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FORMERLY NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH NOTES

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MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts can be submitted in double-spaced typescript on 8½ x 11 in. paper, and an electronic file in Microsoft Word sent via e-mail or on a CD is preferred. An abstract will accompany each manuscript. Footnotes will be avoided and if used at all will be assembled at the end of the text. Questions of reference and style can be answered by referring to the style guide found on the website or to *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 37(1):101-130. Other problems of style can be normally solved through reference to *The Manual of Style*, University of Chicago Press, 14th edition (1993). 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." Authors will receive one free reprint of articles, Memoirs, or full-issue monographs. Additional reprints may be produced by the author, however they must be exact duplicates of the original and are not to be sold for profit.

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JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 46

RODERICK SPRAGUE, DARBY C. STAPP, DEWARD E. WALKER, JR.

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JONA 46(2) is dedicated to the life and accomplishments of:

Roderick Sprague (1933–2012)

Honoring History, Celebrating Life



Dr. Roderick Sprague III was born in Albany, Oregon, on 18 February 1933. He lived most of his life in Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. He received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in anthropology from Washington State University, served two years in the U.S. Army (E-5), and received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Arizona, Tucson. He worked at Washington State University as a research archaeologist for three years before going to the University of Idaho in 1967 as an assistant professor of anthropology. Within a year and a half of his arrival, he became chairman of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology and Director of the Laboratory of Anthropology. After 12½ years the two positions

became too much for one person and the two units were separated. He chose to remain as the director of the Laboratory of Anthropology, but continued to teach anthropology part-time including summer archaeological field schools. One notable year was a sabbatical in 1986–1987 teaching at Inner Mongolia University as the first participant in the University of Idaho exchange with the institution.

His field work was conducted in Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Arizona, and Prince Edward Island. In 1986, he received both the University of Idaho Library Faculty Award for Outstanding Service and the Sigma Xi Published Research Paper Faculty Award. In 1996, he received the Phi Kappa Phi Distinguished Faculty Award for Research. In 2000, he received the J.C. Harrington Medal, the highest international award in historical archaeology and the Carol Ruppé Service Award in 2004, both given by The Society for Historical Archaeology. Currently, he remains the only member to ever receive both of these awards and the only member to serve two terms as President of the Society.

During his career he published over 120 scientific papers and articles, plus over 100 unpublished reports to agencies specializing in historical archaeology, cultural change theory, and artifact analysis including such areas as glass trade beads and buttons. He conducted research and burial excavations at the request of ten different American Indian tribal governments in the Plateau, Great Basin, and Northwest Coast with repatriation a standard procedure many years prior to the enactment of the federal Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act. In 1968, he began a 40-year tenure as senior co-editor for *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes/Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, joining senior co-editor Deward E. Walker Jr., who had started the journal the previous year. During his years at the University of Idaho, he assumed

editorial duties for 96 of the 98 issues of the *University of Idaho Anthropological Reports*. He also served for 20 years as Review Editor for *Historical Archaeology*, and during his lifetime served on numerous editorial advisory boards.

Legal work for five different Northwest Tribes and two tribes outside of the area involved testimony in 5th District Federal Court on five occasions, including one case before the Supreme Court, as well as testimony before various state and federal legislative bodies.

After retirement, he continued to live in Moscow, Idaho, with his wife Linda. He was designated Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Director Emeritus of the Laboratory of Anthropology at the University of Idaho. He continued to conduct research and serve as an expert witness for Northwest tribes after retirement.

Rick passed away Monday 20 August 2012 from natural causes; he was preceded in death by his parents, Roderick Sprague II and Mary Willis Sprague. He is survived by his wife Linda Ferguson Sprague; two sisters: Anne Geaudreau (her husband Wain) of Newtown, ID, and Arda (her husband Bob (deceased)) Rutherford of Dewey, AZ; and four children and two grandchildren: Roderick Sprague IV of Moscow, ID, Katherine Sprague (her partner Tabitha Simmons) of Moscow, ID, Frederick Sprague (his wife Dawn and their son Jack) of Renton, WA, and Alexander (his wife Rebecca and their son Phineas) of Boise, ID.

Summary of Scholarly Work

Refereed papers: 27

Other papers: 65

Press Books written: 1

Books edited: 5

Reviews: 16

Editorials: 7

Manuscripts: 8 major, 2 over 1000 pp.

Letter Reports: 63

Expert witness reports: 6

Papers Read at Meetings:

Regional: 15 invited papers, 23 volunteered papers, 3

symposia organized, 3 symposia discussant, 4 general program chair.

National (North American): 13 invited papers, 10 volunteer papers, 4 symposia organized,

2 symposia discussant, 1 general program chair.

To Avoid Confusion

Only Roderick Sprague IV has the number as part of his legal name, others are only of genealogical convention. All were called Rod except III, who was known as Rick.

Roderick Sprague [I] 28 January 1873–26 June 1919, born Thurston County, WA. AB

Roderick Sprague [II rarely Jr.] 10 January 1901–17 March 1962, born Skagway, AK. PhD

Roderick Sprague (III) 18 February 1933–20 August 2012, born Albany, OR. PhD

Roderick Sprague IV 27 October 1959– , born Pullman, WA. BA

CULTURAL CONTINUITY IN THE KITCHEN CUPBOARD: A PERSONAL REFLECTION

Astrida R. Blukis Onat

ABSTRACT

The intersection of archaeological investigation with ethnographic and personal experiences in Indian country can profoundly impact research perspectives and archaeological interpretation. Teachings from the kitchen cupboard and from Indian youth in the role of cultural elders, teachings about the elements of a practice called “spreading the table” and the importance of including the Spirit World—*s-hud=alik*—provide a model for examining archaeological sites in the Puget Sound region of the Pacific Northwest.

Introduction

This reflection results from the intersection of a long career in archaeological investigations with participation in many Indian cultural events in the Puget Sound region of the Pacific Northwest. The former involved much professional training and experience; the latter is an ongoing process of accepting teachings from Indian people on how to behave appropriately in social contexts not quite familiar or comfortable. These teachings have had a profound effect on me as a professional researcher and on my practice of archaeology, culminating in work at site 45-KI-703 on the Duwamish River (Blukis Onat et al. 2010).

The narrative that follows may be categorized as a kind of reflexive anthropological archaeology (Moss 1999; Hodder 2002; Robertson 2002; Etherington 2004). For this reason, there is some use of the first person in the telling. The narrative also gives the names of some Indian individuals—with their permission—in order to acknowledge the help they have given me as teachers. Their teachings have been an invaluable and unique benefit. Each story centers on a different kind of teaching, although there is some overlap, since they are aspects of a larger cultural construct. Also, there are several more aspects to each story than are related here. Each story is a summary of an event for a particular focus and is not a full description of all that occurred. The chronological order in which the stories are presented reflects the process a person learning another culture is likely to undergo, an unfolding of insight in a step-by-step progression. The last section explores the cultural coherence among the stories and how they might be applied in the interpretation of archaeological sites and their contents.

The Kitchen Cupboard

Darrington, Washington, is a small town located in the foothills of the Cascade Mountains. There, in the 1970s, we were working on the Skagit Wild and Scenic River sample survey for archaeological sites (Blukis Onat, Bennett, and Hollenbeck 1980a). That study was soon followed by another focused on the Indian religious use of the Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest area (Blukis Onat and Hollenbeck 1981). Ray Charles, a man of Sauk-Suiattle descent, then living on the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community Reservation in LaConner, Washington, introduced me to Jean Fish Bedal and Edith Bedal, two Sauk-Suiattle elders residing in Darrington. In the course of the studies the sisters and I became friends.

After the initial contracted studies, we started working on tape recording stories that Jean and Edith had written. Later, photographs were added to the stories. The final document provided the history of the Bedal family, as well as some of the history of the Sauk-Suiattle Tribe and the Darrington area. The documentation was of particular importance to the sisters, as they were the last of the descendants of Chief Wawetkin, the Sauk-Suiattle traditional Chief in 1855, at treaty time. The work involved in bringing the manuscript to publication is detailed in the preface of the final published work entitled *Two Voices* (Fish and Bedal 2000). The story that follows relates one event that occurred in the process of compiling the manuscript.

Every month or two, we gathered at Jean's house in Darrington to do our work. Jean always prepared a dinner for us after the work. As the years progressed and Jean no longer cooked, my friend Lona Wilbur drove from Swinomish in LaConner to accompany me on these visits and to prepare the dinner. We met in Arlington and took one car upriver. According to Ray Charles, Lona's Sauk-Suiattle grandfather, she and the sisters were related. Learning the history of the Sauk-Suiattle was important to Lona as part of her own family heritage. Lona often brought salmon and other foods with her. She prepared the dinner while the rest of us worked at the kitchen table.

One day, as Lona was setting the table, she remarked that Jean had been at the same powwow that she herself had attended a few years earlier. Jean agreed that she had attended the event. Because our work had not involved the topic of powwows or anything related, I asked Lona why she had made the comment. Lona replied that she herself had some of the same dishes that Jean had and that they came from the powwow she had mentioned. This bit of information struck me as having some potential meaning in an archaeological context. Expressing this idea to Jean, Edith, and Lona elicited little response and they resumed talking about the powwow event and remarked on those who had attended. Although I did not think to ask where the powwow had taken place, it had not been held either at Swinomish or at Sauk-Suiattle. The kitchen cupboard held the first teaching at the intersection of archaeological information and living culture.

Cultural Elders

A second narrative revolves around Lona Wilbur's interest in the education of Swinomish young people. Beginning in the late 1960s, my archaeological work in the traditional area of the Swinomish tribe had resulted in a dissertation and a survey of the Skagit River Levees (Blukis Onat 1980; Blukis Onat, Bennett, and Hollenbeck 1980b). In 1989, Lona participated in an archaeology field school excavation at site 45-SK-31 on the Swinomish reservation. The field school continued in 1990. In 1992, Lona helped to create a one-month archaeological training program for Swinomish youth ages 14–18, at the same site. The trainee project continued for three

summers. The excavation was located within the traditional Swinomish village—*twiwoc*—continuously occupied for the past thousand years and probably longer.

The project, which became abbreviated as the TWIWOC project, was about the history of the Swinomish people at their traditional settlement. According to accepted Swinomish protocols, it was necessary to open and close the archaeological work in a traditional Swinomish way. The protocols included prayer and acknowledgment of those who would work on the project. The protocols included steps taken in relation to any important undertaking in the life of the community. First there was an announcement about the undertaking to the community, with the specific event type, date, and time given for the opening ceremony. At the stated time, persons who were to conduct the event introduced Witnesses invited to affirm what was to take place. Prayers for help with the undertaking were given. The invited Witnesses spoke about the activities that were to take place. At the end of the opening ceremony, all those attending were invited to a meal at which the Witnesses were thanked for their words. The following day, the archaeological work began. This same ceremony was repeated at the beginning and closing of each season of archaeological work. At the closing ceremony, in addition to the gifts of thanks to the Witnesses, gifts were presented to all those who had participated in the work, and there was a give-away of gifts to all those attending the dinner.

Learning from the Swinomish community about the archaeological site also was important as a teaching about cultural continuity. The TWIWOC project took place in the heart of the modern Swinomish community, at the former homesite of the tribal Chairman, Robert Joe. The family members of student/trainees frequently came to the site to see what we were doing and to offer information about the location. A number of marbles and other toys with which the Chairman and his friends had played as children were recovered. These “lost marbles” elicited no end of teen-age humor. Also uncovered were two historic features: the brickwork top of the filled, old community well and the boundaries of a former garden area. The historic artifacts and features were found among prehistoric midden deposits. Both deposits were from the same traditional community.

At *twiwoc*, there was definite overlap between traditional practices and modern context in the archaeological deposits. Although I have taught many field schools and have served as principal investigator on many excavations in the Puget Sound region, this was the only program in which the young trainees knew more about salmon fishing and how to identify fish bones than I did—a lot more. The older members of the local community communicated a great deal about traditions and activities associated with the specific location. Oral history sessions became part of the lunch hour at the Senior Center adjacent to the site. Stories about the site and the people who lived there were tape-recorded.

The first teaching received in the context of the TWIWOC project was that Swinomish people were clearly my cultural elders in America, no matter what their age. There was much to be learned about how to appropriately interpret archaeological findings in their cultural context. The second teaching was that all persons participating in an event, in whatever capacity, are to be acknowledged.

Spreading the Table

For three years, work with Jean and Edith in the fall and winter alternated with archaeological training of Swinomish youth in the summer. Things changed in 1995. The excavations at Swinomish closed. Edith became progressively more frail and needed nursing home

care and Jean began to require home care. In the early 1990s, first Jean, then Edith, asked that I become their trustee when necessary as they had no direct descendants and I was already involved in their care. The sisters also expressed that they wished to have traditional Indian funerals when the time came. Jean and Edith must have expressed the same wishes about funerals to two somewhat younger Sauk-Suiattle elders as well—Katherine Joseph and Paul Harvey (both now deceased). They sometimes came to Jean's house when we visited.

The Sauk-Suiattle community as a whole also cared for Edith and Jean. As they came to recognize my role in the lives of the sisters, tribal members undertook to teach me how I should conduct myself with respect to my caretaking tasks. In a healing ceremony for Jean and Edith conducted in 1994, I was told that I should "spread the table" for the elders with help from the community. Only recently had the term "spread the table" entered my consciousness and the article by Miller and Hilbert (1993) that references the term was a surprise find. At the first of several healing events for the sisters, the main speaker gave me a child's bib as a gift of thanks for helping. Perhaps the bib meant that I was a baby who needed to learn the full import of my undertaking. Perhaps this was over analysis, but that is how it was received. Thanking-gifts are often a teaching.

When Edith Bedal passed away in 1995 (age 92), Katherine Joseph asked her daughters Norma Joseph and Nancy DeCoteau to help me "spread the table" for the funeral. Jean was in a nursing home and was no longer able to help. Indian ceremonial gatherings had become familiar to me, but spreading the table was a new concept. Fortunately, an extended family community gathered around to help honor an important elder and tribal historian with a proper ceremony. The sisters Norma and Nancy helped with all arrangements. Lona Wilbur quietly helped manage items of protocol, as she knew me well enough to tell me directly what to do when I became confused.

The planning for and organizing of the traditional Indian part of the service provided more teachings. The first was about the distribution of Edith's possessions. The initial selection took place at Edith's house prior to the funeral and was attended by family members. Elders oversaw the selection of items to be distributed among guests at the give-away to follow the service. The collected items were primarily jewelry, scarves, some small decorative household goods, and items such as blankets that had been collected and stored for just this purpose. Very personal things were not distributed but were taken to a site on the reservation to be burned.

Next came organizing the special gifts and shopping for additional items for the give-away after the dinner. The jewelry from Edith's collection was placed in small bags. Jewelry and decorative household items were labeled as gifts for specific persons. Other items Edith had collected for this event also were designated for specific persons. New blankets were purchased for Speakers and others officiating. Towels, washcloths, various house wares, and a large quantity of dishes with the same patterns were purchased for those attending. Because Edith considered white as her color, many of the items purchased, especially the blankets and fiber goods, were white or mostly white. It was evident that it could be possible to identify people who had attended Edith's service from the gifts they took home. Not only the dinner but also the gifts of thanks for those that would be attending were part of spreading the table.

Although the sisters had no direct descendants, their mother Susan and Susan's parents John Wawetkin and Mattie, had many relatives. Many relations from a number of different tribal communities attended the funeral. At the dinner after the service and burial, official Speakers gave Witness to the life of Edith. Relatives spoke publicly about their relationship to Edith before those gathered. Everyone attending compared notes on how they were related to Edith and to each other. Genealogies were recorded, with individuals adding information from their own extended families.

The elements of the protocols that structure family and community events are specific to the purpose of the undertaking. Services for the deceased are one circumstance, commemoration of important community events are another, the giving of Indian names yet another. Families sometimes have small private events. The structure of events usually occurs in the same order, but there are variations according to circumstance. Also, the events may not all take place on the same day and it is possible that two events might overlap. For important and large community events, the elements usually occur in a sequence that can last several days. For longer-term undertakings, the opening and closing events may be months apart. But all undertakings end with a give-away, a spreading of the table with food and thanking-gifts. As noted earlier, gifts are selected, purchased, and distributed according to protocols that include a hierarchy of visitors, family members, participants in the undertaking being commemorated, and the cooks in the kitchen. At namings, toys are given to all the attending children.

The give-away at the dinner follows gifting protocols based on family relationships. Family relationships are at the heart of the structure of any ceremony and of the give-away that follows. For everyone attending, the teaching provided in spreading the table affirms the importance of family connections and community heritage.

Including the Spirit World—*s-hud=alik*"

A ceremony called a Burning is conducted in association with funerals. However, many other important tribal events include this ceremony, known in Lushootseed as *s-hud=alik*" (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994:111). The Lushootseed word is based on the morpheme for burn and fire *hud*. This morpheme is basic to many words and word combinations that have to do with burning, heat, and fire. A Burning is conducted to include the spirit world in the spreading of the table.

Some days after Edith's funeral, the items set aside earlier were burned at the Sauk-Suiattle Reservation upriver. In addition, offerings of food were made to the spirit world. The Burning site consisted of a frame of logs on the ground, with fuel in the center. The fuel for the fire was split fir and cedar. The personal items to be burned were set in the center of the fire, then plates of food offerings were placed into the fire from the sides. Cups of water and juice were poured on the logs framing the fire. Everything burned well. The Burning event concluded a satisfactory acknowledgment of an important life.

When Jean Bedal Fish passed away in 1997, the process and protocols described above were repeated in their essential elements. Because Jean had been in a nursing home for almost two years, there was little of a personal nature to be burned. However, a small Burning took place adjacent to the Shaker Church at Tulalip where the dinner was held.

Also in 1997, another Burning at the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community led to yet another and more complex stage of the teaching about family and heritage. The tribe was conducting a reburial ceremony for human remains that had been excavated in the course of Seattle Central Community College field school projects at sites in Skagit County, remains recovered from eroding banks on Whidbey Island, and remains transferred to the tribe from the Island County Coroner's Office. The reburial was planned and organized by the Swinomish Culture Committee with advice from Swinomish spiritual leaders on how to conduct all stages of the reburial. Information about other reburial events in the past and at other reservations was discussed. The reburial process followed the protocols for a traditional funeral. The service was conducted at the Smokehouse and the reburial took place at the Swinomish cemetery. Four tribal

leaders, two from other tribes, were invited as Witnesses to the event. A Burning, give-away, and dinner followed the ceremony. As excavator and custodian of most of the human remains, my participation was expected in this effort. It was also expected that I would bear witness to all stages of the reburial undertaking, beginning with moving the human remains from storage through to the thanking give-away that concluded the event.

The Burning at the reburial was somewhat different from others I had attended. Because of the large number of remains reburied, and because they had come from several locations, the event had been planned as a community Burning that required a large fire. A cribwork of logs was constructed to contain the fire. Because the individuals that were reburied had passed away long ago, the plates of food offered contained only traditional plants and game. Other items offered were made of natural materials. Many prayers were said as the large fire took its time to cleanly consume the many offerings and the cribwork structure.

Over the years, I have attended many social and cultural events at several reservations and in non-reservation settings that have included fires constructed for ceremonial Burnings. The ceremonial details are not presented here, as the discussion focuses only on the materials that would leave evidence in an archaeological context. Although burnings are often associated with disposition of the material goods of recently deceased persons, they also are held in association with especially significant tribal undertakings. As such, they tend to be relatively common, if irregular, events. Burnings are done because there is recognition that the spirit world is present at all times and in all places. The spiritual beings need to be included in important family and community activities. When there is a great disturbance such as a natural or human disaster, a Burning is required to explain to the other world what is being done to heal the disruption. A Burning is an obligation and a responsibility to the living as well as those long gone.

