaking about an archaeology that he imagines is happening, rather than about the many kinds of archaeology that are actually going on at the present. Despite the truly regrettable persistence of poor archaeological practice, which needs to be acknowledged, there are also many examples of Washington archaeologists working in partnership with Tribes. Just speaking locally, I doubt he really knows all the many and varied ways that Washington archaeologists have become allies with Indigenous peoples, plenty of whom are archaeologists as well. Our discipline absolutely still has miles to go in terms of supporting Indigenous cultural heritage empowerment, but to pretend it is not something many Washington archaeologists work hard for is either deeply ignorant or purposefully misleading

Now, his "Steps to being an Ally," (Hutchings 2021:197) are productive considerations that anyone can and should make for any decision that comes their way in life. Seriously, this is a good list. But in presenting these steps in his piece, I wonder if Hutchings thinks none of us have developed such self-critical thinking skills. That's awfully arrogant. The questions he raises in his second challenge, regarding our use of language, are *good ones* as well. So why does he feel that the Diversity Statement was somehow not in agreement with this critical perspective he now raises near the end of his piece? He spends the first part of his commentary dissecting

AWA action and labeling it as disingenuous, and then spends this latter part telling us how to be proper critical thinkers in a way that is part of what AWA was trying to convey in the Statement. What is *his* intention?

His third and final challenge, "Stop (doing) archaeology," (Hutchings 2021:197–198) advocates for a nihilistic response to an uncomfortable paradox our discipline is facing. After the gravity of his words up to this point, it is a bit of a surprise to see this statement and hard to take it seriously. He lets it be known that he is cynical about the discipline's attempts at moving through our colonial past and paradoxical present and future, castigating authentic attempts such as the AWA Statement as mere virtue signaling and rebranding old habits with new names. He dismisses the AWA approach of inclusion as an invalid first step toward engaging meaningfully with racism, by saying we are trying to be inclusive by perpetuating our discipline first before meaningful attempts at engagement. I maintain that yes, AWA is trying to perpetuate and improve archaeology as a discipline despite its racist origins and continued racist practices. Many Washington archaeologists, including myself, think that a new paradigm of archaeology as an inclusive discipline that works in collaboration and alliance with Indigenous communities remains viable as a way to study the past and protect cultural heritage.

In conclusion, I feel the ultimate form of professional virtue signaling is to publish something like Hutching's commentary. Here he appeals to his own authority, engages in a mostly semantic deconstruction of both AWA's Mission Statement (AWA n.d.) and its 2020 Diversity Statement, and attempts to invalidate a legitimate action of AWA—an organization with which he is not involved by his own volition. He takes an extreme academic tactic of publishing his own grievances about the discipline in a respected journal instead of engaging with AWA directly (e.g., an email to the Board, a piece in our Newsletter, talking to relevant people about his feelings). He is exemplifying that odd place in critical theory where the snake eats its tail—he really sounds like he hates the disciple of which he is ostensibly part (see also Hutchings and La Salle 2021). This seems to be the position he has previously taken in the professional space he is in (e.g., LaSalle and Hutchings 2016). I challenge Hutchings to emerge from the shelter of his critical polemics and engage in the kinds of meaningful dialogue that cannot occur as volleys from peer-reviewed journals that sit behind paywalls. He has an interesting perspective that his peers would love to discuss when it is conveyed in a productive, sincere manner.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES CITED

Association for Washington Archaeology
n.d.   AWA's Mission. Electronic document, https://
         www.archaeologyinwashington.com.
2020   Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism,
         Diversity, and Inclusion (dated July 18,
         2020). Electronic document, https://www.
         archaeologyinwashington.com/awa-news/
         statement-on-racism-anti-racism-diversity-
         and-inclusion.

Hutchings, Richard M.
2021   Whistlin' Dixie? Comments on the Association
         for Washington Archaeology's Statement
         on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and
         Inclusion. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*,
         55(1):189–201.

Hutchings, Richard M., and Marina LaSalle
2021   Endgame: Contemplating Archaeology's
         Demise. *Revista de Arquelogia,* 34(2):2–22.

LaSalle, Marina, and Richard M. Hutchings
2016   What Makes Us Squirm: A Critical Assessment
         of Community-Oriented Archaeology.
         Canadian Journal of Archaeology, 40:164–180.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Robert Kopperl is a senior archaeologist and program lead at the Seattle office of Willamette Cultural Resources Associates. He has worked as a professional archaeologist since the mid-1990s and has directed cultural resource management (CRM) projects since 2003 after finishing his doctoral studies at the University of Washington. Since then, he has been a cultural resources principal investigator for both small regional and large national CRM and environmental consulting firms and has directed projects throughout Washington, Alaska, Idaho, and Oregon. He is a curatorial affiliate at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, and has conveyed his own experience in CRM as an occasional instructor in the University of Washington Department of Anthropology. He also serves on the Advisory Board for the department's M.A. Program in Archaeological Heritage, and prevously served on the Board of the Association for Washington Archaeology for 14 years, including past-president.

