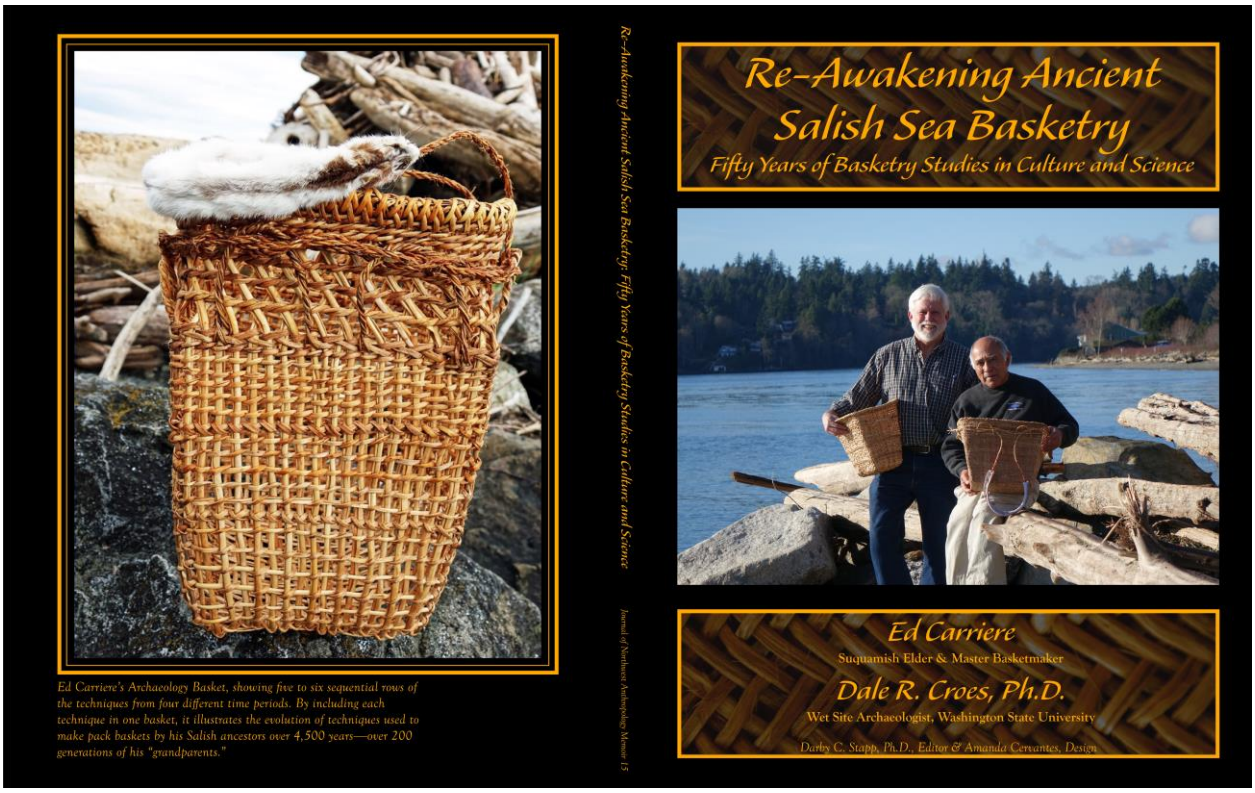

Cover of new book by Ed Carriere, Suquamish Elder and Master Basketmaker and Dale Croes, Wet Site Archaeologist, Washington State University. (Left, back cover) Ed's Archaeology Basket representing ancient weaves from 4,500, 3,000, 2,000 and 1,000 years ago in the Salish Sea, (Right, cover) Dale and Ed with their replicated 2,000 year old Biderbost wet site pack baskets (Carriere and Croes 2018; available on Amazon.com).