All Burnings include setting up a table for offerings of food and special items to the ancestral and spirit world. The burning fire is thus a metaphorical spreading of the table for the spiritual community. The table is a framework of logs that is constructed for the occasion. Fuel wood is placed in the center of the log structure. The entire structure is covered with mats or cloths on which the plates and platters of food are set. Each platter or plate may contain one or more types of food. The offering of foods and other items varies according to what is appropriate to the event (e.g., a Burning for a recent funeral will include materials quite different from a Burning at a naming, or those at a Burning commemorating a community effort). Special objects or favorite foods of specific deceased persons may be burned or the special objects may symbolize the reason for the Burning. The offerings and the table are burned until the fire consumes all offerings and the table framework. It is always important to include the spirit world in prayer at all tribal events and to acknowledge this presence through prayer when spreading the table.

In addition to the specific Lushootseed word for the Burning practice—*s'hud=alik*—some detailed ethnographic information about Burnings has been documented by anthropologists, missionaries, and tribal historians (Wike 1953; Kew 1970; Amoss 1978; Eells 1985; Carpenter 2002). It is regarded as an ancient practice.

From the literature and from my personal observations as a witness to Burnings, the reasons for selecting a site for a fire are varied. The site may be used repeatedly and at each commemoration and the table rebuilt in much the same place. The outer logs of an older fire may be moved to the interior to serve as dry fuel. If the location needs to be changed due to natural events or community reorganizing, a new location nearby may be selected. The purpose of setting the table remains a cultural constant. The specific fire structures constructed vary with the purpose of the event and the scale of the undertaking.

A Cultural Model for Puget Sound Archaeology

As a result of the intersection of archaeological and tribal customs over the years, I have adapted both field methods and analyses to include Indian community perspectives and teachings about what archaeological data can encompass (Blukis Onat 1985, 1987, 1992, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1999a, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2008b; Blukis Onat and Kiers 2007; Blukis Onat and Morgenstein 2002; Blukis, Onat, Morgenstein, and Bernick 2002; Blukis Onat et al. 1988, 1997, 2010) and what ethnographic information may provide (Blukis Onat 1984, 1990, 1999b, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2008c, 2011).

The practice of Burning was first suggested in the interpretation of one, and possibly two, large fire features at archaeological site 45-KI-703 (Blukis Onat et al. 2010:323–346). There was some resistance to this interpretation. Because the native term—Burning—caused tribal concern, I used the term Commemorative Fire in the 45-KI-703 data recovery report discussion of the site. A detailed description of the types of Burning fires I had observed and witnessed was included in the report discussion. The discussion also reviewed descriptions of fire features at other nearby excavated sites that could be interpreted as Burning fires. Such fires are unlike any of the cooking fires studied by Thoms (2008, 2009).

The large fire feature at 45-KI-703 qualifies as a Burning fire because the site is located along the Duwamish River, is in the center of a well documented sacred location where War of the Winds Epic tells of major geological events (Ballard 1999), and because Burning fires of similar size and construction have been identified and described in the ethnographic literature. In addition, personal observation of many different kinds of fires constructed for Burning events, fires at salmon barbecues and in shellfish pits, and fires built for evening warmth led to the conclusion that the large fire feature resembled the remains of a Burning fire more than anything else. Final conviction came when a young Indian visitor to site 45-KI-703 remarked that what we were excavating looked like a Burning fire—just as I was coming to that same conclusion. Once again, it was apparent that younger Indian people are my cultural elders—even in things archaeological.

This brings us back to the kitchen cupboard. In Jean's house and at many other Indian homes, I recognized that none of the dishes, and very little else in the material realm, seemed to be in matched sets. On the other hand, the times I have participated in shopping for give-away materials, items usually were bought in matched sets because they were bought by lot or in large quantities. The goods included a variety of containers (large laundry baskets and smaller containers), various fiber goods (fabric, different size towels, small hand knit bags and pillows), and sets of dishes, glasses, and various utensils. When brought to the location where they would be given away, the items all of one type or design were visually prominent.

Thanking-gifts at give-aways followed a hierarchy protocol. Speakers, official Witnesses, and prominent guests who had traveled from a distance received blankets and special items. The distribution of these gifts was well organized and precise. The larger body of attendees and special friends at the event received household goods. Although I was excited to think how the same dishes in different households communicated to visitors about shared events, it was not the material goods that were important; it was the social event itself and knowing who had attended that were significant to the community. The ordinary kitchenware and linens united the community event. The event was also a time for teaching young people proper protocols of respect toward leaders and elders. The gifts are a "Thank You" for coming to witness the event and to acknowledge those who spread the table.

There are important implications in the give-away practice for interpreting archaeological deposits. How would such objects in a kitchen cupboard be represented in a purely archaeological

context? Perhaps through basketry and textiles in wet sites; perhaps through decoration on utilitarian items. Might some items be toys and not models or unfinished blanks? Might atlatls, blanket pins, combs, and other decorated objects represent the remains of a give-away and indicate a distribution network? Were precious items such as beads, metal, and special carvings given to persons of high status or important people who had traveled from far away? Is it possible to track a single event through artifact distribution? The uniformity of four carved antler figures, three from the Skagit delta area and one from Sucia Island, suggests this possibility (Blukis Onat 2008b).

Distribution of material goods by means of spreading the table may work quite differently from exchange through trade. The gifts invoke a social relationship network, not a business practice. Today, give-away goods are manufactured by family members, collected at other give-aways and stored, and bought for specific events. A prominent elder can have a large storehouse of collected materials gathered over time and over great distances, ready for a give-away. In the past, when big-box stores were not present, there may have been specialists who manufactured items in quantity and then traded them for other goods.

An hypothesis about site formation and the distribution of goods based on activities that include spreading the table must be equally as testable as one involving the market system of trade. It would certainly be more culturally appropriate. Future research might begin with a review of data from a number of already excavated sites and reinterpretation of some of the cultural features. For example, I sincerely wish someone would rework my dissertation (Blukis Onat 1980). Such reviews might discover that, using a model that includes the complex practice of spreading the table, a burned midden is not always a garbage dump, fires are not just for cooking and heating, not every stratum thick with shell or fish or mammal bones signifies a processing site, and cultural continuity and social networks may be reconstructable from a geographically broad investigation of archaeological sites.

In the Pacific Northwest, where many tribes are now intimately involved in archaeological work, adopting a research model that includes Indian traditions and practices would be appropriate. Although many archaeologists have integrated Indian tribes in planning and Indian technicians in executing archaeological projects (Echo-Hawk 2000), interpretations of site data do not appear to follow models originating in the cultural traditions of Indian country. I suggest that we consider more carefully the kitchen cupboard, social and geographic networks, and the kinds of fires characteristic in the Pacific Northwest region, and learn to apply the concept of spreading the table as an archaeological research model.

AFTERWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It may be that some of the topics discussed are culturally sensitive to some tribal members or tribes. I hope they will forgive and will understand that what is presented was given as teachings from Indian elders. The elders all knew my calling as an archaeologist and they wanted to see more of their own traditions acknowledged in our work. To honor the elders, I am sharing these teachings. A prayer goes with them.

Special thanks go to my patient cultural elders Lona Wilbur, Norma Joseph, and Nancy DeCoteau, who keep teaching the importance of community and tradition.

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BERNARD FILLIP JACOBSEN AND THREE NUXALK LEGENDS

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ABSTRACT

In the late 1800s, as the world was more and more rapidly falling under Western influence, there was a rush by European and American scholars to collect everything of Native cultures before it all vanished. One of the collectors, working more or less independently, was Bernard Fillip Jacobsen. Jacobsen, a Norwegian, arrived on the Northwest Coast of North America in 1884 where he remained for the remainder of his life. There he encouraged settlement of the region, collected Native artifacts that he sold to museums, and wrote and published articles on the region and on his exploits. His articles included travelogues, descriptions of Native dances, and Native legends. Herein are three previously unpublished Bella Coola legends, translated, with new information about Jacobsen's life.

Introduction

After arriving on the Northwest Coast, Bernard Fillip Jacobsen, a Norwegian, began writing and publishing articles about his exploits and about the local indigenous peoples he encountered (Fig. 1). Often called Fillip, his articles were published far and wide and in a variety of languages. Some appeared in the Norwegian-language newspapers *Washington-Posten* (Seattle, WA) and the *Tacoma-Tidende* (Tacoma, WA), in the German paper *Das Ausland*, and in the Swedish anthropological and geographical society journal *Ymer. Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi*. With only a couple of exceptions (B.F. Jacobsen 1997, 2004) Fillip's articles have not been published in translation. The legends translated here are from *Ymer*.

Fillip's works have been used primarily by scholars, such as Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy (2002). However, the full texts of Fillip's works have generally not been made available in English. In addition, Fillip's works are scattered. They are found in local historical societies, such as the Wisconsin Historical Society, and museum archives, such as the Bella Coola Valley Museum in Bella Coola, British Columbia, and the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria, British Columbia.

Fillip's works are important for several reasons. They are important because the descriptions of the events and peoples are made by an eyewitness (much of Franz Boas's information was second hand). They are also important because they describe a time at and before substantial European settlement of the region. Further, the legends translated here are important because they reveal a different view, a Bella Coola view, of the characters in the legends (Bouchard and Kennedy 2002). Though Fillip was not a scholar, he provided considerable information on coastal British Columbia and its peoples, a fact in itself important.



Fig. 1. Bernard Fillip Jacobson, of Bella Coola, ca. 1903 (Royal BC Museum).

Nineteenth-Century Interest in Native Cultures

In the late 1800s growing awareness of the rapid disappearance of Native cultures throughout the world began to pervade scholarly circles. A rush began from such institutions as the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, D.C., the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, Germany, and others to salvage as much of the material and non-material culture of early societies as possible before every trace had disappeared (Cole 1985). Some individuals who collected information on Native peoples were scholars such as Franz Boas (Rohner 1969) and William H. Dall (1870). Others, already working in the field at other jobs, for example, Edward W. Nelson, who worked for the U.S. Army Signal Corps in Alaska, were often asked to collect artifacts and information (Nelson [1900] 1983). Some used their own resources: Alphonse Louis Pinart, of France, spent his and his wife's fortune collecting data and artifacts on early societies (Parmenter 1966). Still others collected as a means of employment. These included people such as Johann Stanislaus Kubary, who collected for the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, Germany (Schmeltz 1897), and Johan Adrian Jacobsen, who worked on commission for the Berlin Museum and for Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark and traveling show (Ames 2008).

The collecting of cultural materials occasionally became frantic and competitive, sometimes getting completely out of hand. This is well illustrated with the Harriman Expedition. Edward Harriman, a self-made millionaire who wished to contribute to science, purchased the ship *George W. Elder*, had it outfitted, and invited along a party of scholars, including William Healy Dall, John Muir, and George Bird Grinnell. They sailed up the Northwest Coast to Alaska in 1899, returning by the same route. Near the south end of the Alexander Archipelago, the ship landed at an abandoned Native village. The venerable passengers leapt from the ship and literally ran through the village, pillaging houses, and seizing even totem poles (Goetzmann and Sloan 1982:161–170).

Another not particularly praiseworthy method of collecting was that done by Dorr Frances Tozier, captain of the Revenue Service cutter *Grant*, who “was notorious for skimming material from villages by dubious means.” The “dubious means” included theft, force, and use of authority. He acquired a large collection, envied by many museums, which he stored away “almost entirely unlabeled” in Tacoma’s Ferry Museum and offered for sale to museums at many times the valued price (Cole 1985:186, 219–220).

Though not quite as unethical as these operations, every effort was being made by the major museums of the world to collect genuine ethnographic materials before they disappeared. Information, artifacts, and occasionally people were taken back to Europe and displayed. These displays created a great deal of attention and attracted some very well-known scholars to the Northwest Coast, most specifically Franz Boas. In addition to scholarly attraction, the reading public also became very much interested in accounts about the Western Hemisphere. This created a market for the accounts of travelers such as Bernard Fillip Jacobsen and his brother, Johan Adrian Jacobsen, who both wrote about the wonders of the New World.

The Jacobsen Brothers

Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853–1947) and Bernard Fillip Jacobsen (1864–1935) both grew up near Tromsø, Norway, well above the Arctic Circle. In the late 1830s, their father, Jacob Carl Gregriussen (b. 1816) had purchased the small island of Risø, not far from Tromsø, moved his wife Erika Pauline Eriksdatter (b.1819) and family there, and carried out hunting, fishing, and farming for a living (Fosli 2000). For example, at Spitsbergen, a nearby island, “there were seals, walrus, white whales, polar bears, and many sharks and eider ducks” (J.A. Jacobsen 1977:218). The family marketed some of their procured products, selling haddock and other fish in Tromsø and eider down in Russia. In addition, they maintained a small farm with cows, sheep, goats, and pigs—in winter feeding the cows cooked fish because there was so little hay. The family subsequently had several children, both boys and girls.

The children of those who lived away from the city, particularly on islands, had no communication with the mainland for nine months of the year and therefore did not have an opportunity to attend a school “patterned after the German education” (J.A. Jacobsen 1977:215). In summer, children as young as seven helped with the fishing. Two sessions of schooling, in spring and in fall, were the standard terms of education. During this schooling a child studied reading, writing, arithmetic, and “religion” (J.A. Jacobsen 1977: 216). Though they might take three months to arrive, all fishermen subscribed to newspapers, which everyone read. Life on an island in the North Atlantic made the boys all skilled sailors, traveling on business voyages to places such as Spitsbergen, Russia, and southern Norway. This helped create wanderlust in the Jacobsen boys. One of the older boys, probably Jacob Martin Jacobsen (b. 1841), left home at about the age of 15 and traveled the world, ending up in Hamburg, Germany.

Johan Adrian Jacobsen

In the fall of 1874, Johan Adrian Jacobsen, known as Adrian, went to visit his brother in Hamburg, and soon decided to stay. After spending the winter in Hamburg, Adrian went to sea again, stopping over in Chile. This apparently didn’t work out as well as he had hoped, and he returned to Hamburg. In early 1877, Adrian heard that Carl Hagenbeck, an entrepreneur who staged exhibitions of animals, artifacts, and peoples from all over the world, was looking for

someone to collect materials and people for his shows. Adrian approached him and was hired. For his first venture, he traveled to Greenland and brought six Greenland Eskimos back to Europe (Ames 2008:35). Three years later, in 1880, Adrian traveled again to Greenland, but the Danish government refused Adrian permission to take more Greenlanders. Somewhat frantic for someone to take back to Europe, Adrian sailed to Labrador, where he managed to talk two families of Labrador Eskimos (eight individuals) into going with him to Europe. Through a series of omissions and oversights, the Eskimos were not inoculated against smallpox. By mid-January 1881, the eight individuals from Labrador had died (J. A. Jacobsen n.d.; Ulrikab 2005). During this same year Adrian began collecting artifacts for the Berlin Museum of Ethnology.

After a brief period with the Berlin Museum, Adrian went back to work for Carl Hagenbeck. In 1882, Hagenbeck sent Adrian to the Northwest Coast of North America, where he assembled a group of Natives from the village of Koskimo on Vancouver Island. However, before he could depart, the Natives changed their minds and fled, leaving him empty-handed. In order to avoid a repeat of this catastrophe, Adrian sent his brother Phillip ahead in 1885 to round up a group of Kwakiutl for Hagenbeck. This was done, but once again, before Adrian could leave with his party, the Kwakiutl abandoned the project. In desperation he decided to try to acquire a group of nine Nuxalk (Bella Coola) whom Phillip knew were on their way to work as migrant labor in the hopfields of eastern Washington (Cole 1982:115; Ames 2008:45–46). This time he was successful (Fig. 2). These were the men Franz Boas met in Berlin, and who stimulated his interest in the Northwest Coast.



Fig. 2. The members of the Nuxalk (Bella Coola) First Peoples group that performed in Berlin, Germany (Royal BC Museum).

Bringing Natives to Europe was not new. George Cartwright had brought Natives to England from Labrador over a century before (Cartwright 1792:262 ff; Stopp 2009). Information, artifacts, and occasionally people were taken back to Europe to be displayed for public interest and studied for science (Virchow 1886; Boas 1886 in Cole 1982; Ames 2008). These displays created a great deal of attention and attracted some very well-known scholars to the Northwest Coast, in particular Franz Boas. Besides the scholarly attraction, the reading public also became very much interested in accounts about the Western Hemisphere. This created a market for people such as Johan Adrian Jacobsen to describe the wonders of the New World and new peoples. During his travels in North America, Adrian published, in addition to his book mentioned above (J. A. Jacobsen 1977), a number of articles. These dealt primarily with the Native peoples he encountered and the objects he collected. Adrian may have written his articles primarily in an attempt “to stake his own claim as an ethnographic authority on the region” (Glass 2010:35; J. A. Jacobsen 2010a, 2010b, 2010c), motivated by the recent arrival of Boas, who was recognized for having more or less “proper credentials.” Adrian’s ideas about the Native peoples he collected from and wrote about may have come largely from his brother Fillip (Glass 2010:40), who by this time had become a resident on the Northwest Coast.

Bernard Fillip Jacobsen

Not much is known of the early years of Bernard Fillip Jacobsen.¹ However, we know he was commonly called Fillip, grew up in Norway, later married Helga, daughter of Captain Thor Thorsen, and had a son, Thorvald. Fillip, like Adrian, traveled and collected artifacts, which he sold to various museums and collectors.

In mid-summer 1884, Fillip arrived in New York from Norway (Kopas 1970:219). From there he went directly to the Northwest Coast, visiting the Native villages to collect artifacts for museums in Germany. As a result, he became somewhat familiar with the region and therefore, when Adrian’s attempt to assemble a troupe of Kwakiutl for Hagenbeck in 1885 went sour, Fillip helped him find replacements. The replacements turned out to be the Bella Coola Natives (Fig. 2).

In 1886, Fillip worked with George Hunt, James Teit, Harlan Smith, and others to gather the information that Franz Boas used in his study of cultural relationships on the Northwest Coast. Fillip provided Boas with objects of Native origin, for which he is cited in the Section of Ethnology in the catalogs for the World’s Columbian Exposition (Handy 1893:17; Cole 1999:155) and in the National Museum of the American Indian (Smithsonian 2011), among others. Fillip’s collection of almost 200 objects, purchased by the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria in 1893, formed the basis of that institution’s ethnographic collections (RBCM 2011). He also gave Boas a small collection of Nuxalk (Bella Coola) narratives and assisted Boas in the field in 1897 during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Rohner 1969:199; Cole 1999).

On 15 April 1893 a reporter for the *Victoria Daily Colonist* caught up with Fillip in the British Columbia Provincial Museum (*Colonist* 1893). Here Fillip showed the reporter around the as-yet-to-be cataloged collections, identifying objects, and explaining the uses of various items. Fillip also related to the reporter the story of “Ianis the Man-eater and Nullemkilla the Dog-eater” (see legend No. I below).