A Few Comments on "Whistlin' Dixie? Comments on the Association for Washington Archaeology's Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion" by Richard Hutchings

Gary C. Wessen

Affiliation Wessen & Associates, Inc.

Correspondence gwessen@aol.com

Introduction

Richard Hutchings' recent commentary (2021) in *JONA* volume 55(1) is a clear attack on the Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA) Board and a statement it recently released about diversity (AWA 2020). My first reading of it prompted a variety of reactions, but after reading it several more times, my view became much clearer and there is remarkably little in it that I agree with. Rather than offering a detailed point-by-point analysis and rebuttal of what I consider to be a target-rich environment, I would like to offer a few comments about some things that are not said in his presentation. Something that is conspicuously absent and some things which are clearly implied, but never actually stated.

Hutchings' commentary is an opinion piece. So are my remarks here, and I speak only for myself. I don't represent the AWA or any other entity or cohort. Opinions are interesting things, and they are often revealing about the opiner. Moreover, opinions reflect the experience of the opiner, and Hutchings and I apparently have had very different experiences. He claims that his perspective is unique because he has "spent the greater part of the last decade writing about social inequality and institutional racism in North American and Pacific Northwest Archaeology" (Hutchings 2021:189). To my knowledge, his actual experience working as an archaeologist is relatively limited. Also of relevance, while Hutchings was briefly a member of the AWA in 2005, he has had no contact with this organiza-

tion for more than 15 years. In contrast, I have been involved in archaeological research for 51 years—47 years working in western Washington, the last 38 of them as a CRM archaeologist. I have had extensive experience working with Tribes in western Washington during this period. And finally, I have been a member of the AWA for more than 30 years, and I am a former Board member of the organization.

Conspicuously Absent: The Missing Final Paragraph

Hutchings first presents the AWA Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion and then offers his interpretation of it. He claims that the statement is disingenuous posturing and an attempt to subvert the legitimate struggles of Black and Native Americans. However, he never comments on—or even acknowledges—that the AWA Statement concludes with the commitment of the Board to take six specific types of actions which will work toward "dismantling racism and white supremacy, both in archaeology and in our communities" (e.g., provide scholarships and other funding to support Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) students; diversify the AWA Board and general membership; sponsor anti-racism workshops or other training; etc.). That is, the Board did not simply release a "politically correct" statement, it committed itself to do some specific things. While I agree that making a commitment is just more words, the commitments made by

the Board are a "yardstick" to measure their actions by. Admittedly, there hasn't been a whole lot of movement yet, but the Board has recently polled the membership about which groups it should offer funding support to in its effort to broaden diversity within the organization (one of the things it committed to doing).

The absence of any discussion—or even an acknowledgement—of these commitments by the Board is stunning. While it may be that Hutchings simply forgot about that part of the AWA Statement, it is also possible that he concluded this detail was inconsistent with the picture he was trying to paint and chose to ignore it.

Implied, but Never Actually Stated

I believe that Hutchings' remarks reveal opinions at the core of this subject that he never actually articulates. First among these—and almost directly stated—is a deep hostility toward American archaeology. He sees it as entrenched in social inequality and institutional racism, and he points to the AWA as an example of this condition. Indeed, he has made very similar charges against archaeologists in Canada (Hutchings 2015; La Salle and Hutchings 2016) and, since his recent attack on AWA, he has published a paper eagerly anticipating the end of archaeology (Hutchings and La Salle 2021). I certainly agree that American archaeology has had—and continues to have—elements of social inequality and institutional racism. I hasten to add that American archaeology was born and raised in the larger American society and, since American history and contemporary American society continue to exhibit these characteristics, it's not actually surprising that American archaeology does too. Still, neither American society nor American archaeology are static. When I was an undergraduate (in the 1960s) and a graduate student (in the 1970s), my fellow archaeology students were overwhelmingly White men. That was also true of the AWA in its earliest years. While I can't say that the organization has

dramatically more people of color than it did 30 years ago, it—and the larger archaeological community in Washington—certainly have many more women involved today. The relationships between archaeologists and tribal communities in Washington have also undergone considerable change. When I worked at Ozette in the 1970s, strong working relationships between archaeologists and Native communities in Washington were unusual. Today, they are much more common as many archaeologists have become more sensitive to both Native concerns and their own responsibilities. Tribes, at the same time, have become more sophisticated in their view of what archaeologists can and can't do, and have become much more active players in the management and protection of archaeological resources. Increasingly, western Washington Tribes have established Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) and/or Cultural Committees, hired tribal archaeologists, and conducted cultural resource management (CRM) investigations on their own.