Meeting and Weaving with your 100th Grandparents

Ed Carriere, Suquamish Elder (84) and Master Basketweaver and Canoe Carver, and Dale R. Croes, Washington State University (WSU) wet/waterlogged archaeological site and ancient basket specialist (71), have written a book documenting their partnership in understanding and replicating the over 2,000 years, or 100 generations, of ancient Salish Sea basketry artifacts. This article takes excerpts from this new book in Ed's own words as he contributes half the text in this 300 page book, accompanied with details by 314 color plates, 100 line drawings, maps and charts, bibliography, list of suggested readings, a glossary and full index. The book, *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry, Fifty Years of Basketry Studies* is published by Northwest Anthropology, LLC. and available through Amazon.com. Search for Carriere and click on his Author's page for a great video featuring him making his traditional clam baskets that he had made for his family (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Ed Carriere, Suquamish Elder and Master Basketmaker and Dale Croes, Ph.D., WSU Wet site archaeologist in front of replicated Biderbost and other baskets they made and use to explain a new approach they are proposing that involves both ongoing cultural transmission and archaeological analysis: Generationally-Linked Archaeology. *Here they just gave a presentation at a Snoqualmie Tribe Elder's Honoring, who have the Biderbost site in their traditional territory. The tribe bought 100 books and handed them out to their members.*

We start with a Forward statement from our book by Bud Lane, Vice Chair, Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians and President, Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association (NNABA):

> **Bud:** The art of traditional basketry is the application of knowledge that has taken thousands of years to reach a weaver's head, hands, and heart. *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry* is a case study of this simple truth. Over the ages, basketry was learned by one generation and in turn taught to the next. Ed Carriere is a prime example of how that transfer of traditional knowledge functions, from his work today, back to the beginning of time.
>
> *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry* is a chronicle of the intersection where the arts and sciences cross. What we refer to as traditional knowledge is our "science." It differs from modern science only in that it has been passed down through the generations by hands-on teaching and oral tradition. Ed's lifetime of learning, making, and teaching is the way these things have always been done. Ed is not only a Masterweaver and bastion of traditional knowledge, but a botanist and engineer in his own right.

Dr. Dale Croes is well known throughout the Pacific Northwest for his work in wet site archaeology. Dale's love of tribal cultures and his wet site work has led to many amazing finds and a vast increase in knowledge about Northwest peoples and our journey from antiquity to the present. Dale is highly respected and trusted by Tribes and organizations in the Northwest because of his deference to Tribes when it comes to sensitive issues. Dale's expertise in ancient basketry has sometimes confirmed what we already knew, and other times has shed light on past traditions that had changed over time or been discarded completely. His work has helped us to more fully understand that while many traditions remain over the millennia, Northwest Tribal cultures, like all cultures worldwide, are dynamic and change over time.

Ed Carriere leads off the Acknowledgement section as follows:

We would like to thank first the hundreds of generations of basketmaker ancestors in the Salish Sea who transmitted their knowledge through what they unintentionally left in archaeological wet sites and intentionally passed on through their family's cultural transmissions to us today.

Ed: I would personally like to thank the Ancestors whose baskets were preserved for thousands of years and I could weave in honor of them. I could feel their hands helping my hands as I attempted to replicate their beautiful baskets.

I want to acknowledge the endless kindness of my Kia'h, my great-grandmother Julia Jacobs, who patiently raised me from birth and eventually to let me try my hands at making cedar clam baskets. She and her son, my great-uncle Lawrence Webster, were particularly happy I had the personal urge to make traditional cedar limb baskets and watched as I developed the needed skills through my early years. Lawrence continued to ask me if I was weaving baskets as I began again in 1969, knowing the art might be lost. This was after my Korean War services, raising a family, taking care of my Kia'h Julia until her passing, and our return to our Indian Trust lands and home in Indianola.