¹ Fillip’s name is variously spelled. A single volume (vol. 7) of the *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Wayne Suttles (1990:74, 90, 337, 695, and 756) offers “Fillip,” “B. Fillip,” “Fillip B.,” “Philipp B.,” and “Filip B.,” respectively. He is identified as “Bernard Filip Jacobsen” (Wonders 2008), “Mr. P. Jacobsen” (*Victoria Daily British Colonist* 1886:3), Phillip Jacobsen by a resident of Bella Coola where Jacobsen had a home, and “Bernard Fillip Jacobsen” by several prominent researchers (e.g., Kopas 1970; Cole 1985; Ames 2008).—RLB.

Fillip eventually settled in British Columbia pursuing many courses. For a while he lived in Clayoquot, west central Vancouver Island, being one of the first Europeans to settle there. While living in Clayoquot he operated a store and managed the affairs of a four-vessel sealing fleet (Kopas 2002:236). It was during this time that, in November 1899, the schooner *Hera* was on its way from Seattle to Honolulu with a 700-ton cargo that included, among other things, 60,000 quart bottles of Seattle Malting and Brewing Company's "Rainier" beer. She was leaving the Strait of Juan de Fuca under storm conditions when a fire broke out on board. Running before the wind with the fire worsening, the *Hera* entered Clayoquot Sound off the village of Tofino. The crew abandoned ship and was helped ashore by Phillip Jacobsen who, with Harlem C. Brewster (later premier of British Columbia) and others, had set out in a rowboat to help in the rescue. In Tofino, Constable Spain's wife wrote: "As I write she (the *Hera*) is just in front of the house, one of the grandest yet one of the most awful sights I have ever seen. The whole room is lit up, and I have only to turn my head to see her. She is one mass of roaring flame, and it is a very black night, the whole harbour is lit up" (Griffith 2002). For this deed of bravery Phillip received medals from the Canadian Royal Humane Society and from the President of the United States for "conspicuous heroism" (Kopas 1970:236).

In 1913, Phillip and his wife adopted fourteen-month-old Gudrun Eide, who had been brought to Bella Coola by Elisabeth Thorsen (b. 1848), Karen Thorsen (b. 1882), and Ragnhild Thorsen (b. 1884) (mother and sisters of Phillip's wife Helga?) (Miller 2000). Gudrun grew up and married Hjalmer Gorden (an uncle of Peter Solhjell, a presently sitting board member of the Bella Coola Valley Museum). Phillip's son Thorvald had a daughter, Audrey, who presently lives in Bella Coola.

The Bella Coola Valley

The Bella Coola valley was occupied at the time of arrival of Europeans by Nuxalk (Bella Coola) people,² a Coast Salishan speaking population surrounded by the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), a Wakashan-speaking group. This region is rather remote, being located up the long and sinuous Burke Channel at the end of North Bentinck Arm. The first European known to pass through the Bella Coola Valley was Alexander Mackenzie, exploring for the North West Company (Mackenzie 1931:278 ff.). There, in 1793, he visited a Native village, the occupants of which initially acted hostile, but then, laying down their weapons, they approached Mackenzie and embraced him. Mackenzie (1931:280) states: "These embraces, which at first rather surprised me, I soon found to be marks of regard and friendship." Subsequent European visitors also found the local people friendly. About a hundred years later Phillip Jacobsen arrived in the valley, where he soon began recruiting settlers for the region. This was the result of the province of British Columbia offering free land to anyone who would "agree to organize colonies and supply a certain

² Various names have been used to refer to the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) people. Examples include Vilxula, Billechoola, Billechula, Bilhoola, Bellahoola, Bellaghchoola, Billichula, Bell-houla, and Bell-whoala (Simonds, Bland, and Dumond n.d.:10). The name Bellabella (Bella Bella), which is frequently given to the Heiltsuk, is, "according to Dr. Tolmies' very probable assumption, formed from Milbank. It is impossible for the Kwaküitl to say the word Milbank; from their mouths it sounds like Bilbal or Bilballa, from which traders then formed the harmonious Bella Bella. The name Bellacula (Bella Coola), by which the tribes of Bentinck Arm are known, has arisen in a similar way" (Simonds, Bland, and Dumond n.d.:9). The name Milbank comes from Vice Admiral Mark Milbanke, an eighteenth-century British naval officer (Walbran 1909:338). Another version is that "Bella Coola is an anglicization of the Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) name *bəlx"əlá*, which is applied to all the speakers of the Bella Coola language" (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990:338 citing Rath 1981(1):188).—RLB.

number of settlers for specially designated tracts of land. Bella Coola resulted from such an agreement” (Bjork 2005:80). The Northwest Coast was probably not viewed as farmland superior to that of the Midwest and there were few takers until the economic crisis of 1893, with loss of jobs and land. Fillip Jacobsen had entered the valley as early as 1882, found it very attractive, and wrote glowing articles about it. One of Fillip’s articles is believed to have fallen into the hands of the Reverend Christian Saugstad of the Free Lutheran Church in Crookston, Minnesota, who, during those desperate times, set off with his congregation to settle in the Bella Coola valley.³

Franz Boas and His Collection of Legends

Franz Boas (1858–1942) was born in Minden, Westphalia, Germany. He studied at the Universities of Heidelberg, Bonn, and Kiel. After receiving his Ph.D. in physics, he went on an expedition to Baffin Island, Canada, in 1883 for the Deutsche Polar-Kommission, where he worked among Eskimos. During that time he became more interested in Native peoples than in physics or geography and turned his attention to the study of anthropology.

After two ethnographic articles on the Native population (Boas 1883a, 1883b), Boas began collecting Native American/First Nation legends among the Eskimos of Baffin Island (Boas 1885). Boas returned after a year in the Arctic, and in 1886, while working as an assistant in the Berlin Museum, he encountered Bella Coola Indians “on exhibit” at the Berlin Museum—brought there by Adrian. This sparked his interest in the Northwest Coast. With the support of Adolf Bastian, who figured large in ethnographic circles in Berlin, Boas set out immediately for his first work on the Northwest Coast—collecting Indian legends, which resulted in ten publications in *Globus* in 1888. Later, between 1891 and 1895, Boas published a twenty-six-part series on Northwest Coast mythology. Boas ultimately combined the twenty-six parts and published them as *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (1895), which has been translated by Dietrich Bertz, with editing and notation by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy (Bouchard and Kennedy 2002).

In vogue in Europe at this time (the late 1800s) was social Darwinism, that is, the idea that cultures, like species of animals, were subject to survival of the fittest, and therefore, since European culture was, in a manner of speaking, at the top of the food chain, any culture that didn’t match up to European culture was inferior. For example, there was a certain amount of amazement among Europeans that Abraham Ulrikab, an Eskimo whom Adrian Jacobsen had brought to Europe in 1880, could read, write, sketch, and play the violin.

The idea behind social Darwinism, thought to have been based by Herbert Spencer on Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* (1859), justified Colonialism and Manifest Destiny. Boas, who came from a progressive Jewish family and had actually spent the winter of 1883–1884 among the Eskimos, didn’t exactly subscribe to this view. “Boas did not believe that cultural similarities constituted proof of uniform development. . . . His approach rested . . . on tracing a number of complex cultural phenomena spread over a limited continuous geographical area containing not one culture but at least several. The examination of the interactions and interrelations of these cultures as seen in the cultural phenomena led to a greater understanding of the roles of the environment, independent invention and diffusion, and human psychology in the history of culture. . . . Boas considered mythology to be one of the most fruitful avenues in the

³ Fillip is reported to have been urged in the 1880s by Adam King, chief of the Nuxalk (Bella Coola) at Koomkoots, “to bring settlers into the valley for the potential employment they might provide for his people” (Hobler 2001:14).—*RLB*.

pursuit of culture history, and the Northwest Coast narratives presented a challenge to this pursuit” (Simonds, and Bland, and Dumond n.d.:4).

Boas arrived on the Northwest Coast in the fall of 1886 and began collecting legends, myths, and traditions. He had met Adrian Jacobsen in Berlin and therefore enlisted the aid of Adrian and his brother Fillip. Along with the Jacobsens, Boas ultimately acquired the help of George Hunt,⁴ James Teit (whose wife was a member of the Thompson River group), and Harlin Smith (Jesup Expedition archaeologist), among others, in his quest for information on the Native groups of the Northwest Coast.

During his work on Northwest Coast legends, Boas collected over 50 legends or legend elements for the “Bilqula.” Though Boas received Native American legends from Fillip Jacobsen, a comparison of Fillip’s three legends given here and those provided by Boas in his publications reveals no exact duplicates. If the legends below were used by Boas, he altered them.

During his studies of the Northwest Coast Franz Boas collected a large number of legends. His intention was to determine tribal relationships based on the similarity of the legends. In order to organize them he divided them into cycles (groups of legends usually centering around one individual), legends, and legend elements. He then traced individual elements through various adjoining Native groups, assuming that the most complete form of the legend had originated in that particular Native group. Upon comparing legend elements Boas found, for example, that the interior Salish tribes had only a few contact points with the coastal people in their legends, that the Tsimshian essentially influenced only their immediate neighbors, and that the Kwakiutl preserved the greatest independence in the midst of their neighbors (Simonds, Bland, Dumond n.d.:143; Boas 1895). Another instance in Boas’s comparison of legends delves into etymology. Here he finds, for example, that the Nuxalk (Bella Coola) and Kwakwaka’wakw (Kwakiutl) had a long history together. This is evident, for example, in the word for shaman (*atloqoala*), which is a modified form of the Kwakiutl word *tlokoala* (Simonds, Bland, and Dumond n.d.:108; Boas 1888).

Boas extracted a great deal of information from the legends he acquired. However, he used the cycles, legends, and legend elements to support his assumptions regarding group relationships. This, of course, is not to say that Boas distorted the information, but rather that he selected the legends that best suited his needs. The legends presented by Fillip Jacobsen provide slightly different versions of the legends, as well as possibly different etymology. To elaborate somewhat, we find in Jacobsen (below), for example, the story element of the Ganikillaks legend (beings changed into ducks) used in the legends of several tribes: the Čatlôltq (Boas 1892a:35) and the Nimkish (Boas 1892b:389), to name just two. In the Bella Coola legend, Boas (1888:155) names the protagonist Q’anikila, which is similar to Ganikillaks. However, by 1894, Boas calls the Bella Coola protagonist who changes the beings into ducks Mōk-oānts. It seems probable that the legends Boas used, or the forms of them he used, were intended to “prove his point,” that is, to determine tribal relationships. I believe the legends that Fillip Jacobsen collected and presented here are in a “purer” form, possibly closer to the original traditions, at least for the Bella Coola region, since he is not trying to prove a point. Thus, providing these legends in the form Jacobsen recorded them will contribute to the ethnography of the region. As Aleksei Okladnikov states, “The only thing that helps comprehend the course of his (early man’s) thoughts and perception of

⁴ George Hunt was the son of a Hudson’s Bay factor and a Tlingit mother. He was raised at Fort Rupert in Kwakiutl society, where he grew up “native” to the extent that he was initiated into the Hamatsa, the highest Kwakiutl society, and had “shaman credentials.” For Boas’s purposes Hunt had linguistic access to Native material, literacy, and reliability (Cole 1985:156–157).—RLB.

the surrounding world are the legends and myths in which very ancient layers have been preserved, coming possibly from the Paleolithic” (Konopatskii 2009:169).

The Legends Collected by Bernard Fillip Jacobsen

The following translations conform as much as possible to Jacobsen’s style, retaining some formations that might be considered awkward in English. Also, Jacobsen occasionally interjects his own comments, views, and attitudes into the stories without warning. I have tried to indicate those sections with notes. The text has been translated as found in the Swedish journal *Ymer* (see note at the beginning of the article), though the grammar and syntax have been put into a more idiomatic English style. The names of people and places have been left as Jacobsen spelled them.

*INDIAN LEGENDS: WRITTEN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA*⁵

Fillip Jacobsen

Among those who devote research to the prehistory of American peoples, one often hears the complaint that lack of historical recollections and documents hinders or even makes impossible investigations of the early history of these peoples.⁶

From the burial goods to the house ruins, the objects found show at times a rather highly developed ancient culture. Large monuments often testify to architectural greatness and characteristics of taste. By deciphering those monuments to which sculptured ornamentation with those peculiar illustrations were applied—possibly coming from a kind of pictography—one still hopes, in some degree at least, to gain insight into the people’s past culture and history. But for large groups of people one cannot find any fixed monuments. It is a matter therefore of trying to find other evidence. In reality still-surviving traditional memories could be of great importance to the knowledge of these people’s cultural heritage, their mutual relationships and religious concepts, and their forefathers’ manners and customs.

In northwest America, British Columbia, and adjacent parts of Alaska, domestic Indian tribes still retain a rich mythology and numerous sagas and traditions, which probably descended partially from long-lost generations. Through careful collecting and compiling, and also treating these traditions scientifically, one should be able to obtain a quite extensive and deep understanding of these peoples’ past culture and its development. Some people, who stayed among these Indian tribes for an extended period of time, have in later years begun to record their sagas and myths. In particular, the ethnographer Dr. Boas has contributed a collection of writings with the help of other knowledgeable people and made them officially public.

Among those who actively supported him, special mention goes particularly to the Norwegian Mr. Fillip Jacobsen, younger brother of the well-known ethnographic researcher and traveler Captain Adrian Jacobsen, who also deserves mention regarding northwest America’s ethnography. Mr. Fillip Jacobsen has for several years lived in those areas, particularly in the Indian village of Bella Coola, which evidently since ancient times was one of the centers for the

⁵ These legends were originally published in *Ymer. Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi* [Ymer. Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography], pp. 187–202. Stockholm, 1894.—RLB.

⁶ This first section was written by the editors of *Ymer*.—RLB.

cultural development of these Indian tribes. With great pains and sacrifice he has over the years, led by his enthusiasm for this research, succeeded in collecting a rich treasure of these peoples' sagas and myths. Being completely familiar with their language and manner of ideas, he has in an unusual degree succeeded in gaining the confidence of the otherwise suspicious Indians. In general it has only been under the dark of night and in secure solitude when his Indian friends would reveal the religious secrets and myths of the tribe. That is not permitted otherwise, since they fear each other's revenge. Night after night in this manner Mr. Jacobsen for a long time sat by the dim lighting of a campfire and recorded Indians who related the old sagas and tales. In that way he succeeded in bringing together a very large collection of writings. Certainly it is not likely to be long before the fast-expanding "white" civilization will destroy the last of the still-existing traditions. Therefore Mr. Jacobsen's writings will be of great value. And one hopes that with time and opportunity he will write and publish the valuable collection. Of those reported, below are a couple of specimens of the peculiar mysterious sagas that Mr. Jacobsen willingly submitted to the journal's editors.

I. The Saga of Nullem Killa with the By-Name Wassusa Killa⁷

Once upon a time a long time ago, when there were not yet so many people in the world, there were four brothers and two sisters who lived in a village, called by the Indians Nutta, near Milbank Sound.

The four brothers supported themselves by hunting and fishing. One day they were out hunting near one of the many bays that stretch in toward Bella Coola. They had with them four dogs, and they pursued mountain goats on the high mountain slopes. The first day they successfully took three goats. Up in the high mountains no wood is found, which is why one heats there using goats' bones. So did also the four hunters, after which they lay down to rest for the night.

All at once the youngest of the brothers was awakened by a terrible sight and noise in the air. It sounded like the whole sky would collapse, he thought. He was convinced that it was a spirit that caused the noise and hastened to call his brothers. In the same moment the spirit appeared, sinking straight down on him. And he spoke in this way: "I, I am the spirit Wassusa Killa, who tempts the people to eat dogs. I will give you my spirit. I will also give you my name; Wassusa Killa will you be called, and you will eat dog flesh as soon as my spirit comes over you."

And so the spirit became part of the boy, who at that moment ran for one of the hunting dogs and bit a large piece out of its throat. When the dog was dead, he ate it up whole and entirely, with flesh and hair; then he flew up toward the heavens as a bird and disappeared.

The other brothers immediately made their way home to their sisters and told them what had happened to their youngest brother. The survivors wept in the Indian fashion for the lost one, whom they thought would never be seen again. In this way three days passed without cease. But on the morning of the fourth day one of the sisters went down to the river to get water. There she perceived to her great astonishment her lost brother, who stood on the opposite bank of the river.

⁷ Nullem Killa was a Hamatsa who ate dogs. According to Johan Adrian Jacobsen, there are three kinds of Hamatsa: those who devour slaves, those who tear apart and eat corpses, and those who eat dogs. He says, "The Hamatsa who kill dogs are especially common among the Bella Coola and Tsimshian. My brother [Phillip Jacobsen] saw among the Bella Coola in 1887 how an Indian tore out the throats of 16 dogs with his teeth" (J.A. Jacobsen 2010b:58). For a description of a Hamatsa performance, see J.A. Jacobsen 2010b:51-60.—*RLB*.

However, he was almost unrecognizable, because his head was bald in places; in addition he was so pale and emaciated that he resembled a skeleton.

"Is this really you, my brother?" the girl said.

"It is I," he answered.

"Why do you look so awful?" she asked further.

"Oh, listen! The spirit Wassusa Killa took me with him from the earth, going with such haste through the sky to his house on the moon, that the hair fell off my head. And when we were up there, I got nothing to eat other than dog flesh; that is why I am so thin."

"But, dearest brother, are you now coming home to us?"

"Oh, I can't do that," he answered. "I have not yet escaped from the spirit Wassusa Killa. Only if you do what I tell you can I be free from his tyranny."

The sister now crossed the river and threw her arms around her brother in order to drag him home with her, but, oh! it was as if she were embracing smoke. He disappeared all at once but immediately reappeared a few steps away.

"It is impossible to take hold of me in that way," he said. "But listen! In the morning you will see me here once again at the same place. At that time take a bow and arrow; tie a piece of bark from the red cedar to the arrow point, set the bark afire, aim right at my heart, and shoot. That you will repeat four times. Then you can take hold of me."

The next day both sisters clearly saw their brother at the same place on the other side of the river.

One immediately took the bow and arrow, attached a piece of cedar bark to the arrow point, and shot her brother directly in the heart four times one after the other.

At that time Wassusa Killa's spirit finally gave up possession.

The brother now came home to his siblings. He taught his sisters his dance song, the so-called Sissauch, which dealt with everything that he had seen on the moon and all the spirits he became acquainted with there, such as the people-eating Kallhoksua, Bek-Bek, Kwalla-nusa, and many others.

Now the boy took Wassusa Killa's name along with the practices and customs he had learned on the moon. He had four animal masks made for himself: One was the image of Kallhoksua, who eats corpses or "mummies"; another represented Bek-Bek Kwalla-nuse [sic], who first taught the Indians to bite pieces out of the arms of living people; the third was Nullem Killa or Wassusa Killa, who ate dogs; the fourth represented the spirit that inspires a desire to eat raw salmon. When these masks were finished, the new Wassusa Killa put on a dance in all its splendor, and the first evening he ate up no fewer than four dogs. For four days he danced. On the evening of the fourth day he said to his friends, "Now I want to return back to my spirit on the moon; but when this same moon is in the heavens next year you will catch sight of me coming from the forest to you again. Woe then to all dogs in the village! Keep in mind that at the time when I come I am very hungry, and then I will depend on you to provide me with enough dogs to eat. The spirit permits me not to eat anything while I am on the moon, except one dog every fourth month. If I do not return at the said time, then the spirit has kept me with him. At that time one of my brothers will take over my Sissauch and my dance name—but not before the fourth year hereafter has passed."

Then the boy disappeared.

When fall came, or more correctly winter, in the moon of Noakinim, he came back and performed his Sissuach dance, at which time the mask of Wassusa Killa was exhibited. This he did four years in a row. But the fourth year, it is said, he went back to the moon never again to return.