Hutchings may doubt the benefits of CRM archaeology, but I don't. While I do not suggest that federal and state CRM laws and practices are all they need to be, I have been involved in many cases where CRM archaeologists have successfully protected archaeological resources. Change is happening. I'm not saying that Hutchings, Tribes, or anyone else should be satisfied by what has happened so far, or not be impatient with the pace, but things have been moving in the right direction.

When I take a step back and look at the AWA Diversity Statement and Hutchings comments about it, it's clear to me that they both want the same thing. They are both calling for an end to social inequality and institutional racism in archaeology. I accept that they are both sincere. What's really happening here is a difference of opinion about tactics. Hutchings wants to accomplish it by ending the practice of archaeology. The Board wants to accomplish it by reforming and improving the practice of archaeology. To this end, the Board proposes

actions which will make the AWA more diverse and equitable in its scope and who it serves. Note that simply ending the practice of archaeology would successfully end the undesirable traits at issue here, but this would have no impact on social inequality or institutional racism in the larger society. What the Board has committed itself to are small, but important, actions. They are substantive, not performative. They may also have some impact beyond the AWA, but this broader impact is likely to be small. I say "small" because I don't think that the AWA, as an institution, is intended or equipped to make large changes in American society.

So, how do we address the problem at its core? That is, in American society, not just in American archaeology. I don't have a detailed plan of action, but it is very clear to me that it will require action across a broad spectrum of American society and thus it will take a broad coalition to succeed. This observation leads to what is perhaps the most important—or most confusing—of the implied messages in the Hutchings commentary. Either Hutchings doesn't want to build a broad coalition for this effort or he thinks that insulting potential coalition partners is the way to build one. Hutchings begins by correctly pointing out that the AWA Diversity Statement is outside of the goals identified in the AWA Mission Statement. Then, rather than praising the organization's recognition and expansion into this important issue, he condemns the effort. He suggests that it is merely cynical words (while ignoring the commitment to specific actions). Similarly, he views statements of solidarity between disparate groups who share a common cause to be "co-opting;" a term that means to take over or corrupt. While I recognize that co-option of political ideas does exist in American society, I suggest that the AWA's statement is more accurately described as coalition building. I find myself wondering: if he doesn't want partners in this struggle, how does he imagine the desired changes will occur?

Time will tell. Perhaps the AWA Board won't get around to taking most of the steps in their pledge. Perhaps Hutchings really can make significant progress in reducing social inequality and institutional racism by making archaeologists feel uncomfortable. I think the reasons that social inequality and institutional racism are still present in this country are complicated. Moving us closer to the kind of world Hutchings and the AWA both want will take a broad coalition sharing goals, even if the coalition partners also maintain other goals of their own. I don't have a crystal ball, but I suspect that the AWA's tactics will prove more effective than the approach chosen by Hutchings.

REFERENCES CITED

Association for Washington Archaeology (AWA)
2020   Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion. Electronic document, https://www.archaeologyinwashington.com/awa-news/statement-on-racism-anti-racism-diversity-and-inclusion.

Hutchings, Richard M.
2015   Lies, Damn Lies, and CRM-Archaeology as White Power and Neoliberal Statecraft. Paper presented at the 80th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, San Francisco, CA, April 15–19, 2015.

2021   Whistlin' Dixie? Comments on the Association for Washington Archaeology's Statement on Racism, Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion. *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 55(1):189–201.

Hutchings, Richard M. and Marina La Salle
2021   Endgame: Contemplating Archaeology's Demise. *Revista de Arqueologia* 34(2):2–22.

La Salle, Marina and Richard M. Hutchings
2016   What Makes us Squirm: A Critical Assessment of Community-Oriented Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 40:164–180.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Gary C. Wessen is an archaeologist with more than 50 years of experience working in western North America. He has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from Washington State University and has operated a small CRM consulting firm in western Washington since 1984.

The Journal of Northwest Anthropology

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of Northwest Anthropology (JONA) is a regional, peer reviewed scholarly journal for the Pacific Northwest region with journal issues published biannually. We welcome contributions of professional quality concerning anthropological research in northwestern North America. Theoretical and interpretive studies and bibliographic works are preferred, although highly descriptive studies will be considered if they are theoretically significant. The primary criterion guiding selection of papers will be how much new research the contribution can be expected to stimulate or facilitate.

NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGY

MEMOIR SERIES

In our Memoir Series, we publish works of a thematic nature. Past Memoirs include the collected works of distinguished anthropologists in the Pacific Northwest, Native American language dictionaries, reprints of historical anthropological material, and efforts of Indigenous and academic collaboration.