Ed Carriere introduces his Family History in Chapter 2:

Ed: In my early youth I had watched my grandmother making basketry in the "old" style; I called her Kia'h, meaning grandmother in my Lushootseed Salish language, but she was really my great-grandmother and the person who raised me. Kia'h was brought up by her adoptive parents, Suquamish Chief Wa-hal-chu and his wife Wes-i-dult, after her mother died giving birth to her in 1874. She arrived as a newborn on a timber sailing schooner from Portugal and since she lost her mom and could not be supported, and her dad, believed to be a cook on the ship, could not raise her, the ship's captain, knowing Chief Wa-hal-chu and Wes-i-dult, thought he would ask them. My great-grandmother was black, which further complicated the situation in a white-dominated Seattle community; Wes-i-dult, having lost all her six children at birth or after a short period, was lactating and supporting other babies, and they decided to try and support the newborn girl. Kia'h's dad said he would return and pick her up when she was older, but he never did. Chief Wa-hal-chu and Wes-i-dult named her Julia and they were happy to have a child of their own and raised her in the plank longhouse of Old Man House in Suquamish.

Chief Wa-hal-chu was a signer of the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1855 along with Chief Sealth (Seattle) and following Chief Sealth's going home (passing), he was appointed as the head chief at Old Man House, where he had lived along with Chief Sealth and their families. Chief Wa-hal-chu was over 70 and Wes-i-dult was in her mid-60s when they adopted Julia. As mentioned, the new baby was raised in the Old Man House, a huge plank house over 600 feet long and 40 feet wide. She was brought up in all the old ways and her primary language was Lushootseed, the main Puget Sound Coast Salish language. Since they made their own baskets from cedar limbs/roots/ and bark for clam gathering, storage, and carrying firewood, etc., Julia learned all the different techniques and continued to make her own baskets until her hands no longer could weave.

While growing up I occasionally followed and helped my Kia'h Julia gather long hanging cedar limbs for baskets a short distance from our home off the beach (Figure 2). She gathered limbs in the spring and early summer. The bark comes off easily at this time of the year. We had an old pair of loppers/clippers we could reach up and cut prime limbs. We carried these home and I watched/helped Grandma cut off the alternating twigs (spaced on either side of the branch in altering offshoots) and pull off the bark. Then she carefully started splitting these limbs into her basket splints and twiners, starting the split with a heavy butcher type knife. She might store these and wet them later when she had time to weave or needed a basket, and typically wove them on the front room couch.

In Indian tradition you mostly watch someone making something and eventually get the urge to try it yourself. No real verbal guidance is given, you mostly have to learn by careful observation. You were not able to ask questions, which could get you in serious trouble. You just watched and tried if you wanted to; this was the old Indian way. No questions; watch and learn.

The urge to make baskets came in 1948, when I was 14 years old, so I went out and gathered my cedar limbs and started cleaning them and splitting them into weavers (Figure 2). Grandma never really said anything about my project, but I could tell she was happy to see me doing this basketry work. She would sort through the limbs I brought home, and those that were no good I would find in the yard the next day and study these to learn which ones were not good. Those she kept, you knew were good ones.

Figure 2. Me, age 14, the year I made his first cedar limb clam basket with my Kia'h *Julia Jacobs. I believe this is the 4th of July, 1948.*

It was not perfect, but lasted me three years of clam gathering on the beach before it started to come apart, but it still could be repaired and used. I gathered clams with my uncles and cousins to make extra money—making six cents a pound from a buyer from Seattle. We laid about 50–100 gunny sacks (3/4 full) of clams on the beach until the buyer came. Each sack was about 100 lbs (=$6.00). I could dig 300 lbs of butter clams and/or littleneck/steamer clams in three hours (one tide). I would put about 50 lbs of clams into my cedar limb clam basket, which was about the size of a five-gallon bucket; when full I would take them down into the tide water and purge the sand out through the open-twine weave.

Since my basketry interests had waned during the years of trying to raise a family, I began realizing in 1969 that I better try to rekindle my interest and involvement in the art of traditional basketry before it was too late. Because I had not made one for twenty years (since 1948), I knew that if I did not start again it would be a lost art. It took a couple of years to start figuring it out using split cedar limbs. After making a few rough, misshaped baskets, a friend of mine and specialty bookbinder, John C. Hansen, took one or two of them over to Seattle to try to find a market for them in 1970 since he went over to sell his books there. He came back, handed me the baskets, and told me there was no market for them. Later I took some of my first clam baskets to the Christmas Artists Crafts Sale at the Indianola Club House and all my baskets sold there, so I knew there was a market.