The spirit, you see, made the boy so happy that he remained with him constantly.

That boy was the first dog eater, and from him is derived the custom of eating dogs, which still occurs among the Indians on the coast of British Columbia.

The same saga is told by different tribes on the coast. Now, it seems as if both dog eating and the eating of human flesh first started among the Bella Coola or the Bella Bella tribe.⁸

II. The Saga of the Spirit Ganikillaks, the Transformation of Animals, and the Wizard Sekamai

A very long time ago, the story goes, animals on earth did not have the same form as now, but were all made in some way or other. Then it once happened that the spirit Ganikillaks came down among them with the intention of giving them what they needed.

At the time two ducks lived at Sanita Fjord in the land that is now called British Columbia. One day, as they sat and munched on some sort of root that they roasted on the coals, one suddenly noticed that his root was gone. But the ducks were blind at the time, so neither of them could see how it happened or understand why the food had disappeared. Then they called to each other, "It stinks here! It is definitely no other than Ganikillaks!"

"Quite right," said Ganikillaks, for it was he. "It is well done of you to recognize me again and know who I am; therefore you also will be rewarded."

With these words he blew four times on the eyes of both ducks. At once they had their sight and flew high up into the heavens.

And after that time, the story goes, all ducks were able to see and to fly high up into the heavens.

Ganikillaks continued his journey. Soon he saw the wolf, which was busily occupied sharpening the edge of a large mussel shell.

"What are you thinking of doing with that?" asked Ganikillaks.

"Ah!" said the wolf, "don't you know that Ganikillaks is coming here? He intends to transform all the animals in the world."

"I know it well," answered Ganikillaks, "but what is the purpose of the mussel shell?"

"It will be a knife which I will have as a weapon when Ganikillaks comes. With it I will fight him," said the wolf, who of course did not know that he had Ganikillaks before him.

"Let me look at your knife!" requested Ganikillaks. But no sooner had he taken hold of it than he threw it at the wolf and hit him in the backside. There the knife stuck and immediately changed into a tail.

"You haven't had respect for your master Ganikillaks; therefore you will run around in the woods from now on and maintain yourself on prey!" said Ganikillaks.

And after that time, the story goes, all wolves have tails and live on prey. Ganikillaks continued his wandering anew. Now he encountered no animals until he came to a lake where he saw an oyster.

"What are you doing there?" asked Ganikillaks. "What are you occupied with?"

"I have borrowed fire from the deer," answered the oyster.

"How did you do that?" asked Ganikillaks.

"Why," answered the oyster, "the deer came running by here. He had gone away and stolen fire from Setskai."

"In what way did he get it?" asked Ganikillaks.

⁸ Jacobsen frequently interjects his own thoughts directly into the text.—*RLB*.

"Why, in order to get fire the deer took a piece of dry wood and tied it fast to his own tail. Then he ran into Setskai's house and lay down quite close to the fire so that the dry wood ignited. In this way fire was stolen from Setskai. So now when the deer came back, he ran completely over me. A spark fell right down into my mouth so that my tongue was completely burned. Do you see how black it is?"

"I can do nothing for you," said Ganikillaks. "You will from now on remain as you presently are."

And so, the story goes, the oyster always has a black tongue.

Now Ganikillaks set out westward and came to one of the islands in Queen Charlotte Sound. Here he saw a man standing on the shore.

"What is your name? And who are you?" asked Ganikillaks.

"My name is Sebamai and I am a very powerful medicine man," was the answer.

"Oh, so you are a medicine man? Show me what you do," said Ganikillaks.

"Do what you want to me," said the man, "I will always come out of it unhurt."

"We shall try it," said Ganikillaks.

Immediately he had a large pyre erected, set fire to it, and threw the medicine man into it. By this Ganikillaks thought that he had taken the life of the medicine man, so he climbed into his boat and rowed from land in order to continue his journey. But he had not gone more than a little way from land when he caught sight of the medicine man rising up out of the flaming heap of coals with a large animal mask on his head, representing a raven, which was his Sissuack or spirit.

Ganikillaks had never before seen anything like this. He now rowed back to the island, took the medicine man, tied a large stone to his feet, and threw him down into the sea where the water was the deepest. But the medicine man did not stay under the water long. He rose to the surface again quite soon and began to dance around on the water as if it were solid ground.

Ganikillaks could not understand that at all and decided once again to make an attempt to take the life of the medicine man, for he was very displeased with the spirit that could offer him resistance. He therefore set out to go to an Indian village, where he collected a large amount of dirty clothes.⁹ In the Indian manner he prepared a fatal poison from them for the medicine man. To accomplish this one boils the dirty clothes together with other human filth and two human skulls. Then he puts it all under a tree and lets it stand four days. When the four days have passed, it is said that he who will be poisoned starts sweating violently, after which death immediately follows.

But the medicine man did not die. He was only changed into a frog. In order to offset the poison, however, his son and daughter collected a large number of red berries for him. When he had eaten these he sang his medicine man's song and had not sung long before he felt sick. And so a frog hopped out of his mouth, ridding him of the poison.

He changed the frog into stone, and it is found still today in this form on an island in Queen Charlotte Sound. There is a saying among the Indians that, when someone is poisoned by the above-described method, the stone frog turns around from west to east.

III. Kloma, Who Was Changed into a Salmon (A Story from the Bella Coola)

Once many many years ago a large number of youths of Bella Coola held a game on the river ice. It then happened that one of them by the name of Kloma, who was farthest out on the

⁹ This probably included clothing "contaminated" by menstrual fluids.—*RLB*.

ice, had the misfortune of having the large piece of ice on which he was standing come loose and drift down the river with him. It was a long way to the people; before his comrades had time to call for help from the Indian village, Kloma was already long gone.

When Kloma saw that he had no prospect of being saved, he pulled his blanket of cedar bark around his head and lay down to sleep on the piece of ice. Naturally enough he had the thought that this would be his last sleep. But after having drifted around for ages he woke up and was not a little surprised, for while he had slept winter had changed to spring. The piece of ice was almost melted and moved by wind and current rapidly toward land. It was a long long way toward the sunset when Kloma saw a low piece of land with a level beach. Off a large cove he noticed that smoke rose up as if from a large Indian village. When he came nearer sure enough a large village appeared. It consisted of beautiful Indian houses and a large totem pole in front of an extraordinarily large house, which appeared to belong to the chief.

The piece of ice came nearer to the land with the speed of a sailing canoe. Kloma realized his situation, and when his piece of ice went rapidly bumping toward the shore he jumped onto land.

The beach was completely level, and along it lay an enormously large number of houses. But not a single person was to be seen. Kloma slipped up to one of the houses and looked through a crack in the wall. There sat an old man behind a large fire that burned in the middle of the room. Around the fire sat the old man's wife, his two daughters, and his two sons—all blind. Kloma went into the house and no one could see him, but all recognized his smell. They invited him to sit down with them, but Kloma went his way and wandered among the rows of houses. Finally he met a man who asked him into his father's house. Here he was asked to tell about his trip, but he could not since he had slept the whole time.

"You are pretty hungry now?" said the host. Kloma admitted that he was. "Well," continued the old man, turning to his son, who brought Kloma into the house, "ask him what he wants to eat." "Salmon," said Kloma.

So the old man ordered his son to get one of his own sisters and throw her into the sea. No sooner said than done. But, imagine! The girl changed into a salmon, which was immediately caught, cooked, and set before Kloma. But the old man also placed a small bowl of cedar bark in front of him and asked Kloma to put all the bones of the salmon in it. Unfortunately, however, Kloma forgot this order and threw a little bit of skin into the fire instead.

The next day the old man gathered the bones and skin of yesterday's salmon, took them all down to the sea, threw them into the water, and ordered them to be a salmon again. Immediately that happened. But, woe, a bit of skin from the salmon was missing. Now there was a search for the missing pieces of skin. Finally they were found at the edge of the fireplace but unfortunately so damaged by the fire that they were altogether gray. As a result, it happens that salmon are gray on the back.

When the salmon was alive again the old man changed it back to a girl. But a new problem! Kloma had lost a bone while he was eating—specifically, that bone which goes from the ankle down the foot. Now, good advice is dear. They looked high and low, but the bone could not be found.

While they were busy with this a raven came flying by. "You can't tell me what's become of my daughter's bone?" said the old man to the raven. "Ah, if I remember correctly," the raven said, "I found a bone yesterday down there by the ash heap. I took it home with me, but since it was not edible I put it aside. Now, in any case, I will bring it here so you can see if it belongs to your daughter."

The raven brought the bone, and sure enough, it was the girl's bone. The old man had the girl die once again and in this way inserted the lost bone into her foot.

The following day Kloma said to his new friend, "Can you not get me a wife?" Kloma had rapidly become quite full grown in the short time of his visit to the salmon village.

"Why, yes," said the friend, "let's go from one house to another so you can see for yourself all the beautiful girls who are found here. You can either get a girl of the Sokailax [Sockeye Salmon] lineage, or one of the Silfverlax [Silver Salmon], or finally of the Vårlax [Spring Salmon], which is king of all salmon."¹⁰

You have to keep in mind that all the world's salmon are found here. This village is their home. Now we are people, but when we go to the Bella Coola River and other streams along the coast, we are salmon. Soon the time will come when we will go to your home in Bella Coola. Maybe you don't know that it was I who brought you here."

"But why do all the salmon go to Bella Coola every year," asked Kloma, "when you own such a beautiful home here a long way out in the west?"

"Why," said the friend, "the reason is that, as you know, it is a custom among the Bella Coola to offer us, each year during the moon of Seagom (the month of March), rings of cedar bark and poles adorned with cedar bark. That is the greatest honor one can show us in Bella Coola and therefore we still return there."

It really is the custom in Bella Coola to decorate a pole every year with colored cedar bark, raise it at the mouth of the river and, when the first spring salmon are caught, tie them to the pole for four days. They even throw a specific number of cedar bark rings into the river. This is believed to hold a spell over the salmon. Also it should be observed that the first salmon are not cooked in an iron pot, which is believed to make the salmon avoid the river. In general, one is most careful with the spring salmon.

Kloma and his friend now went from house to house but found no girl beautiful enough for Kloma. Finally, they came to the chief's large house, where the father of all salmon lived. He was called Amel or Vårlax. "You won't go in here?" said the friend. "There's no use to. Indeed, Amel has a daughter, the most beautiful in the whole village. But a great many of my friends and acquaintances have already lost their lives for her sake."

"How so?" said Kloma.

"Well, since you want to know, I'll tell you how it is in order to warn you about her," said the friend. "Amel's daughter is not like other women. She has sharp teeth, which are placed so that she mortally wounds everyone who comes near her. When she marries, her bridegroom is so badly wounded at first contact that he bleeds to death. Amel always has four men on watch under her house. As soon as a new suitor makes his appearance and it happens with him as with the others, the dead body is thrown down through a hole in the floor. The four immediately take him and bury him. Consequently, friend Kloma, you see how it will go with you."

Kloma listened well to this tale but had already resolved to propose to the girl, wherefore he induced his friend to introduce him in the chief's house so that he could get to see her. She was truly extraordinarily beautiful, and Kloma, like all the others, fell completely in love with her. He was introduced to Chief Amel, the king salmon, and stated his business, namely a proposal for the daughter. Amel had nothing against this and a wedding was celebrated very soon.

¹⁰ *Silfverlax* (*silfver* or *silver* = silver, *lax* = salmon—both words coming from Old High German). Silver salmon is its name in English, its scientific name being *Oncorhynchus kisutch*. *Vårlax* (*vår* = spring [in Norwegian], *lax* = salmon). Spring salmon is one of the English names of *Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*, more commonly known as the king salmon, and, in fact, we are told in the story that the *Vårlax* is the "king of all salmon." Finally, *Sokailax* seems simply to be a transliteration of the common English name of *Oncorhynchus nerka*, the sockeye salmon. Further, it appears that the three lineage names of the salmon may have come from English, though Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* identifies "sockeye" as having come, through folk etymology, from the Salish word *suk-kegh*.—RLB.

When Kloma was to go in the evening into the bridal chamber, he first went down to the beach and sought out four sharp stones which he then used to break and grind off the sharp teeth of his bride. So she, who created so much misfortune, was now cured and made as perfect as any other person. Not long after that Kloma also had the honor and pleasure of receiving his firstborn son.

It is said among the Indians of the coast that, if Kloma had not succeeded in curing his wife, all women to this day would have been afflicted with the same evil.

And so Kloma lived happily with his wife. But when it was drawing near the month of March, the salmon began to get busy putting in order their canoes, which in themselves were nothing other than the fishes' own skin. There was life and movement in the village. All the salmon wanted to go to Bella Coola to get their share of the cedar bark offering. They said among themselves, "I wonder how much cedar bark I will get this year." And even the birds prepared to go, because they were there also. In fact, all creatures who leave British Columbia in winter live in the salmon village, including the smallest insects.

When the final days of February came to an end, Amel put his large canoe into the sea. Kloma did the same. That is to say, they changed themselves into salmon, which they called putting out the canoes. Even before the departure Kloma's wife had presented him with a daughter, so that his family now consisted of four people.

We now leave Kloma for a moment and see how it looked in his home in Bella Coola. When his parents heard from the other youths the sad news that Kloma had drifted out to sea on a piece of ice, their sorrows were boundless. In order to signify this they cut their hair, which is a custom among the Indians in the case of death. In addition to this custom, they cry for the dead every full moon, at which time they lacerate themselves on the face in four places until the blood flows. This is considered an extraordinarily outstanding way to grieve. The women also often paint their faces red.

Kloma's father was sub-chief in Bella Coola and therefore had the right to fish with what is called in English a fish trap, or in the Bella Coola language *silmak*—a kind of fence the Indians set up across the river and through which it is impossible for the fish to pass except in one place. At this location a basket or trap is placed, through which the water rushes with a fall of about two feet. In order to pass, the salmon have to jump right into the trap and are then caught, because it is impossible to get out of it again.

Kloma's father had just set up one such trap, since every day now the king salmon were expected to arrive. Everything was ready.

It should be noted that only the chief of a village gets to make that kind of trap. In front of every village only one is found. And it is the custom that whoever owns the trap gives away or cooks the salmon for the whole population of the village every fourth day.

Kloma and all the other salmon of all kinds were now on the way to Bella Coola. Amel and Kloma, with the latter's wife and two children, were the first to reach the mouth of the river. There they immediately encountered a large number of cedar bark rings and poles that the Indians threw out or set up. All the other salmon came later than the king salmon, if one excepts the dog salmon, in the Indian language *dillie*, which, it is said, goes along the beaches and laughs continuously.

This kind of salmon follows the land, and it happens that sometimes it jumps up on land, for which, the Indians say, it laughs at its own stupidity.

On the first day of *Seagom* or March Kloma's father was out early to his trap, which was properly adorned with cedar bark and looked inviting to the salmon. "Listen," said Kloma to his wife and his two children, "Come with me! I will introduce you to my father. He is confident and expects that Amel (a king salmon) will come to his trap."

When they arrived, his father was indeed there. Kloma jumped into the trap, his family after him. Kloma's father was quite delighted to get so many salmon on the first day. He took them out of the trap as quickly as possible, carried them to the house, and laid them beside the door while he went in and told his wife about his successful catch. Then he sent out one of his daughters to get the salmon to be cooked. But when the girl went outside, her lost brother stood where the salmon had been, and with him a beautiful woman and two small children.

"This is my wife and my children," said Kloma to the girl, who immediately recognized her brother. She ran in to tell her parents, who were standing where the salmon had been.

"Oh, my dear child, don't push your joke too far," said her mother. "You know how you hurt me every time you call my lost son's name. This pain in my heart has never once left me."

The girl protested that it was her brother, alive, who stood there. "Just come out with me," she said, "and you will see that I'm telling the truth." But no one listened to her. So she went back outside. Now, Kloma said to her, "Say to my father that he should have his whole house cleaned well and, in addition, build a small room on the back. I will give a dance, a *Sissauch* dance, which I learned from Amel, with whom I have been."

The girl went in again and told her parents what her brother had said. But they still did not believe her. Finally, the father went out and indeed his lost son Kloma did stand there alive! Now there was rejoicing without end. A room was built on the back of the house, and Kloma performed the sacred *Sissauch* dance. His dance spirit was Amel, or the king salmon, and since this time it is customary to use the Amel mask in the *Sissauch* dance.

Kloma lived happily in this way in his father's house with his young wife, until one day he went to the river to get water and met a girl with whom he dallied for a long while. She immediately tried to entice him, and it did not take long for her to make Kloma unfaithful to his wife. When Kloma came home with the water to his wife, she knew at once what had happened. Without a word she took her son and her daughter, jumped into the water, and changed back into a salmon.

So now Kloma had lost his beautiful wife for the sake of his unfaithfulness. Therefore he was downcast and decided to leave the world.

Here it should be noted that ever since Kloma's wife took the two children with her into the water, it has been the custom among the Indians that if a mother leaves her village, the children follow her instead of their father.

The next day Kloma made ready a bow and four arrows, and he built himself a small hut of twigs down at the river. Now when any ducks or an eagle came into the vicinity of his little dwelling, he shot them and plucked the feathers from them. He busied himself with this until he had the whole house filled with feathers. Then he went to Bella Coola village and got together with some small boys and said to one of them, "I'm going to lie down here in the feather pile. When I do, you take a stick and hit it. Then you'll see me go up out of the feathers and end up in the heavens as a wind."

But no one dared to hit the pile of feathers. Finally, one of the boys took courage and struck it four times, and Kloma flew up out of the pile like a whirlwind and disappeared. Where do you suppose Kloma went? He had no more than four dried salmon in his pack for the trip.

Kloma climbed ever higher and higher until he finally came to the heavens. Here he first met a tall man by the name of Temeab (tree with large root), who asked him what he intended to do. "I intend to go to the chief here," answered Kloma. "Then you must ask my permission first," said Temeab; "otherwise you can't come in here." Kloma gave Temeab one of his four dried salmon, which helped. Temeab let him go where he wanted but said, "I want to warn you, Kloma. The chief we have here is not good to associate with."

Kloma, however, went into the chief's house. The chief's name was Sink (the sun). Just at the door sat an old woman who called to Kloma, "Come and sit with me. I have good advice for you, which it is necessary to have. When you go to Chief Sink you can be sure that he will try to burn you alive, because he has done that to the few who were here before. I want to give you this little mountain sheep bladder, which is made up so that when you open it a terrible cold comes out that prevails over all warmth. It is the north wind (Espis), which is in the bladder. Remember it and take it with you."

So Kloma went up to Chief Sink and was invited to sit by the fire, where he could get something to eat. The chief had four daughters, all markedly beautiful, and he said to Kloma, "If you will help me and my daughters build a house, you will get one of the girls to marry." Kloma thought that was good and promised to help the chief build the house, little suspecting that it was intended as a grave for him.

When the meal was ready, the food was set before Kloma. There were many splendid dishes, such as those the Indians liked most, for example, dried berries, dried salmon, and so on. Kloma pretended that he ate with great pleasure, but actually he ate not a single bite. Instead, he let everything fall down into his cedar bark blanket, since if he had eaten the food it would certainly have been sure death for him.

Kloma set about building the house the very same day, and around evening it was finished. When Kloma was in the house and putting it in order, Sink and his four daughters shut the door on him, and immediately a terrible heat came from the floor and walls, so that in a couple of minutes it would have been over for Kloma if he had not remembered at the right moment the bladder containing the north wind. He loosened the knot and immediately a terrible cold spread out so that everything froze to ice. Kloma himself was almost on the point of perishing from cold but nevertheless tried to endure the whole night.