DIGITAL ARCHIVE

JONA's primary criterion guiding us in selecting manuscripts is how much new research they can be expected to stimulate or facilitate. In order to stimulate and facilitate research, we make issues available to read and download for free after one year of publication—providing over 50 years of Northwest anthropological research at no cost.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

2022 Rates:

PRINT + ONLINE:

Individuals/Small Firms (Domestic) - $55.00
Individuals/Small Firms (International) - $75.00
Students - $30.00
Institutions (Domestic) - $100.00
Institutions (International) - $125.00

ONLINE ONLY:

Individual/Small Firm - $25.00
Students - $25.00
Institutions (Domestic) - $55.00
Institutions (International) - $55.00

SHOSHONE-PAIUTE RELIANCE ON FISH AND OTHER RIPARIAN RESOURCES

DEWARD E. WALKER, JR.   M.J. WALKER   PAMELA GRAVES

JONA MEMOIR 22

SHOSHONE-PAIUTE RELIANCE ON FISH AND OTHER RIPARIAN RESOURCES

Deward E. Walker, Jr.   M.J. Walker   Pamela Graves

Journal of Northwest Anthropology Memoir 22

Journal of Northwest Anthropology Memoir Series Editor
Darby C. Stapp
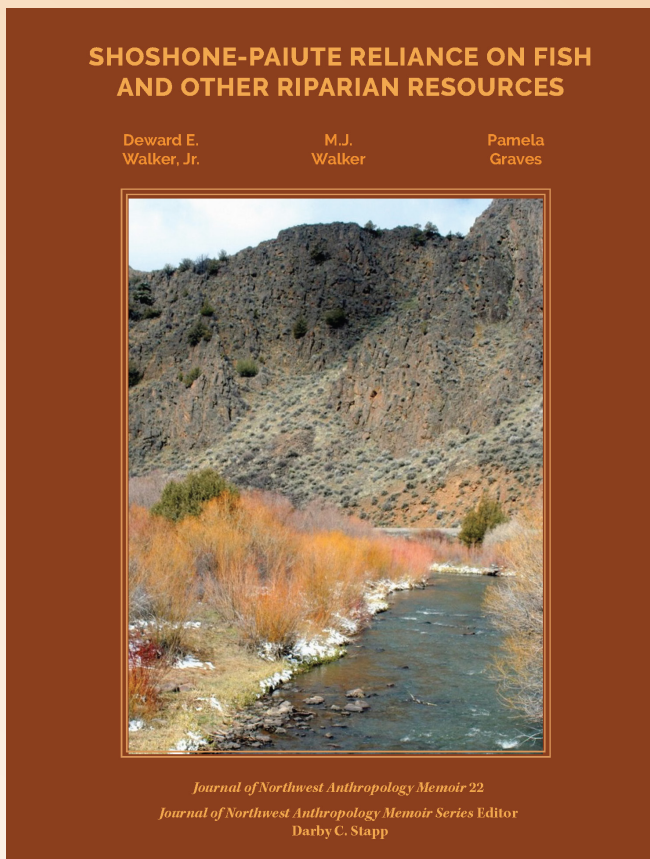
The Shoshone-Paiute of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation (DVIR) are traditional fishing Tribes of the northern Great Basin at the virtual upper end of the salmon migration route through Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and into Nevada. The Tribes have been increasingly deprived of salmon by the sequence of dams constructed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, resulting in significant cultural, dietary, and even economic losses. The Shoshone-Paiute have, in fact, been among those Tribes most affected by the reduction in fish passage due to dams, irrigation, industrialization, and other factors such that they do not have local access to salmon at this time. Because of these developments, the Shoshone-Paiute have been forced to increasingly expand their geographic range to the far reaches of their homeland and beyond in search of still existing salmon runs.

Phase I of this research reviews the published literature concerning Shoshone-Paiute fishing and documents the processes by which the Shoshone-Paiute have systematically been deprived of their fishing resource through the developments, their loss of ready accessibility to this vital resource on the DVIR, the continuing importance of fish to the Shoshone-Paiute people, and the Tribes' claims of fishing rights to realize changes in the dams' operation or other mitigation measures. It is clear that the right of the Shoshone-Paiute to continue fishing remains in effect despite the absence of fish runs proceeding from the Pacific to their homeland. Phase II examines three river systems in the Great Basin: the Owyhee, the Bruneau, and the Jarbidge and attempts to suggest potential traditional fishing sites and areas based on several criteria.

AVAILABLE AT NORTHWESTANTHROPOLOGY.COM/STOREFRONT OR AMAZON.COM

CONTENTS