Ed's wife Fanie carefully keep sales records of his basket sales, and it can be estimated that Ed has made over 600 cedar limb and root clam baskets so far in his basket making career. He points out:

> **Ed**: I normally use 8 long-split cedar limbs per clam baskets for the bottoms and side warps, so, following the above estimate of how many clam baskets I have made in my career since 1970, I have processed and used about 5,000 cedar limbs. The clam basket three-strand twining elements are usually cedar roots, and I use approximately 100 feet of carefully split root elements per basket (one good 25-foot root will produce 100 feet of weaving elements). So, with an estimated 600 clam baskets produced, I have used 60,000 feet of split cedar roots for these baskets, or over 11 miles of root twining elements, so far in my basket making career. As the crow flies, this would be the distance from my Indianola house to the UW Burke Museum where the 2,000 year old Biderbost ancient baskets we replicated are kept.

Following his retirement Ed Carriere could focus on his cultural work:

> **Ed:** I was able to retire in 1988 from a lifetime of machinist work and continue to expand my Salish basketry and cultural training, which also led to an interest in canoe building. All my life I wanted to weave like the Ancestors, whom I viewed as my great- and great-great-grandparents kind of work. I never thought it would lead into this work on 2,000-year-old style baskets from the Biderbost wet site–learning from ancestors 100 generations ago through wet site archaeological finds. This is a peak experience in reaching this long-term cultural goal of mine.
>
> During my expansion of my cultural knowledge and experiences with Canoe Journeys, I continued to work on basketry and enjoyed attending the annual Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association (NNABA) meetings. My first real contact with Dale Croes, and where our relationship started in earnest, was at the 2004 NNABA 10th anniversary program at the Squaxin Island Tribe Casino-Resort. Dale visited my table and was very impressed by my work, especially my cedar limb and root baskets. He told me about the ancient clam baskets they were excavating at the archaeological project of Qwu?gues with the Squaxin Island Tribe. Of course I was excited to hear about these 400- to 700-year-old Salish Sea clam baskets that were almost identical to those my Kia'h Julia, helped me make so many years ago.
>
> The summer of 2006 was a busy one, especially with the Paddle to Muckleshoot, however towards the end of summer I was able to visit Dale and his students at the Qwu?gues field school. On August 7, 2006, I got an excited call from Dale saying they just found the top edge of a large clam basket and wanted to see if I could come down and help them further expose it and help analyze it. I was really excited too and drove the 1 ½ hours down to help out on the morning of August 8th. When I arrived some of the Squaxin Island Cultural Resources Department and co-managers of the site work were there to help expose the new basket find; everyone was excited (Figure 3).

Figure 3. (Left) Ed visiting the Qwu?gwes wet site the day after the college and Squaxin Island Tribe team exposed (right) the upper edge of a large cedar limb and root clam basket.

To say the least, I was very excited to be a part of the exposure and understanding of this approximately 700-year-old clam basket, very similar to what my great-grandmother Kia'h Julia had made and I had been making for about 40 years now. The preservation astonished me; the ancient cedar limb/root basket was so fresh, and almost like it was placed their yesterday. Wet sites were truly amazing and in this case showed me the work of a weaver who I was probably related to through 35 generations of Salish Sea weavers. The find truly let me meet an Ancestor I thought I would never meet and see the basketry work of their time period in our Salish cultural region. It also showed a connection in style through these 35 generations to myself and other Salish Sea weavers.

Beginning Ed Carriere and Dale Croes' Study and Replication of 2,000 year old Biderbost archaeological We Site Basketry

Dale: In late 2014 I came up with the idea to take another look at the 2,000-year-old Biderbost basketry collection housed at the UW Burke Museum, which I had first examined in 1973 for my Ph.D. dissertation. As I was thinking about Biderbost, I thought back on my decade of work with Ed Carriere, and wondered if he would be interested in replicating these ancient Salish baskets. I called him with the suggestion, which he welcomed with open arms. This effort represents a bringing together of our stories into a united front that truly opened the doors to both cultural and scientific explorations that neither of us ever imagined. To Ed, this was working like his ancestors had 100 generations back. For me, as a wet site archaeologist, I realized this would provide an actual example of how our tests of ancient Salish Sea basketry links through to the present and its cultural transmission to Ed Carriere.