Early in the morning Sink and his daughters came to take Kloma's singed corpse out of the house. One of the daughters went and opened the door but to her amazement was met by a cold so tremendous that she almost became paralyzed. She was still more amazed when she went through the doorway and saw Kloma in good condition, though almost frozen stiff.

Sink and his daughters were very surprised by this. They realized that Kloma was a great medicine man and that it was not so easy to put an end to him, though Sink himself was a widely notorious medicine man.

Kloma now demanded to receive the chief's daughter in marriage, but Sink still had excuses. Early the next day he woke Kloma and said, "See, there are four mountain sheep directly above on that high mountain. Take this bow and arrows and go up and shoot them!" Kloma went up on the mountain and finally got quite close to the sheep. He shot at them with Sink's bow, but the arrows did not penetrate the skin of the animals at all. Then Kloma noticed that the arrows were made of soft skin thongs with tips of charcoal.

When Kloma could not shoot the sheep, they ran up to him and threw him off the cliff, many thousand feet down, but Kloma changed himself speedily into an eagle feather and came safely to the ground. The four sheep were no other than Sink's daughters transformed. They had just reached home and told their father that Kloma was now dead, because they had pushed him off the high cliff, when Kloma arrived in person. Sink was quite furious, because it was believed that it was almost impossible to overcome Kloma.

Again Kloma demanded Sink's daughter in marriage, but he answered, "First we will take canoes and go out after firewood." They lived quite close to a large lake. Sink and Kloma set out accordingly. When they had gone some distance out on the water, they saw a tree trunk sticking up above the water surface. "That's suitable for firewood," said Sink, and set about at the trunk of the tree chopping it to pieces bit by bit with his stone axe. Then, he intentionally let his axe fall into

the water. He began to cry and complain about the loss and finally asked Kloma to dive down after the axe. If he would only do it, he would surely get Sink's daughter. But before they had rowed from land, Sink had stolen the bladder with the north wind. After Kloma dived down in the water, Sink opened the bladder, and immediately there was such a cold that the water was instantly covered with a thick layer of ice, so that when Kloma came up, he could find no way through the ice. Now good advice was dear. Finally, Kloma changed himself into a small salmon, swam around the entire lake looking for a hole but could not find more than a tiny crack. Though he searched long and well, it was not larger than a hair. So Kloma changed himself into a hair and crept up through the hole. Next he had the stone axe brought up, went to Sink's home, and threw the axe in his face, which nearly killed him. Now Sink finally had to give Kloma one of his daughters in marriage.

Early the next morning a large woodpecker sat on the totem pole outside the house. Sink said to Kloma, "Take my bow and arrows and shoot it!" "No, thanks," replied Kloma, "I have had, I can assure you, enough of your bows and arrows. I myself have a bow and arrows that are suitable for killing something." With this he went out and shot the bird, but only in one wing. He took it in to Sink and said, "Here, now you have the woodpecker!" "What will I do with it?" asked Sink. "Hang it over your bed!" said Kloma. In the night Kloma caused the woodpecker to peck out Sink's eyes. Then the chief cried and begged Kloma to cure him, but Kloma would not do it until Sink promised to leave him in peace from now on.

Kloma then lived happily with his new bride, so the story says.

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SKOOKUMCHUCK SHUFFLE: SHIFTING ATHAPASKAN SWAALS INTO OREGON KLATSKANIS BEFORE TAITNAPAM SAHAPTINS CROSS THE CASCADES

Jay Miller

ABSTRACT

Southwestern Washington—drained by the Chehalis, Cowlitz, and Columbia Rivers, including the estuaries of Grays Harbor and Willapa Bay—is the interface of five language stocks and a crossroads in a vast trade network relying on a trade jargon now known as Chinuk Wawa. This Tsamosan homeland saw the immigration of Taitnapam Sahaptins across the crest of the Cascade Mountains into the foothills region as traders and horsemen, which is well known. A prior out-migration of Swaal Athapaskans is not. By vacating the basin of the Skookumchuck River before C.E. 1800 to become the Klatskanie in Oregon, they left an occupational gap that may have helped draw Sahaptins from the Yakama area across the Cascades. Sequencing these population and language shifts in Southwest Washington restores the understanding of this region achieved by Franz Boas, James Teit, and colleagues a hundred years ago. Today, drivers along I-5 cross this river at Centralia, looking down on the Borst blockhouse from the Treaty War, set incongruously beside current outlet malls.

Regional Tribes and Languages

Southwestern Washington, at the southern edge of the Olympic Mountains and Peninsula, is the intersection of five language stocks (Hajda 1990; Wray 2002). These are Tsamosan Coast Salishan, Chinookan and Sahaptin Plateau Penutian, Makah-Nootkan Wakashan, Quileute-Hoh Chimakuan, and Pacific Coast Athapaskan. As a crossroads in a vast trade network, the region relied on the trade jargon now known as Chinuk Wawa, originally based on words from Penutian Chinook and Wakashan Nootkan, but later adaptively including Hawaiian and European languages, especially English, French, and Spanish. Long the Tsamosan Salish homeland, Makah and Quileute once came as visitors, raiders, and slavers, and more recently as spouses and honored guests. Of particular note, the well-known migration of Taitnapam Yakamas across the crest of the Cascade Mountains into the foothills region as traders and horsemen was preceded by an out-migration of Swaal Athapaskans vacating the Skookumchuck in the late 1700s to become the Klatskanie in Oregon.

Southwestern Washington accordingly has a complex prehistory, due to its large rivers. Over ten thousand years ago, continental immigrants coming south down the Pacific coast could have first entered the continent through the mouth of the Chehalis River. Later, passage was

facilitated by the Cowlitz corridor between Puget Sound and the Columbia River, and, in reverse, the Salish Funnel downstream along the lower Chehalis River (a landscape considerably broadened by the outflow of the massive Puget Sound glacier). Coast Salishan Tillamook ancestors first moved onto the coast along this route prior to Tsamosan settlement (Thompson and Egesdal 2008), named for its basic words for the numbers 2 and 4.

As a subgroup of the Central Coast Salish branch within the larger Coast Salishan language family, Tsamosan (formerly called Olympic Salish) consists of four languages within coastal and inland branches. Coastal includes Quinault-Queets and Lower Chehalis; inland includes Upper Chehalis and Lower Cowlitz. Upper Chehalis includes five bands speaking three dialects—Satsop, as well as Downriver Oakville (ch series, Bays and Oakvilles) and Upriver Tenino (k series, Teninos, Boisforts, Ilawiqs~Claquatos) splitting at Grand Mound. Satsop, while speaking Upper Chehalis, interacted more with the Lower Chehalis because of the Satsop trail into Hood Canal. Upriver used back of the mouth sounds (k k̠ x), whereas downriver used front of the mouth sounds (č č̠ š) in the same words. For example, the word root for “slender” is čema—downriver and kema—upriver, producing variants for a ‘narrow trail’ such as čemašul and kemašul (Kinkade 1991:40, #502).

Cowlitz are multilingual and multicultural, comprised of three distinct communities and language stocks, though identified together as a single tribe among themselves and by others (Ray 1966). At the mouth of the Cowlitz River were originally Chinooks (Ray 1937, 1938); only a short distance upriver lived Tsamosan Lower Cowlitz. After disastrous epidemics decimated the Chinooks by 1830, Cowlitz moved downriver, in accord with Morey’s Law (Dobyns 1983:306–10). The Willapa-Swaal lived in the Willapa Hills, drained by the river of the same name. The Swaal spoke Athapaskan and were known locally as Willapa, Kwaliokwa, Mountain Cowlitz and Klatskanie (Clatskanie, Tlatskanai), but the situation was much more complex, as elaborated below.

Cowlitz River headwaters were on the slopes of Mount Rainier, near others flowing into eastern Washington, with four mountain passes within twenty miles. Through trade, marriage, and opportunities for horse and livestock pasture, Yakama Sahaptins moved across the Cascades in the early 1800s to become known as Taitnapams or Upper Cowlitz on the Lewis (Kathlapootl) and Upper Cowlitz Rivers (Boyd 2011). A century ago, many Taitnapams “returned” under threat of force to the Yakama Reservation to settle, others continue to form a constituency within the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, recognized by the federal government in 2000. George Gibbs explained:

After the depopulation of the Columbia tribes by congestive fever [malaria], which took place between 1820 and 1830, many of that tribe [Yakama Klickitat] made their way down the Kathlapūtl (Lewis River), and a part of them settled along the course of that river, while others crossed the Columbia and overran the Willamette Valley, more lately establishing themselves on the Umkwa [Umpqua]. Within the last year (1855), they have been ordered by the superintendent of Oregon [Joseph Lane] to return to their former home, and are now chiefly in this part of the Territory. The present generation, for the most part, look upon the Kathlapūtl as their proper country, more especially as they are intermarried with the remnant of the original [Chinook] proprietors. No correct census has at any time been made of the Klikatat, but they are estimated at from 300 to 400, exclusive of the Taitnapam. (Gibbs 1877:170–171)

In all, relocations to the Yakama reservation took place in 1856, during the Treaty War, and again between 1910–1912 when Natives were recruited to claim and settle lands about to be lost as a result of the Dawes Allotment Act:

Smallpox repeatedly swept through the region, perhaps starting in 1520, but certainly in 1781, 1801, 1824, 1836, 1852, and 1862 (Boyd 1999:22). Those in populous areas, such as the Columbia Chinooks, were hardest hit, with high mortality and settlement shifts to concentrate survivors. Sparser inland communities survived better, and some moved downriver to benefit from abandoned land and resources, in accord with Morey's Law. An initial suspicion that some Washington Athapaskans moved to Oregon to take advantage of such emptied lands is not borne out, particularly since the lure of the Clatskanie area, with historic fluctuations, is an abundance of game, especially deer and elk, as local tree farmers still complain. The Chinookan depopulation made the move easier, but it does not seem to have directly propelled it. Good hunting did.

Pacific Coast Athapaskans: Willapas, Swaals, Kwalhioqwa, Klatskani

The Athapaskan diaspora was precipitated by the C.E. 803 White River eruption on the current Alaska-Yukon border, and featured small narrowing-stem points, rectangular houses, and possibly microblades. Earlier eruptions there in C.E. 50 and 450 may have also set off migrations (Matson and Magne 2007).

Pacific Coast Athapaskans split from the Canadian branch, after it split from this Alaskan homeland. A scattered population, these Diné speakers occupied uplands from the Columbia River to northern California, including the Upper Umpqua, Tututni, Galice, and Tolowa. Like others of the diaspora, they retained their own language while also speaking those around them and borrowing features of economy and technology. They continued a concern with death taboos, and with girl's puberty, but shifted the focus to the menstruant herself rather than her potentially dangerous impact on the larger community. Unlike the matri-emphasis of other Athapaskans, Pacific Coast communities were more patrilineal and patrilocal, with settled towns and territories. Land hunting remained important, though some coastal tribes regarded sea lions as "ocean deer" (Perry 1991:40–49). Over four hundred years after the dispersal, Pacific Coast Athapaskans had come to rely on a stored salmon-acorn economy (Matson and Magne 2007:151).

The Lower Columbia Athapaskans, called "upstreamers" or "inlanders" by Chehalis, spoke Salish with Chehalis and Athapaskan with the Pe Ells, a headwaters group given that name post-contact because they lived at a site where a French-Canadian named Pierre settled but shifted the R sound to L in their pronunciation of his name (Adamson 1927; Miller 1999). More generally they are called Willapas and Mountain Cowlitz, with the eastern branch sometimes written as Su'wal, though Swaal is a better spelling. Dale Kinkade (1991:155, #2189) rescued this proper linguistic spelling of the Swaal tribal name from the fieldnotes of John Peabody Harrington, a master linguist. A link with the word Thelma Adamson and Franz Boas wrote for the Satsop term for "arrowhead" (.swāāls, Kinkade 1991:155, #2174) seems likely because of the strong associations of this group with hunting. They called themselves *xanane* (Boas and Goddard 1924:41, #29).

The Oregon branch originated from the Skookumchuck Valley, and moved south, potentially along the Cowlitz River corridor: "According to a tradition recorded by [George] Gibbs, [Edward] Curtis, and [James] Teit, the Clatskanie once lived on the Skookumchuck River but migrated across the Columbia where the hunting was better" (Kraus 1990:530).

The Swaals were probably best known by their Chinookan names of Kwalhioqwa in Washington and Klatskanie in Oregon, though that place is spelled Clatskanie (Welch 1983). The names Kwalhioqua and Klatskanie (Tlatskanai) are Penutian Chinook words, the first a village name meaning 'lonely place in the woods' and the second meaning 'those of the place of little oaks' or 'little-oak-ers'. Horatio Hale with the 1841 Wilkes Expedition "estimated them at about 100, said that they built no permanent habitations, but wandered in the woods, subsisting on game, berries, and roots, and were bolder, hardier, and more savage than the river and coast tribes" (Hodge 1906:I, 746). Hodge later described the group as follows:

Tlatskanai. An Athapascan tribe that formerly owned the prairies bordering Chehalis r., Wash., at the mouth of Skookumchuck r., but, on the failure of game, left the country, crossed the Columbia, and occupied the mountains on Clatskanie r., Columbia co., Oreg. [Anson Dart, Oregon territorial Indian agent, in 1852 said] "This tribe was, at the first settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, so warlike and formidable that the company's men dared not pass their possessions along the river in less numbers than 60 armed men, and then often at considerable loss of life and always at great hazard. The Indians were in the habit of extracting tribute from all the neighboring tribes who passed in the river, and disputed the right of any persons to pass them except upon these conditions." (Hodge 1910:II, 763)

In their defense, as new comers to this region abounding in game, itself probably depleted by epidemics, their aggressiveness reflects their necessary assertion of possession of new territory.

George Gibbs, as federal treaty secretary and avid linguist, collected material on the Willapas in the 1850s, which was published after his death:

Of the Willopah (Kwalhiokwa) or, as they call themselves, Owhillpash, there are yet, it appears, three or four families living on the heads of the Tsihalish [Chehalis] River above the forks. According to the account of an old man, from whom the vocabulary was obtained, the Klatskanai, a kindred band, till lately inhabiting the mountains on the southern side of the Columbia, and now also nearly extinct, formerly owned the prairies on the Tsihalis at the mouth of the Skūmchuk, but, on the failure of game, left the country and crossed the river. Both these bands subsisted chiefly by hunting. As before mentioned, they are of the Tahkali stock, though divided by nearly six degrees of latitude from the parent tribe. The fact of these migrations of the Klikatat and Klatskanai within a recent period is important, as indicating the direction in which population has flowed, and the causes inducing this separation of tribes. (Gibbs 1877:171)

It is noteworthy that Gibbs was aware of these recent population shifts, though he did not appreciate the importance of their sequencing. James Teit (1910), while on a reconnaissance of Washington Tribes for Franz Boas, wrote him a long letter, describing his own findings:

Whilst working with some old Cowlitz people I learned a family of the Willapa people lived only half a mile away consisting of an old woman, her daughter, and her grand children. . . . She remembered an old woman of the Willapa having heard her people telling of the splitting of her tribe as follows.

"A long time ago a man of her [p. 4] tribe was tracking an elk in the mountains and got lost. As he did not return and his people could not find where he had gone they concluded he was dead. He had traveled south to the Columbia River. Somewhere in that country he fell in with another tribe and married a woman there. He had a number of children by this woman. After a number of years he returned to see his people, and after staying with them some time he went back again to this country of his adopted tribe taking a good many members of his own tribe with him. He had told them the country was better where he lived, and the surrounding people more friendly. Afterwards descendants of these people were met from time to time by members of the parent tribe. These people were called Tlakatskaneia-a."

The Cowlitz tribe tells nearly the same story about this incident. They say "formerly some of the Su'wal got lost. They wandered off to the south. Afterwards a man and a woman (or a man and his daughter) of these people were met on the Columbia River and recognized. This man's people of the country they lived in was called Tlats kats kaneia." The Cowlitz called the Willapa Athapascans Su'wal or Su'wall and say they formerly inhabited [p. 5] the upper Chehalis and upper Willapa with headquarters near a high mountain called likaiEks [Mud Mountain?, Sam Henry?] some also lived in other spots near the mountains. These people also call themselves Su'wal but say this was the name of those only who occupied the upper Chehalis (southern and western headwaters of the Chehalis River). The tribe on the Willapa river was called wElapakoteli by the Su'wal. They spoke the same language as themselves but with slight variations. They used at one time to go right to the mouth of the Willapa at certain seasons but made their headquarters up the river in the mountains. They say both tribes as far as remembered were never very numerous. . . . She said the Su'wal and the wElapakoteli were originally one people living together, and also the Tlatkatskaneia-a, who were a branch of the Su'wal. According to all the information I have gathered so far Gibbs extends the Willapa (viz. Su'wal) too far east and north.

The eastern [Swaal] division [8b] of the tribe occupied all the western head waters of the Chehalis River down to nearly as far as Newaukam. It appears a number of them made their headquarters around Pe Ell and perhaps the majority wintered near Mud Mt. According to their own traditions they were never a powerful people nor very numerous, and formerly long ago were attacked by many enemies. For fear of these they used to live in holes in the ground [pithouses or dugouts, see below]. According to the Satsop, a band of people called tcutsaia lived on Chehalis River someway not far above themselves. They were a mixture of Upper Chehalis and upper Willapa (viz. eastern division of the Willapa). This is the only trace I found of the tribe occupying country outside of the territory above defined. It seems this band was absorbed by the Upper Chehalis. According to the upper Willapa, the Klatskanai of Oregon are an offshoot from them that migrated south, and the Cowlitz and Chehalis have traditions to the same effect. According to the Cowlitz the head quarters of the upper or eastern Willapa was around Klabur [Klaber] & Bafo [Boisfort, with Gallicized pronunciation "bwafo"]. I obtained no flood tradition from the tribe, and no tradition of their having lived further east or north in the Interior. According to the flood tradition of the Chehalis, they either anchored themselves at LekaiEks mountain or drifted against it, and when the flood subsided they came down and lived in the adjoining country. This mountain is said to be south east of Klaber [Sam Henry?,

Boisfort Mt ?] and appears to be the Indian name for Mud mountain. A comparison of their language with that of the Nicola, and other northern Athapascans, appears to show they were closely related at one time. (Teit 1910)

In his collection of Kathlamet Chinook texts from Charles Cultee, Boas (1901:187–195) includes an 1894 account of a vicious leader of the Willapa, the tribe of Cultee's father's father. In part it helps explain why Swaal were said to roam and not have any houses. Instead, for gatherings, they used impromptu semi-subterranean halls. Here is a paraphrase:

The TkulXiyogoā'ike [upper Willapa Diné]

PōXpuX, chief at Nq!ulā'was, drowned all his sons at birth, allowing only his daughters to live. One boy was disguised wearing a coat, to be raised by his grandmother, who trained him rigorously to dive into lakes until he succeeded in catching much dentalia. Grandmother asked house to house for sinew to sew up his tattered woodchuck blanket, but it really was to string these shells. She asked many households, and all gave her sinew, which she strung dentalia on for days and nights. Strings of short dentalia were buried in one hole under the bed, and long dentalia were buried in another. After days of asking for sinew, people became rude so the grandmother and the grandson invited them to their home and gave away all the dentalia strings. Thunderbird was his patron, and he left the boy a whale in the middle of a prairie to feed everyone. A husband from the coast had to tell the people what the whale was. "Then the chief made a potlatch. He made a long ditch. He put planks on top of the ditch and covered them with dirt. He made a door at the entrance to the ditch. It was a long hole. There the people went in to dance. They disappeared in the hole underground. They came out again at the door of the ditch." He hosted everyone to become a high chief named Waq!awiyas, ancestor of those at Nq!olā'was at the headwaters of the Willapah River. PōXpuX was humiliated into insignificance.

Cowlitz leaders were multilingual, though migration, hostilities, and epidemics so reduced the number of speakers of Kwálioqua~Swaal~Willapa that Cowlitz Salish speech predominated among the survivors. Washington Athapaskan word lists were collected by Gibbs in the 1850s and by Franz Boas and his students a century ago (1910). In 1898, Maria Harris, living at Boisfort, was one of the last speakers of this language. Today, no local families have come forward to claim Willapa ancestry, though a few decades ago, an elder at Shoalwater is said to have done so.

The never-ratified treaties by Anson Dart includes that of 9 August 1851 with the Klatsksnia band of Chinook [sic], pledging an annuity of \$30.00 for 10 years, with \$50.00 in cash and the rest in merchandise.¹ The identification of Klatskania as a band of the Chinook was a political expedience of the U.S. but had no cultural or geographical validity. The names of the two native men who signed this Klatskania treaty were Tuckamaack and Winnawah. Boyd (2011:163, note 6), however, has called attention to the names of 27 Clatskanie in a 1855 census of the Milton refugee camp by Thomas H. Smith for Joel Palmer (Records of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, reel 14, frame14).

Today, *skookumchuck* is the most prominent Chinuk Wawa place name in the southwestern Washington region, meaning "strong water or current," aptly describing this steep

waterway. While named *the-a-woot-en* in Tsamosan according to Gibbs (its residents = *the-a-woot*) and, more accurately, by Kinkade (té•wtñ “ford place”), the current use of its jargon name probably stems from its former mixed occupation by Swaal Athapaskans who vacated it in favor of Oregon to become the C~K~Tlatskanie.

Conclusion

American colonization and Indian policy have forced the consolidation of different groups into one place, with a corresponding loss of small-group cultural identity. While the complexity of the synchronic occupation of southwestern Washington has been well known, its diachronic aspects, especially the split from Swaal by Klatskani, has not been fully appreciated. Realizing this population shift occurred between smallpox epidemics and before the Taitnapam immigration enhances understanding of the complex and dynamic cultural history of the region, and ensures persistence of unique Swaal group identity in the historic record. This case study provides much-needed light on the outcome of the Athapaskan diaspora for the Swaal people, which is relevant to all aspects of the diaspora that placed Apache and Navajo in the Southwest and other Diné groups in the Plains, Plateau, and Pacific Northwest.

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END NOTE

¹ Nathan Reynolds, Ecologist for the Cowlitz Tribe noted: “The Dart treaty with the Wheelapa names Kwaliouqua directly. Plus, in exchange for the cession of Wheelapa lands, Dart tried to set up a general reservation for all Chinook and Chehalis who are willing to give up their reserved rights as established in other treaties. The Kwaliouqua are twice mentioned directly in the 1855 failed Isaac Stevens treaty at Cosmopolis.”

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WHEN A *HAAMA* LOVES AN '*AAYAT*: COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE AMONG THE MODERN DAY *NIIMÍPUU* AS A FORM OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

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ABSTRACT

Marriage is one of the few cultural universals that anthropologists have been able to identify in societies across the planet. The Nez Perce Tribe, today on a sovereign reservation in northern Idaho, is no exception to this rule. However, unlike some other cultural groups who also practice marriage, the Nez Perce have been the victim of colonization since Lewis and Clark crossed the Bitterroots. But, through the incorporation of pre-contact marriage and courtship traditions in the present day, specifically Nez Perce language, the Nez Perce have resisted dominant, white society's form of marriage and have been able to continue to be *Niimípuu*, "The People." The Nez Perce Tribe is not a "vanishing race," but is instead thriving because they have been able to continue to exert their own unique cultural practices through resistance regardless of efforts to assimilate and exterminate them.

Introduction

The meat of the story changes, but the bones of the skeleton remain the same. '*iceyéeye* (Coyote) created the *Niimípuu*—the people, the Nez Perce—from the heart and blood of the Monster who was terrorizing the Animal People all over the Plateau before humans came to the earth. One account of the story, remembered by Nez Perce elder Mari Watters, concludes that as '*iceyéeye* finished cutting up the Monster he had only the heart and the blood left. While washing his hands of the Monster's blood, he created the *Niimípuu* and said:

They'll be strong.
They'll be brave.
They'll have good hearts.
They will lead good lives (Frey 1995:61).

Elizabeth P. Wilson recalled to linguist Haruo Aoki that *'iceyéeye* said about the *Niimiipuu*, "Right here people will be brilliant and they will be brave. They will be brilliant in everything" (Aoki 1979:27). Archie Phinney, a Nez Perce tribal member and an anthropologist, recorded the story ending with "You may be little people but you will be powerful . . . nevertheless you will be very, very, manly" (1934:29). Spiritual leader and Nez Perce elder Horace Axtell finishes his account of the story with the description the *Niimiipuu*, "are going to be beautiful people. They are going to be proud people. And they're going to have kind and loving hearts, and they'll take care of this land" (The Lewis and Clark Rediscovery Project 2002). One account of "Coyote and the Swallowing Monster," recorded by Livingston Farrand, known for his work with Franz Boas in the Pacific Northwest, concludes "You shall be the Nez Perces, a small tribe, but you shall be the most powerful of all the people" (1917:149). Another account of the same story recollects Coyote announcing to the other Animal People, "This blood shall be the Indian's in the future. They shall be good warriors and strong, but they shall be few in number" (Farrand 1917:151). Other stories say that "they are brave and strong, generous and good. They are the real people," as well as "You shall be men of brains, great in council and in speechmaking. You shall also be skillful horsemen and brave warriors" (Momaday 2006:191; Clark 1958:174). Tom Beall, a Nez Perce member whose descendants are strong *Nimipuutimt* [Nez Perce Language] speakers in the present day, concludes his rendition, "It will not be a very large tribe, but they will be the bravest people on earth to fight. . . . Of course, the Nimipu [sic] makes war no longer, for the long peace has come, but the prophecy of Coyote was fulfilled" (Beall and Leaper 1931:17). The *Niimiipuu* have been on the Plateau since *'iceyéeye* killed the Monster, since time immemorial, and they remain here today. *'iceyéeye* gave them strong traits which have carried over into the present day, and given their resistance to dominant white culture, especially in regards to modern-day courtship and marriage, they will continue to be here for time immemorial more.

Pre-contact Nez Perce were a hunter-gatherer society whose aboriginal lands covered areas of present day Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and into Canada. They had a complex spoken language, which was a member of the Sahaptin language family, related to other Plateau tribal groups. Several extended family units lived and cooperated together in villages, and each had a headman to intervene in disputes, model appropriate behavior, and represent the people if fighting were to break out. An efficient seasonal round involving hunting game animals, fishing for salmon, and gathering roots and berries provided the subsistence needed for survival year after year. Oral traditions served as a tool for education and a shaman provided religious guidance as well as doctoring for the ill. The Nez Perce strongly valued the ethic of sharing, and gifts were given without the expectation of reciprocity. Family was extremely important for a variety of reasons, and the practice of bilateral kinship expanded the number of kin members who could provide support and access to additional resource in times of need (Walker 1998:420–29). Each member of the Nez Perce had an important role based off of gender and family, but they each also had the opportunity to court and marry a mate to create their own family unit.

Pre-Contact Courtship and Marriage

Marriage is one of the few universals anthropologists have found to exist cross-culturally, and Nez Perce society is not an exception to this rule. However, without the practice of courting, Nez Perce marriage would be non-existent. Pre-contact courtship was done in a variety of ways, but always involved the family, specifically mothers, fathers, grandparents, and other kin from

elder generations. When Nez Perce boys and girls reached the age of puberty a variety of rites of passage would occur to mark their transition into adulthood and prepare them for their new life roles. Upon completing these incredibly important rituals the boys and girls were now viewed as men and women and eligible for marriage, but first came courting. Family was such an essential component to Nez Perce daily life, and to survival in general, it should come as no surprise that it played a very important role in the courting process. Marriages were most commonly influenced by family members or respected elders within the village. Walker writes, "marriage among the Nez Perce was arranged by family heads, and childhood betrothals were known" (1998:423). These arrangements would often occur during times of the seasonal rounds when many families, villages, or bands were in the same location. It must be noted, however, that while family was important, couples could initiate the courting process of their own will, and probably did this more often than they were betrothed to someone at a young age. Lillian Ackerman notes that within the Nez Perce villages "the women's lodge was the location where young men could court the unmarried girls" (2003:47). Even if the couple met on their own, both sides of their family would compare their genealogies. Walker writes that, "marriage was forbidden between relatives, even distant cousins" (1998:423). This was common among many of the Columbia Plateau tribes, and, as Eugene Hunn describes, "was a derivative of an incest taboo that extended to all recognized kin" (1990:217). After the arrangement was made and the bloodlines were checked, the marriage ceremony could commence.

The wedding ceremony also incorporated both sides of the family. The wedding ceremony began by setting a date "for [the] ceremonial exchanges of gifts between the two families. The groom's relatives were hosts of the first exchange. Six months later, it was the turn of the bride's family. On completion of the two gift exchanges, the couple was recognized as married" (Josephy 2007:19). There are other accounts that state the two giveaways and feasts were held only one month apart (Spinden 1908:250–1). Between the two exchanges the couple lived together to continue to ensure that they were compatible before the final ceremony officially declared them husband and wife to the entire community. However, the process was much more complicated than this brief description accounts for. The entire process reflected gender roles that the Nez Perce embraced and served to unite the two families in a more permanent way. The first ceremony was initiated and sponsored by the groom's family. The food offered at this ceremony was primarily meat, representing the man's role of hunting for the family (Walker 1998:424). A Nez Perce elder interviewed in the 1990s said about the man's feast, "Fish, meat and related foods are usually served at the first trade, the men's sphere" (James 1996:86). One account says, "the man's side would come in with the rawhide parfleche with the dry meat in it, or shawls and blankets and stuff . . . the man's side went to the woman's side to trade; they brought with them blankets, shawls, and buckskin Indian suitcases" (James 1996:88). The second exchange was hosted by the bride's family, and, as with the groom's feast, the food offered reflected female subsistence roles. A female elder said, "roots, berries and such are represented at the second, the women's, trade" (James 1996:86). The gifts at this trade also reflected-women related items. "From the lady's side, they give them roots like this and bags, baskets, wampum, beaded dress, buckskin dress, or other kind of dress" (James 1996:86–88). Another account says, "The woman's side always furnishes the bags with the roots, camas, cous or bitterroot, and the material, beads, and things like that" (James 1996:88). Some recall that the women were the ones to primarily participate in and lead the trade. The bride and groom's family would sit across from each other and trade one for one. Walker describes the process as, "a number of relatives from each family faced one another across from a central area and began to trade item for item" (1998:424). It should be noted that the goal was not to shame either side of the family or make them feel inferior, "emphasizing the fact that marriage was an agreement between equals" (Walker 1998:424). The food and gifts were not just

a part of the ceremony, but they had a deeper meaning about the gender roles and responsibilities that were expected in Nez Perce society. Levi-Strauss writes “goods are not only economic commodities, but vehicles and instruments for realities of another order, such as power, influence sympathy, status, and emotion” (1969:54). The exchange of goods in Nez Perce wedding ceremonies, though this may not be the Nez Perce explanation, were used as a tool to create alliances between families and expand the resources and support that is available to one group of people from another. Also, the exchange of more than just physical objects can be seen as a discouragement of divorce and encouragement of practices like the levirate and sororate. The process was well thought and served an essential function for thousands of years. And then came colonization.

Colonization and Resistance

Colonization, a complex concept in the academic world, has played out in a variety of different ways for different Native groups across the United States. Bonnie Duran, Eduardo Duran and Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart (Hunkpapa/Oglala Lakota) discuss the long-term effects of historical trauma that occurred to Native populations due in part to the colonization of their “life world,” which “occurs when the colonizers interfere with the mechanisms needed to reproduce the life world domains—culture, social integration, and socialization—of the colonized” (1998:62). They describe a type of “cultural genocide” that occurred with the prohibition of religious freedom that “threaten[ed] the integrity and viability of social groups” (Duran, Duran, Brave Heart 1998:64). Government opposition and legislation against Native marriage would be both a form of colonization as well as cultural genocide. Duran, Duran and Brave Heart describe the aftermath of these attacks of the life world as “historical trauma,” or “soul wound,” “characterized as incomplete mourning and the resulting depression absorbed by children from birth onward” (1998:64). However, through the use of Native epistemology and rituals, healing can take place (Duran, Duran, Brave Heart 1998:70–73). Poet and novelist Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna Pueblo) notes that ceremony has the ability to reconnect a community. “The purpose of a ceremony is to integrate: to fuse the individual with his or her fellows, the community of people with that of the other kingdoms, and this larger communal group with the worlds beyond this one” (Gunn Allen 1992:62). While there has yet to be any direct evidence specifically linking Native marriage ceremonies to historical trauma healing, it is important to note that a return to traditional rituals and ceremonies, as well as an emphasis on the entire family being involved in healing, have been incorporated into successful modern day treatment programs (Duran, Duran and Brave Heart 1998). We should then ask ourselves, might the incorporation of traditional marriage practices, which are rooted within the family and certain traditional practices, be beneficial for individuals and to the community as a whole? I argue, “yes.”

Regardless of the healing efforts of today, the colonization of the Native, and Nez Perce, life worlds has been in play for centuries. American Indian family structures, and how those families formed through marriage ceremonies, varied greatly from those of white settlers, especially in the Plateau region. Despite a separation between church and state, the federal government encouraged and in some cases funded missionaries from various church groups to go to aboriginal homelands, and later reservations, to colonize Native populations by stripping them of their life world and replacing it with that of a western one. The federal government itself also passed legislation that prohibited traditional forms of marriage. Besides forcing a new form of subsistence strategy, educational system, and religious beliefs, white culture, again often

represented and enforced through a church, was insistent that traditional forms of marriage practice disappear as well. Native marriage did not conform to white standards because the “ceremonies varied greatly, but were usually not defined by written law as were white marriages” (Lacey 1986:337). Marriage partners were often still arranged or selected by families in a time where “romantic courtship, where both partners married for love and ‘lived happily ever after’ was increasing in popularity” (Lacey 1986:337).

The Indian Office agents sought to regulate Native marriages. In 1883 Henry M. Teller, Secretary for the Department of Interior, which housed the Office of Indian Affairs (today known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]), wrote:

The marriage relationship is also one requiring the immediate attention of the agents. . . . The marriage state, existing only by consent of both parties, is easily and readily dissolved, the man not recognizing any obligation on his part to care for his offspring. As far as practicable, the Indian having taken to himself a wife should be compelled to continue that relationship with her, unless dissolved by some recognized tribunal on the reservation or by the courts. Some system of marriage should be adopted and the Indian compelled to conform to it. (Lacey 1986:365)

This was a portion of Teller’s call for the United States Congress to establish the Indian Court of Offenses. The courts laws controlled many aspects of Native life, including the destruction of property of the deceased, dances, medicine men practices, and intoxication. The regulation over what was an acceptable marriage was not left out (Prucha 1973:302–303). While plural marriages, practiced by certain Nez Perce individuals of high status or as a result of the levirate and sororate, were strictly prohibited, the 1892 codes also regulated “immorality,” stating:

Any Indian who shall pay, or offer to pay, money or other thing of value to any female Indian, or to her friends or relatives, or to any other persons, for the purpose of living or cohabitating with any such female Indian not his wife, shall be deemed guilty of an offense, and upon conviction thereof shall forfeit all rights of Government rations for not exceeding ninety days, or be imprisoned for not exceeding ninety days, or both, in the discretion of the court. (Prucha 1973:303)

This aspect would have directly conflicted with Nez Perce marriage practices as the couple would have been living together without a paper marriage certificate, and there may still have been some form of exchange of items between the groom and the bride’s family. By 1906, it appeared that Native marriage ceremonies had been a victim of colonization on the Nez Perce Reservation. William B. Drew, the superintendent for the Office of Indian Affairs that year, wrote in his annual report:

All church members are required to be married legally or receive the discipline of their churches: these usually procure licenses from the county authorities. No licenses have been applied for or issued from this office during the year. There are many, however, living together according to Indian customs, tho [sic] they well understand that this does not constitute marriage any longer. The prevalence of plural marriages in the past causes a great deal of work in distributing estates; and it is often impossible to procure sufficient evidence to make a proper distribution. (Drew 1906:217)

However, even though the *Meriam Report* of 1928 notes traditional forms of marriage are disappearing among some groups they also found an early form of resistance in that, “Many Indians ignore legal forms and polygamous marriage has not entirely disappeared” (Meriam 1928:572). Regardless of the federal attempts, resistance was a weapon of choice in the battle against federal policy.

Resistance to forced colonization is not unique to American Indian populations, nor is it a practice only found in modern day communities. Minority groups around the world who have been forced to face oppression by dominant societies have resisted in a variety of ways, both violent and peaceful, for decades, centuries, and millennia. While there are historical examples of violent resistance triggered by the Nez Perce people against mainstream American society, those are not the focus of this research. Instead, courtship and marriage provide examples of another type of “everyday resistance” (Scott 1985:xvi). James Scott states that, “everyday peasant resistance flows from these same fundamental material needs [for basic survival]” (1985:295). While food, water, shelter and safety are each important and vital requirements of any society to thrive, I argue that culture, “which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor 1924:1), is also essential and helps to drive resistance efforts. Resistance “rests on internalized cultural understandings . . . that motivate actions leading to both social reproduction and social change” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:256). A threat to cultural knowledge, lifeways or worldviews might also be enough to encourage a form of resistance against the imposed ways of dominant white society.

The idea of resistance, like everything in American Indian Studies as well as anthropology, is incredibly complex. Writer Simon Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo) first introduced “resistance” to the American Indian Studies academic literature, but it has been in practice since the early days of contact in a variety of ways and by almost all tribal groups. Ortiz defines resistance as, “the way that Indian people have creatively responded to forced colonization” (1981:10). Through the “use of foreign ritual, ideas, and material in their own,” Natives are able to create something “authentic” and meaningful for themselves (Ortiz 1981:8). Ortiz observes most forms of resistance “carried out through the oral traditions” (1981:10). This is not just storytelling, as we might define it using our western worldview and vocabulary. Instead, oral traditions include, but are not limited to, “prayer, song, drama-ritual, narrative or story-telling, much of it within ceremony—some of it outside of ceremony—which is religious and social” (Ortiz 1981:9). Through the incorporation of the new with the old, sovereign American Indian tribal groups are able to lead a “political, armed, [and] spiritual” resistance against colonization efforts by dominant cultural groups (Ortiz 1981:10). As long as marginalized groups, especially Native Americans, are the continued victim of colonization, resistance, no matter the form, will continue.