The collaborative work with the 2,000 year old Biderbost collection made Ed Carriere and Dale Croes realize that they were on to something. What had begun as an interesting idea—to work together on an analysis of a basketry remnants/artifacts from a wet site on the Snoqualmie River excavated in the 1960s by an amateur archaeological society—ended with the recognition that the process they had followed had produced revolutionary results. Connecting Ed with

basketry made by his ancestors 2,000 years ago infused a spirit that inspired Ed to delve deeper into the ancient basketry technology. Some of the attributes and styles of weave he understood; those that were new to him he pursued through experimental replication, learning much in the process.

Ed: Working with scientists such as Dale and his assistant, Kathleen Hawes, who could make an exact cellular identification of the basketry materials used at Biderbost, I could assess this old collection, and I realized that all I had learned from family and friends could readily be applied to replicating my, no doubt, 100th grandparent's and ancestors' baskets. I also knew I would learn from them too, and often felt them guiding my hands when puzzled about how to proceed. The baskets I replicated were of a finer gauge open twining weave called a two-strand weave, with finer split cedar roots than I typically used in making my traditional clam baskets. My Salish style clam baskets also used a combination of split cedar limbs and roots, versus the almost total use of split cedar roots at Biderbost 2,000 years back.

After finishing four large Biderbost pack baskets and four small Biderbost fine open-twined baskets, I truly learned from my 100th generation ancestors, and feel I have mastered this old style and I became one with them (Figure 4-5).

Figure 4. Examples of the two types of 2,000 year old Biderbost basket pack basket fragments from the site (above) and replicas of the two Biderbost type pack baskets, Dale's checker plaited type example (below, left), and Ed's large fine open-twined type example (below, right).

Figure 5. Ed showing how the tumpline would work to carry wood and other items in his fourth Biderbost pack basket replica.

Dale and Ed next made arrangements to visit the University of British Columbia (UBC) Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada, to see basketry from three Fraser River Delta sites: the 2,000-year-old baskets from the Water Hazard wet site, the basketry from the 3,000-year-old sites of Musqueam Northeast, and the 4,500-year-old styles from the Glen Rose Cannery wet site. Although located over 100 miles north of the Biderbost site, Dale's earlier statistical analyses on these and all other large ancient wet site basketry collections had demonstrated that these "inside" Salish Sea sites were linked in terms of their style. Giving Ed the opportunity to see the styles for himself would provide a test of Dale's hypotheses and potentially help verify those results.

After mastering these ancient Fraser River weaves, Ed began working on what he called an "archaeology" basket, which was composed of five to six sequential rows of the techniques

from four different time periods (Figure 4). By including each technique in one basket, Ed could show the evolution of techniques used to make pack baskets by his Salish ancestors for over 4,500 years (that is, over 200 generations of his "grandparents" (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Ed Carrier's Archaeology Basket with the main pack basket weaves used by his ancestors over a 4500-year period. This basket "layering" represents, from bottom to top, the 4,500 year old, 3,000 year old, 2,000 year old and 1,000+ year old style pack basket weaves.

Ed: I must say that the answer to why I am doing this project is to learn from my ancestors and in the process re-connect with them through the millennium. This project would not be possible if archaeologists had not recovered these perishables from the Salish Sea wet sites, especially basketry and other important wood and fiber artifacts from my deep past. Having these artifacts to hold and study has opened the door to deep rooted cultural transmission, teachings through the generations, and showing how many of our Coast Salish Traditions have continued to the present. By taking what we have learned and sharing it with our community, these traditions will continue into our future, providing cultural wealth to all traditions in our Salish Sea territory. If we all do our work, both archaeologically and

culturally, we show how our cultural transmission is strong in both directions—past, present, and future.