Despite the forced colonization that occurred in almost every aspect of life ways and the attack on many Native traditional cultural practices, including marriage ceremonies, dominant culture was and continues to be resisted by a variety of different Native groups, including the Nez Perce. The *Meriam Report* noted, “The subject of Indian marriage, divorce, and family life is a sensitive one, touching closely the instincts, customs, and religion of the Indian race” (Meriam 1928:765). This is still the case today. Though the function of marriage has changed as it has adapted, some Nez Perce people have placed the idea of Western marriage into *Niimlipuu* lifeways to reassert their culture. Doing so has allowed them to mix the new age with the age old, and create something that is uniquely their own. The Nez Perce ceremony and oral tradition of courtship and marriage is resistance.

Courtship and Marriage Resistance Today: Language

There is no way to universally say how or why Nez Perce tribal members choose to marry, or what their courting experiences and wedding ceremonies will be like. While the role of the family is still present, though in a different capacity, today marriage is more of an individual choice. In order to continue to reaffirm sovereignty as a nation, Nez Perce cultural practices must be done on their own terms, and that does not mean a complete return to pre-contact practices must occur. As we have seen time and time again throughout history, forcing one culture's ways onto another leads to few positive outcomes (historical trauma, ethnocide, genocide being just some examples). Despite historical trends, in the future marriage should always be done on Nez Perce terms. I want to note that I do not think all Nez Perce members who choose to incorporate traditional, Nez Perce cultural aspects into their courtship or wedding would always say they are resisting dominant white culture in the same way an anthropologist would. However, considering the globalized culture that we all live in today, holding onto the littlest of things can be incredibly defining for a particular society. I see courtship and marriage as a form of resistance against the general trends and themes that flood the main stream and the media that we are all exposed to on a daily, maybe even hourly, basis. Incorporating the uniqueness of Nez Perce culture into ceremony has made courtships and weddings more authentically *Nimiipuu*.

There are endless examples as to how resistance through courtship and marriage has and continues to be done [courtship, regalia, feasting, gifts]. However, for the sake of space, I will look specifically at the incorporation of *Nimipuutimt* [Nez Perce language] into the wedding ceremonies. The Nez Perce Tribe has heavily invested in their language program, and there are still individuals with an incredible knowledge of the language. In 1994 Haruo Aoki published the *Nez Perce Dictionary*, which has further helped to preserve the language (Aoki 1994). In fact, the slogan of the Nez Perce Language Program is "The Heartbeat of Our Culture." In pre-contact times the entire process of courting and marriage would have been conducted in Nez Perce language, and in some cases this still continues today. Ethel Greene was married in a Christian church but the ceremony was conducted in Nez Perce. She said, "We actually went to the Methodist church and had our ceremony, but the preacher that did it, did it in Nez Perce. So that was a big change and everybody enjoyed that... The preacher said it in Nez Perce and we responded in the language" (Personal Communication, 12 March 2012). However, Bessie Scott and Florene Davis, both Nez Perce elders, mentioned this preacher, "was about the last of our preachers that spoke" and today, "We don't really have any preachers right now that can speak" (Personal Communication, April 18, 2012).

However, there are Nez Perce members who can speak and conduct the ceremonies, such as Longhouse (also referred to as *Wal'usut*, *Washat*, or Seven Drum) leaders. Bessie Scott remembered one wedding ceremony: "our traditional leader, did the service. To me it was just like any other modern wedding, except there were Nez Perce words said in it. I had to say something for the ladies side" (Personal Communication, April 18, 2012). Alan Marshall, who has attended Nez Perce ceremonies, recalls, "The weddings that I have been to like this have been conducted in Nez Perce" (Personal Communication, May 9, 2012). Ann McCormack finds the incorporation of language is becoming more common. She said:

Yes. That [the language] has been coming out a lot more. I haven't actually witnessed it in a marriage. But I know that people have speakers stand up and speak for them, and then they might do a speech for them in *Nimipuutimt*... the ceremony that I am thinking of was an outside ceremony. The vows weren't done in *Nimipuutimt* but the blessing was done in Nez Perce language. I think it

harkening us back to how can you add the Indianness to it. Now that we are getting more speakers, you can get more people that can either do it themselves or that you can ask somebody in your family. We do have a couple people that are very strong in the language. That is easy to do, to ask them to get up and say a prayer or ask them to speak on behalf of whatever the event is in *Nimipuutimt*. It is getting easier. (Personal Communication, 30 March 2012)

Harold Crook, who currently teaches Nez Perce language at Lewis-Clark State College, works with elders on a weekly basis to do any translations requested by the community. While he does not recall being asked to help translate English wedding vows into Nez Perce language, he has been asked to do funeral prayers, and the two events have many similarities (Personal Communication, 13 April 2012).

Language is an incredibly important component of Nez Perce culture and is, in some instances, being incorporated into the ceremonies for those who choose this approach. Whether or not this is going to become easier or more challenging is yet to be determined. However, the resistance is clear. For tribes across the United States, speaking their native tongue was strongly discouraged throughout the 1800s and the boarding school era. This offers a clear example of colonization. In 1819, long before the Carlisle Boarding School assimilated their first students, the Civilization Fund Act was passed by Congress. The law authorizes the President of the United States to, “employ capable person of good moral character... for teaching their [Indian] children in reading, writing and arithmetic” (Prucha 1975:33). The purpose of this law was to aid in the “further decline and final extinction of Indian tribes” (Prucha 1975:33). It was through schools, churches and federal legislation that Native language was targeted for complete extermination, and for many tribes these policies proved to be effective.

For the Nez Perce, all the same assimilation policies applied, but the final outcome was more positive and the language is still alive today. Nez Perce Indian Agent John Monteith reported in 1875:

The progress made in speaking the English language is not as great as we could wish. They can understand nearly all that is said to them, and can read readily and write well. Still as they gradually overcome that diffidence natural to them, so, little by little, will they have confidence in themselves to speak the English language, and eventually converse freely in said tongue. (1875:261)

By 1884 it was the general understanding on the reservation that, “If he [the Indian] can read and write English understandingly... he is sufficiently educated for all practical purposes for generations to come” (Monteith 1884:67). Despite the attempts to teach only the English language, *Nimipuutimt* has survived. The incorporation of the language into the wedding ceremony is, in my opinion, an example of resistance against dominant white culture and their English language.

Conclusion

Before his passing, Vine Deloria Jr. noted, “Adaption, not accommodation, has become a reality” (2003:xiv). That is exactly what the courting process and marriage ceremony have become for some Nez Perce families. The example of language offers just a brief glimpse into how pre-contact ways have persisted into modern times, and there are many, many more examples that can be witnessed and recalled. Barring any major unforeseen crisis, marriage will continue to be a

universal cultural practice that meets an assortment of societal needs. The Nez Perce are no different. The continuation of these practices, and others, helps to constantly reaffirm what it means to be Nez Perce for the individuals involved. Leroy Seth said, “it’s a constant battle of old traditions versus the new” (Personal Communication, 13 May 2011). However, in the case of marriage there appears to be a merging, as Ann McCormack called it, a “blending” of the two. And it creates, using Leroy Seth’s words, “a beautiful ceremony.”

Simon Ortiz defined resistance as the “the way that Indian people have creatively responded to forced colonization,” through the “use of foreign ritual, ideas, and material in their own” (Ortiz 1981:10, 8). Ceremony and oral traditions have long been the target of colonization efforts. The evidence is in the policies and practices of a time not so long ago. However, there remain over 565 federally recognized tribes today, and more that do not need government recognition to continue to practice their cultural ways. Without resistance, these numbers would be far less. Resistance, as defined by Ortiz and others, is exactly what can be witnessed in the courting and wedding ceremonies today. While it might not be a conscious resistance on the part of the participants, it is nonetheless very present. Whether incorporating traditions was the dream wedding being planned for since the bride was a little girl, or having a preacher who could speak Nez Perce language was a lucky convenience, it becomes an authentic and special Nez Perce wedding for those individuals and the entire community.

When ‘*iceyéeye* killed the Monster and used his heart and blood to create the *Niimiipuu*, he gave them a variety of traits. Today, despite assimilation, reservation, and termination, these traits still exist. Through adaptation, one of the greatest traits human beings possess, the Nez Perce have not lost their culture, but have instead been able to redefine what it means to be “The People.” The *Niimiipuu* have resisted and will continue to resist, especially through courtship, marriage, and wedding ceremonies, well into the future to remain culturally strong and vibrant. *Kii kaló* (The end).

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A CRITIQUE OF LEGAL PROTECTION FOR HUMAN REMAINS IN IDAHO WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CURRENT LEGISLATION

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ABSTRACT

Idaho statutes regarding protection of graves and human remains are inadequate in their current form. The neighboring state of Washington provides an excellent model for the implementation of more effective and ethical legislation in this matter. What follows is a comparison of the statutes in both states as well as a strong critique of the current policies in Idaho, which among other things, allow for personal possession and purchase of human remains. A brief historical review and case studies are provided to support the argument that more stringent protections of human remains are required, and the historical background of current law is offered to place the differences between these two states into perspective. Finally, suggestions are offered regarding possible future directions in Idaho and ways of improving the current legislation. A rationale for the creation of national legislation is also presented.

Introduction

Laws regarding the treatment of human remains are not uniform across the country and instead vary markedly between states. An example of this variation is seen in the differences between the legislation of Idaho and Washington State. Washington's statutes on this subject are extensive and their laws not only protect the dignity of human remains, but also require that their discovery be reported to the proper authorities without regard to property ownership. Idaho's laws neither effectively protect human remains from sale or exploitation, nor do they require that the discovery of human remains be reported. This article is devoted to explaining regulations in Idaho and Washington and offering an argument for changing Idaho's laws to be more consistent with those of Washington. Unless otherwise indicated, the legal interpretations in this document are my own, based on literal reading of the statutes discussed, and therefore may not precisely coincide with previous rulings on these topics. Due to the fact that rulings can be overturned or reversed, it is necessary that the letter of the law itself be changed in order to secure more permanent, uniform protections of human remains; as such, precise reading without reference to court and historical interpretations is still of value.

The Necessity of Human Remains Legislation

It is an unfortunate fact that human remains are not always treated with proper dignity; one need only take a cursory glance at historical and current events to realize that mutilation of dead bodies and callous disregard for human remains are by no means uncommon occurrences (Cantor 2010). Disrespectful treatment of the dead can stem from motives as varied as profit, magic or ritual use, laziness and convenience, morbid curiosity, scientific study or use, and even revenge, such as in disrespectful treatment of enemy soldiers (Cantor 2010). The shortage of cadavers for medical and anatomy classes in the 1700s and 1800s resulted in some of the most infamous historical instances of body snatching. It was from these cases that unauthorized possession of bodies and grave robbery came under legal scrutiny (Randall and Randall 1969; Tward and Patterson 2002; Schultz 2005). The events of this time period also demonstrate the importance of proper treatment of the dead to the general populace; public outcry, including violent riots against laboratories known for disinterring bodies, resulted in the implementation of laws that not only prohibited grave robbery, but also supplied laboratories with the bodies of criminals to provide the necessary cadavers (Tward and Patterson 2002; Schultz 2005). Dissection was even occasionally prescribed as additional punishment tacked onto the death penalty in order to discourage certain behaviors. For instance, the threat of dishonorable burial or post-mortem dissection was levied against the loser in order to deter dueling in the nineteenth century (Tward and Patterson 2002; Schultz 2005). Although these specific practices have long-since ceased, this history is relevant for its demonstration of general opinion and sentiment regarding disrespect for the dead, as well as demonstrating the propensity of government to offer tacit and even overt approval of such activities.

Disrespect for human remains and artifacts has often been aimed at *other* cultural groups or races (Cantor 2010). In the United States this attitude has translated into looting of Native American sites and burials (Lawrence 2004; King 2008). There have been times in the past when such behavior was accepted and even encouraged by lawmakers and scientists. In 1868, the Surgeon General ordered soldiers to collect the remains of Native Americans killed in military action so they could be studied by anthropologists and biologists in an attempt to understand Indian intelligence and racial mixing (Lawrence 2004). Native Americans killed in massacres and battles were decapitated and their skulls delivered to the Army Medical Museum for measuring and analysis (Lawrence 2004). Unfortunately, this atrocity was not a unique incident in the realm of government or science (Cantor 2010).

There is a long history of maltreatment of human remains, but history without current issue is not necessarily justification for the creation of current legislation. A few very recent case studies, however, offer adequate evidence that disrespectful treatment of human remains is not merely a problem of the past, and not exclusive to murderers and grave robbers.

The *Washington Post* recently reported the shocking discovery of Dover Air Force Base's practice of dumping the cremated remains of U.S. soldiers in a Virginia landfill. It was revealed that the remains of approximately 275 soldiers were disposed of in this manner and there are possibly more (Whitlock 2011; Whitlock and Flaherty 2011). Even Defense Secretary Leon Panetta was aware that the practice had occurred in the past, although he claimed no knowledge of the current case (Whitlock 2011; Whitlock and Flaherty 2011). If such a callous mistreatment of deceased soldiers is institutionalized practice at a government facility, then it cannot be expected that individual citizens will not behave likewise if such behavior goes unchecked.

Of greater relevance is the fact that there have been recent known cases of private possession of human remains as curiosities in Idaho. In 1982, Sugar City resident Jeff Webb,

purchased a skull with a supposed gunshot wound; this skull was sold to him by a pawn shop owner in Utah and was kept in a box labeled Mountain Meadows Massacre (Dobner 2009). After more than two decades of having the skull in his possession, Mr. Webb grew curious regarding its background and asked that the skull be investigated. According to the Associated Press, the skull was determined to likely be that of a Vietnamese male, and so probably not associated with the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre, in which 120 people on a west-bound wagon train were killed by a Mormon militia. The damage to the skull was determined to be post-mortem and the skull was probably a former biological or medical specimen (Dobner 2009). Even ignoring the obvious concerns associated with an average citizen purchasing a human skull, the fact that this skull displayed what the buyer thought was a gunshot wound is disturbing, and demonstrates a lack of judgment and concern regarding the origin of human remains being purchased by the public. In light of this case and other issues, regulations protecting human remains from disrespectful treatment and exploitation for personal gain are a necessary component of our legal system.

The Idaho Legislative Code: Title 27, Chapter 5

Title 27, Chapter 5 of the Idaho State Legislative Code was passed through the Idaho Legislature on 14 March 1984 (State Affairs Committee 1984b); prior to 1984 there was no state law governing protection of graves or cemeteries in Idaho (McDevitt, Love, and Smith 1985). This bill was taken up under the sponsorship of Representative Winchester and at the recommendation of the Legislative Interim Committee on Indian Affairs (Committee on Indian Affairs 1983; State Affairs Committee 1984b). The Interim Committee on Indian Affairs composed a draft of the bill known as the Antiquities Act (R.S. 9527), partially based on preexisting laws from Oregon and California, and with the input of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, representatives from Idaho tribes, the Idaho Archaeological Society, and the Idaho State Historical Society (Committee on Indian Affairs 1983). The bill was proposed after concerns mounted regarding desecration of Native American graves by pot-hunters, but it covers all graves, not only those of Native Americans (Committee on Indian Affairs 1983; State Affairs Committee 1984a). The committee also opted to add penalties (discussed in a separate subsection) for violations similar to those prescribed for violations of the Antiquities Act of 1906 (16 U.S.C. 431-433) and the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (ARPA) (16 U.S.C. 470aa-mm) (Committee on Indian Affairs 1983; Idaho Code 18-7028).

Idaho Code 27-502 prohibits anyone from willfully removing, mutilating, defacing, injuring, or destroying any cairn or grave, and requires that inadvertent disturbance of a burial be followed by reinterment. The particulars of how to go about reinterment and within what time-frame are not specified other than stating that the Idaho State Historical Society will help with the expenses. Beyond the prohibition of grave robbing and vandalism described above, the law only states the following:

(2) No person shall:

- (a) Possess any artifacts or human remains taken from a cairn or grave on or after January 1, 1984, in a manner other than that authorized under section 27-503, Idaho Code.
- (b) Publicly display or exhibit any human remains.
- (c) Sell any human artifacts or human remains taken from a cairn or grave.

(3) The provisions of this section do not apply to:

- (a) The possession or sale of artifacts discovered in or taken from locations other than cairns or graves or artifacts that were removed from cairns or graves by other than human action (Idaho Code 27-502-2-3a).

Although a progressive step at the time of its establishment, Idaho's law protecting graves is both inadequate and ineffective in its current form. According to the wording of the current law it is *not* illegal for someone to possess human remains unless they were taken from a cairn or grave *after* 1983. This is problematic since it allows people to keep human remains and artifacts that were taken from a grave during 1983 or earlier, and allows people to keep human remains and grave goods they obtained by other means. Other potential sources for these items could be through purchase, through family heirlooms, or through the discovery of an unburied dead body. "Grave" is defined in section 27-501 of the Idaho Code as "an excavation for burial of a human body," including unmarked graves. This definition is too narrow, and means that remains found lying in the woods, in a cave, in a lake bed, or even technically in an above-ground tomb do not fall under the jurisdiction of this statute. This also means that any artifacts associated with these remains are unprotected; this may include archaeological artifacts, but also simply personal effects such as jewelry or money. Although removal of jewelry or belongings from a dead body may fall under a statute regarding tampering with evidence, this would only apply if the death was the result of foul play.

The law prohibits selling human remains or artifacts from a cairn or grave, but not from other sources. This portion of the law is ineffective because it criminalizes sale but *not* purchase of human remains and artifacts from graves; people purchasing human remains may have no idea of how they were originally obtained. It is inadequate because it allows sale of human remains that were not either "awaiting interment" or already interred in either a grave or cairn. Such objects and remains only fall under ARPA or the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) regulations if they come from federal or tribal lands (King 2008), so protection afforded by state law is necessary.

Not only does this statute fail to include protections for artifacts and remains from sources other than graves and cairns, provisions of the section explicitly state that they do not apply to artifacts and remains taken from elsewhere, and even worse, that they do not apply to artifacts and remains that were removed from cairns or graves by natural forces (McDevitt, Love, and Smith 1985). By the literal word of this law, if a cemetery is washed out in a mudslide, the associated bodies could be collected and grave goods could be legally taken and sold.

This law is insufficient in terms of scope; only when private possession and sale of human remains and mortuary artifacts is rendered completely illegal can protections be considered truly effective. Under the current wording of the law, burden of proof falls on the state to show that any remains for sale or found in someone's possession are from a cairn or grave, and/or were unearthed after 1983. In light of this fact, there are a very limited number of ways in which someone could actually be prosecuted or even investigated for violation of this law. A violator would have to be caught digging up the remains/artifacts, there would have to be physical evidence of their presence at a gravesite that had been illegally excavated, or the remains would have to be linked to someone who had died and was properly buried more recently than 1983. Furthermore, under the wording of this law, owning and selling a human skull is legal (under certain circumstances) but certain museum displays, such as "*BODIES . . . The Exhibition*," are technically illegal under Idaho Code 27-502-2b. In spite of this technical issue of illegality, *BODIES . . . The Exhibition* has toured in Idaho Falls (Premier Exhibitions, Inc. 2010).