From my personal and cultural perspective, I had throughout my life strove to generationally link back to the old traditions of basketry, especially through my Kia'h Julia, and baskets she got from her parents, Chief Wa-hal-chu and Wes-i-dult, which I had proudly inherited. Of course I worked with other Master Basketmakers in my Salish cultural communities and elsewhere (a good place for this is the annual Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association (NNABA)), and I never hesitated and often ask to visit old basketry collections in museums. However, I never dreamed I would be able to generationally link back and learn from 100+ generations of my ancestors through the wet site archaeology evidence in our region and thank all archaeologists who have contributed to the recovery of this rich cultural heritage in the Salish Sea and beyond.

After Dale Croes pondered their actual scientific approach, he decided they needed a new concept and definition to make a better fit, calling this *Generationally-Linked Archaeology*: linking the current cultural artisans back through the generations and with the archaeological evidence through a process of cultural/ideational transmission. In their case the cultural artisan is Ed Carriere, who strove to work back through the generations of training following the guidance of his Great Grandmother Julia Jacobs, who learned through past generations of her parents, Wes-i-dult and Chief Wa-hal-chu, and those who taught them (Figure 5). The Northwest Coast of North America wet site evidence so far recovered, representing a solid 3,000 years in the inner Salish Sea, statistically links from 3,000-year-old basketry, through 2,000-year-old examples (for one, Biderbost), and then through 1,000 to 400-year-old sites and styles that link in tradition to Ed's generational teachers and styles (Figure 7).

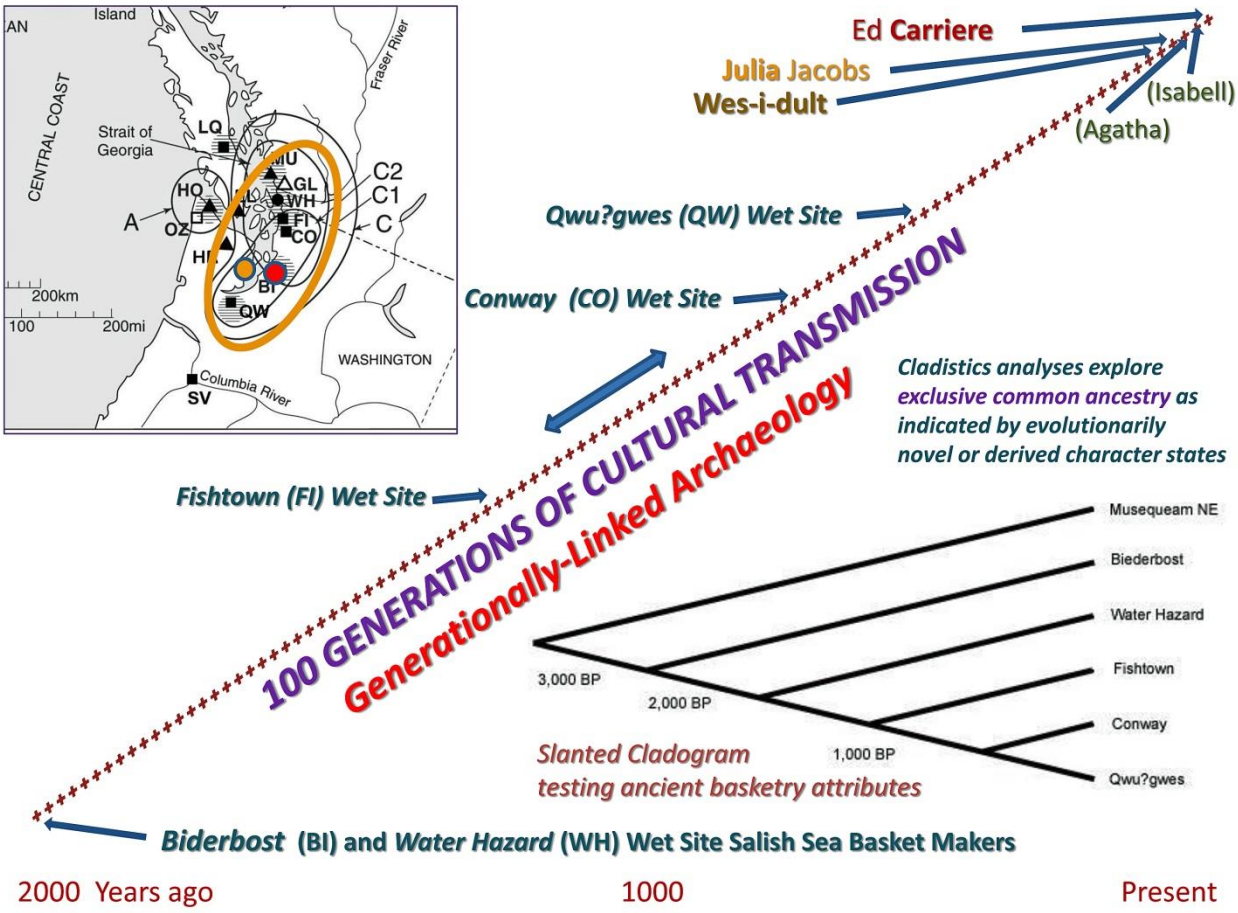

Figure 7. Chart illustrating Generationally-Linked Archaeology where +s represent the generations from Ed back through his teacher and great-grandmother Julia Jacobs (his Mother Isabell and Grandmother Agatha showed no interest in basketry), Julia's mom, Wes-i-dult and with other generations before her and statistically back through data from wet sites in the inner Salish Sea eventually to the Biderbost and Water Hazard 2,000-year-old archaeological wet sites evidence. Ed works from the present back through these 100+ generations. Dale works from the deep past upward with wet site basketry data, statistically showing stylistic continuity through 3000 years of generations and shown by the results of his slanted cladogram using cladistics tests (below right) and his generated map of regional basketry areas (above left). The red dot is Biderbost (BI) and orange dot is where Ed lives today in the inside Salish Sea—his traditional territory.

Re-Awakening the acknowledgement of a 2,000 year old Master Basketmaker

When Ed replicated the most fine-weave baskets from the 2,000-year-old Biderbost wet site, he knew this weaver was a well-known Master Basketmaker in their time, and through this study, we once again can acknowledge and know this weaver; re-awaken her/his fame and cultural celebration as a Master. Ed, when overwhelmed by the fine skills of this weaver, would often feel his/her presence to help guide him along and properly capture the work of this no doubt acclaimed artist and Master from a hundred generations ago. This weaver's acknowledgment that they felt through family and community is now back, re-awakened, after 2,000 years, and shown to be part of a long line of Salish Sea Masters that passed their teachings through their

cultural transmission—including her/him making a miniature pack basket no doubt for a young relative: a true sign of our humanity.

Salish basket scholar, Sharon Fortney, reflected this cultural attitude well in an article entitled Symbols of Identity, Containers for Knowledge and Memories, when she wrote:

> For many Coast Salish people, baskets are more than just containers for food, tools, and other types of belongings; they contain and carry forward memories and identities about who we are as people. They are not just functional objects, but are ones that carry everyday reminders of our grandparents and ancestors, their spiritual gifts and individual creativity. (Fortney 2008:178)

Ed's masterful re-awakening of approximately 225 generations of Salish Sea basket making traditions in one basket, his Archaeology Basket shows the layers of memories and identities from four Salishan time periods (4,500, 3,000, 2000, and 1000 years ago). Ed knew this one basket would re-awaken and remind us of the 225th through current grandparents and ancestors of all Coast Salish Peoples. Ed's long-time friend and Master Artist, Bruce Subiyay Miller reflected this in one of his last publications:

> What does the maker of this basket want you to know? Think about the fact that artists, like the basketmaker, might be the only conduit of precious information by which Coast Salish people today remain connected to their ancestors. (Miller and Pavel 2008)

Now we pray the re-awakening continues to grow into the Salish Sea future.

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