There is no rationale for allowing human remains to be sold on the open market; it is commonly held that such actions are morally reprehensible and outside the realm of protected Constitutional rights (Rossi and Blum 2007). With the exception of legally-obtained specimens for educational purposes, there is not a justifiable reason that individuals should be in possession of skeletal remains or cadavers. Ownership of human remains should be reasonably limited to ashes or other culturally-appropriate remains of a friend or relative. Personal possession of human bones or other remains should logically result in a criminal investigation and prosecution for several reasons. Some remains circulating through sale and tucked away in garages may be murder victims or skeletons illegally obtained in violation of ARPA, NAGPRA, or other legislation. The average citizen cannot determine if human skeletal remains are recent or archaeological in nature and whether or not the person died of natural causes—something that even experts cannot always determine. Burial in clandestine graves is a common way of disposing of bodies of murder victims, but so is simply dumping remains in a secluded area (Ubelaker and Scammell 1992). Even when people are buried, clandestine graves are usually quite shallow, and scavengers often dig up and disarticulate the skeletons, dragging the skull or other bones away from the grave (Ubelaker and Scammell 1992; Haglund 1997). These are only a few reasons supporting increased legal protections for human remains and a mandate that the proper authorities be alerted to their discovery.

Archaeological Remains

The specific rules regarding Idaho archaeological remains are separately detailed in section 27-503-1-2. These rules apply to intentional excavation for the study of remains and inadvertent discovery:

(1) If action is necessary to protect the burial site from foreseeable [foreseeable] destruction and upon prior notification to the director of the state historical society and to the appropriate Indian tribe in the vicinity of the intended action if the cairn or grave contains remains of an Indian, a professional archaeologist may excavate a cairn or grave and remove material objects and human remains for subsequent reinterment following scientific study. Reinterment shall be under the supervision of the appropriate Indian tribe. . . .

(2) Except as provided in subsection (1) of this section, any proposed excavation by a professional archaeologist of a native Indian cairn or grave shall be initiated only after prior written notification to the director of the state historical society and with prior written consent of the appropriate Indian tribe in the vicinity of the intended action. Failure of a tribe to respond to a request for permission within sixty (60) days of its mailing by certified mail, return receipt requested, shall be deemed consent. All material objects and human remains removed during such an excavation shall, following scientific study, be reinterred at the archaeologist's expense under the supervision of the Indian tribe (Idaho Code: 27-503-1-2).

While the portion of the law devoted to inadvertent archaeological discovery and research is more thorough than section 502, it is still in need of revision. The provided instructions lack clarity; they do not specify what is to be done if multiple tribes should be consulted. This could be revised simply by amending the word “tribe” to “tribe or tribes” in all three sections. Beyond this, there is no reason that a single written letter should be considered adequate means of attempted

contact. Since it is easy for paperwork to get lost, at least one attempt should be made by phone as well. This section also does not specify who within the tribe is to be contacted; there is no clarification if contact should be initiated through the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO), the Tribal Elders, another source, or multiple sources. Furthermore, it places the consultation process as the responsibility of the archaeologist rather than a public official or government employee, although section 3 does specify that the state historical preservation office is to designate the “appropriate tribe” (Idaho Code 27-503-3). This law was instituted prior to the enactment of NAGPRA, and so represents a very progressive step in the right direction, particularly in requiring permission to dig and reinterment of remains after study. A few provisions inspired by NAGPRA, however, could improve this portion of the law dramatically. For instance, it should state that *any* and *all* interested tribes be notified and given opportunity to consult and such consultation should be treated as a government-to-government negotiation carried out by the state historical preservation office.

There are no guidelines regarding how to conduct reinterment of a non-Indian in the Idaho Statutes or the Administrative Code, and such guidelines are not documented anywhere else to my knowledge. Clearly, these should be laid out, or at the very least someone in an official capacity should be placed in charge of handling such matters. Finally, the law does not contain any special regulations regarding notification and permissions from living relatives. Recent and historic burials of people with known living descendants are not immune to possible disturbance; some portion of this law should be devoted to informing next of kin and not just the historical society.

Penalties

Although archaeological sites on public lands are protected from vandalism and destruction (Idaho Code 67-4118-4122), Idaho Code Title 27, Chapter 5, details the only protections granted human remains in Idaho. Desecration of a grave or cemetery is considered a misdemeanor and no minimum or maximum penalties are listed (Idaho Code 18-7027); taking a body awaiting interment or removal of a body from a grave with intent to sell or dissect it is punishable by up to five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine (Idaho Code 18-1728). It is discouraging that Idaho has anti-video piracy laws that call for sanctions approximately equal to those imposed on people for stealing, mutilating, and selling cadavers and skeletal remains (Idaho Code 18-7603-7604; Idaho Code 18-7027-7028). No punishments are listed for unlawful possession of human remains without intent to sell. There are protections of human remains and archaeological artifacts through laws related to trespassing and destruction of private or state property, but the law links that protection to land or property owner permission (Idaho Code 18-7028, 7035); this actually contradicts U.S. Common Law on “quasi-property rights,” though not true property rights in corpses (Randall and Randall 1969; Scarmon 1992). Numerous estate law rulings have established that next of kin have limited property rights or control of the remains of a deceased person, but only for the purposes properly disposing of the body (Scarmon 1992). Problems with prosecuting grave-robbery have arisen from Common Law; since there is technically no property right in a body, there is nothing to steal (Randall and Randall 1969; Schultz 2005). The trial of medical student John Davies in 1728 resulted in the first conviction for personal, unauthorized possession of a body. *Rex v. Lynn* was the first recorded conviction for grave robbery under Common Law in 1788. The absence of precedence and a lack of a defined punishment, however, resulted in the issuance of only a nominal fine (Randall and Randall 1969).

Property rights of museums, as well as educational and medical facilities, over human specimens are all examples of exceptions to Common Law on the subject of bodies as property. NAGPRA is another exception; it grants a type of heritage status to Native American remains, thereby superseding any rights of the museums, research institutions, or collectors to keep them as specimens (Afrasiabi 1997). Remains are considered the property and heritage of the tribe or tribes found to be most closely linked to the deceased by direct descent, geographical proximity, or cultural similarity. This right is based on the religious and cultural importance of human remains to Native Americans, who often tie spirits to the bodies of the deceased (Afrasiabi 1997). Although Western beliefs do not usually tie the soul to corporeal remains, the same line of reasoning could feasibly be used to argue that a family or group's desire for proper burial and treatment of the deceased outweigh the rights of property owners to keep them as novelties.

Given the information above, an individual's closest living relative could feasibly be granted fewer rights over their body than a landowner or someone who has purchased their remains. While the Idaho Code protects buried bodies, a body left in a cave, for instance, is technically the property of the landowner (18-7035). Legal protection is afforded bodies awaiting interment, but not skeletal remains or human remains that were simply not buried (Idaho Code 18-7028). Anything not falling under these mandates or an applicable federal, county, or city regulation is therefore unprotected.

The Revised Code of Washington

The Process

Before discussing the law itself, it is relevant to discuss the impetus behind the recent amendments to Washington's protections of human remains and how these changes were created. The content of this legislation was developed in conjunction with the input of numerous interested parties including law enforcement, medical examiners, the archaeological community, and tribes (Rossi and Blum 2007). While the need to counteract looting was what inspired reform in Idaho, the catalyst for change in Washington was the inadvertent discovery of human remains in several infamous, high-profile cases, including the disastrous disruption of Tse-whit-zen cemetery in Port Angeles and the exposure of interred remains during the Blaine wastewater treatment plant expansion (Rossi and Blum 2007). These cases and several other cases on both private and governmental projects brought to light the inadequacies of the former statutes regarding guidelines for the discovery and treatment of human remains in an archaeological context. They also illuminated inconsistencies and ambivalent wording present in previous legislation (Rossi and Blum 2007).

Washington and Idaho have two very different histories regarding the archaeology of human remains, which are best illustrated through the cases of Kennewick Man in Washington and Buhl Woman in Idaho. The 10,000-year-old Buhl Woman was discovered in January of 1989 and the archaeological investigation of her remains was conducted according to Idaho statutes; although her remains were removed under the emergency clause, scientific analysis was conducted with the permission of the Shoshone-Bannock (Green 2012). The remains were repatriated to the Shoshone-Bannock, at their request, in 1991. Although relations were tense, the archaeologists and tribes did reach a compromise and the remains were radiocarbon dated and casts were made of the skeleton for future study before repatriation (Green 2012). Unlike Kennewick, the case of Buhl Woman was entirely resolved outside of court. Due to dispute over cultural affinity for Kennewick

Man, enforcement of NAGPRA has proven difficult and the remains have yet to be repatriated even though numerous tribes have called for their reburial; judgment that Kennewick man was too old to be associated with any modern tribe renders it unlikely that this issue will soon be resolved. This remains a subject of contention among archaeologists and the tribes of Washington State (Green 2012).

The Washington State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) played a major role in moving this legislation forward, which has much to do with some of the particulars of the law (Rossi and Blum 2007). For instance, the statutes require the inclusion of a state physical anthropologist, not simply a forensic anthropologist (R.C.W. 68-50-645). This difference is important since a forensic anthropologist may lack archaeological training and knowledge.

An initial attempt to pass a human remains protection bill through the Washington legislature without tribal consultation prompted strong opposition. Due to these problems, the original bill was thrown out, and instead the SHPO and Governor's Office of Indian Affairs (GOIA) were placed in charge of consulting the tribes and the public in order to help create a new, more agreeable bill (Rossi and Blum 2007). This outreach process included open forums and public meetings, providing an opportunity for public input; certain agencies and tribal leaders also submitted their views in writing (Rossi and Blum 2007). Holding public forums across the state and conducting studies regarding human remains legislation is an expensive and tedious process, but fortunately, Idaho can benefit from the experience of Washington. The results of these meetings are available as minutes, and the written report of findings (Rossi and Blum 2007) can be accessed through the Washington SHPO.

The Washington Statutes

In contrast to Idaho's statutes, Washington State's legislation is very strict and specific in its protection of human remains. Furthermore, the State of Washington has numerous laws and mandates regarding the treatment of human remains in diverse situations. Unlike that of Idaho, this legislation covers an array of scenarios: forensic, archaeological, and otherwise. These include failure to claim a body (R.C.W. 68-50-230), a system for dental identification (R.C.W. 68-50-310), regulations specific to skeletal remains (R.C.W. 68-50-645), and a section on bodies dedicated to educational purposes (R.C.W. 68-50-060). Due to their thoroughness and length, the Washington statutes on this subject are not covered as completely as those of Idaho. Instead, I focus on areas of the law that could easily be applied to Idaho legislation, while providing a tangible improvement.

Perhaps the most important difference mandated in Washington law is that a person is required by law to alert the authorities upon discovery of human remains. According to the Revised Code of Washington (R.C.W.) 68-50-010 and 020, unless a person has reason to believe notification has already been given, it is a misdemeanor to fail to notify the coroner of the presence of human remains if those remains appear to potentially fall under their jurisdiction. Coroner's jurisdiction includes any case of sudden death, apparent suicide, death occurring as a result of any form of violence, death occurring within one year of an accident, death from a contagion with implications for public health, drug overdose, death related to pregnancy or abortion, a death of unknown cause, death of an individual in apparent good health, and a plethora of other circumstances (R.C.W. 68-50-010). R.C.W. 68-50-645 mandates that anyone who knows of the existence of skeletal remains notify the coroner *and* local law enforcement. Even if they can identify a human skeleton and its parts, most people lack the training to visually assess whether skeletal remains are archaeological or forensic in nature; therefore, making it a legal obligation to contact the authorities under either circumstance is warranted.

Another important distinction of Washington law is that it unifies protection of all human remains, Native American and otherwise (Rossi and Blum 2007). Although procedure may differ for Native American and non-Native remains, the act of providing protection for all remains discovered is what constitutes the greatest step forward. Specific cultural values vary, but almost all cultures hold important beliefs and practices regarding respect for the dead (Rossi and Blum 2007); as such, there is no reason for a difference in the protection of dead bodies depending upon their racial or ethnic affiliation. Idaho law also grants protection to non-Native remains, but does not specify reburial processes or place stipulations on the study of these remains.

Washington law regarding the notification of tribes is more descriptive and instructional than that of Idaho. The law in Washington is much more specific regarding the process of contact. It requires written notification be sent via certified mail to “the head of the tribal government” of *all* potentially affected tribes, and also requires contacting the appropriate tribal cultural resource staff (R.C.W. 68-50-645). Once they have been notified, however, tribes are only granted five business days to respond; this time-frame may benefit tribes who desire an immediate reburial, but it seems too quick a turn-around, particularly since the law does not state whether this is from time of receipt or issuance (R.C.W. 68-50-645). Idaho’s allotment of 60 days for response is more generous and should, ideally, be maintained.

R.C.W. Title 68 does require notification of next of kin if a historic or recent grave is disturbed. As previously discussed, Idaho does not legally require such notification. Idaho’s lack of such a clause creates preferential protection for Native American remains and implies that people of other cultures have no interest in protection of the deceased and do not care to know the whereabouts of their ancestors.

The detailed, thorough, and encompassing qualities of the Revised Code of Washington make it an ideal model for revisions to the human remains legislation of the Idaho Code. Although budgetary issues may prevent the institution of new offices such as the state physical anthropologist, many of the most beneficial changes that could be made to the legislation entail no cost at all. Requiring that discovery of human remains be reported to the police would not cost the state any money, nor would extending protected status to all human remains and not only those associated with cairns or marked graves. Furthermore, access to Washington State’s consultation records and research may help to expedite the process of changing the legislation in Idaho.

Conclusions

“It is commonly accepted that respect for human remains and the graves and cemeteries where they are found is a fundamental value of nearly every culture” (Rossi and Blum 2007:2), but moral indignance does not always translate into ethical behavior. Given that one of the founding principles of this country, specified in the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, is equal protection under the eyes of the law, there is no excuse for protecting only some human remains and not offering those same protections to others. Native American remains do require protection, but the remains of individuals from other cultures should also be safeguarded against desecration.

Arcane legislation allowing a property owner to keep bones as collectibles has no place in the modern American legal system any more than a poll tax or Jim Crow laws. As there are no property rights in bodies, people do not have any inalienable right to keep human bodies or parts of them. In fact, according to legal interpretation of estate law, it is quite the opposite (Scarmon 1992; Cantor 2010). Ownership of human remains is only granted as a necessity in order to facilitate proper disposal and in the case of tissue donation (Scarmon 1992; Cantor 2010). If the family of an individual only has the right to keep a body in preparation for disposal, it does not

make sense that an unrelated stranger should be permitted to keep a skull the way they would a hunting trophy.

As of 31 December 2010, there were 85,820 missing persons entries and cases still active at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI 2011). It is a sobering thought that the remains of some of those individuals, and the evidence needed to bring peace to their families or their killers to justice, may be sitting in someone's living room as a novelty. If for no other reason, should this possibility alone not lead to the creation of legislation requiring report of discovery, and prohibition of private possession, sale, or purchase of human remains?

NAGPRA, ARPA, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), and the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) are all national statutes that can be applied toward protection of graves, but their jurisdiction is limited. To my current knowledge, the only statutes in the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations (U.S.C.) related to protection of human remains are those regulations written to enforce NAGPRA, for instance 18 U.S.C. 53-1170, regarding illegal trafficking of Native American remains. Any other laws mentioning human remains apply only to funeral home practices and hospitals. Ideally, a system of strict legal protections of human remains should be part of a national mandate; but because these laws have been left to individual states, Idaho offers a good starting point for improvement. There is no logical (or constitutional) reason that the statutes and regulations dictating treatment of human remains should not be the subject of federal law. There have already been similar calls for federal regulation of disposition of human bodies (Murphy 2007) and standardization of death investigation (Hanzlick 1996, 1997; DiMaio 1997). Furthermore, the possession and treatment of human remains and reporting their discovery has direct bearing on the enforcement of several federal statutes (25 U.S.C. 32-3001-3013; 18 U.S.C. 53-1170; 18 U.S.C. 51-1111), and the sale and purchase of human remains can extend beyond state boundaries (Dobner 2009), making this a national issue. Due to the difficulty of enacting legislative changes nationally, improvements and action at the state level could help to pave the way for eventual action at the federal level. Since federal lawmakers have not taken action on this issue, it is up to individual state legislatures to enact more responsible and stringent legislation and this is particularly true for Idaho's laws on protecting human remains.

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COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES
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MARCH 13, 2008

**Written Testimony Provided by Ted Howard
Shoshone-Paiute Tribes of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation**

Re: Oversight Hearing on the Impacts of Unmanaged Off-Road Vehicles on Federal Land.

My Name is Ted Howard and I am the cultural resources director and tribal member of the Shoshone-Paiute Tribes of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation of Idaho and Nevada. I am also a licensed pilot and I have monitored the public lands from the air and on the ground for several years.

Duck Valley is located in southern Idaho/northern Nevada, the state line dissects our reservation down the center exactly. Our reservation consists of 290,000 acres and it is the most remote Indian Reservation in the lower 48 States.

The people that make up the membership of our reservation, although they are all Shoshone and Paiute people, came from different areas. Some are from the Humboldt region of northern Nevada and others came from the Boise, Bruneau and the Wieser Valley areas in Idaho, and many have connections to southeastern Oregon.

The isolation has enabled our people to maintain our language and traditions. More so than tribal communities that are located adjacent to, or in urban areas. Our traditions provide for an intimate connection with our environment and the cultural and natural resources.

I would like to share a little about how we view our environment, our sacred sites and other resources.

The Owyhee Canyon lands and the Owyhee Desert are a part of the homelands of the Shoshone-Paiute people.

The Owyhee Desert includes southwestern Idaho, southeastern Oregon and northern Nevada; this area is sometimes referred to as the ION region. The Owyhee Desert consists of an estimated 10,000 square miles of undeveloped land in three states. The Owyhee River is a part of the Columbia River drainage system and was once the spawning grounds for salmon before the dams in the Columbia and the Snake Rivers made their migration more difficult and the Hells Canyon Dam ultimately blocked their migration up the Snake River and its tributaries all together. There are many sites within our homelands that are sacred to our people. Tribal members use these sites to pray, to vision quest, or to conduct ceremonies. Many of these sites have been used for countless generations.

The Owyhee Canyon lands have always been an important area for our people. And that was the reason our people took refuge there when the Bannock War of 1878 broke out. During that era there were many battles fought throughout the area, and as a result the canyon lands became even more special. There was an all out attempt to exterminate our people from the face of the

earth. There were bounties on Indian scalps, \$100.00 for a man's scalp, \$50.00 for a woman, and \$25.00 for a child. Many of our people fought, died there, and are buried there.

A belief in the sacredness of lands, when seen in the Indian context, is an integral part of the experiences of the people, past, present and future. Indians who have never visited certain sacred sites nevertheless know of these places from community knowledge, and they intuit this knowing to be an essential part of their being.

Every identifiable region has sacred places peculiar to its geography. Their sacredness does not depend on human occupancy but on stories that describe the revelation that enabled their people to experience the holiness there.

Sacred places are the foundation of all other beliefs and practices because they represent the presence of the sacred in our lives. They properly inform us that we are not larger than nature and that we have responsibilities to the rest of the natural world that transcend our own desires and wishes.

The Shoshone-Paiute people recognize that all things are interconnected. Everything on earth has a purpose and all of creation is equal. That includes humans; we too, are a part of creation, we are not above the rest of creation. The plants, animals, birds, trees, rocks, etc., have as much right on this earth as we do. Every part of creation have a duty that they provide to keep the earth and our environment healthy, and whole.

Agencies separate the resources into different categories, natural resources, botanical, cultural, etc. Tribes do not separate the resources. We view the environment as a whole. The well being of the earth and the environment is dependant on all of the resources, collectively.

The sun, the moon and all of these things we take for granted play an important part in keeping everything in harmony.

Water, is the essence of life. All life needs water to survive. Water is the life giving blood of Mother Earth, and we must do everything in our power to keep it clean for the coming generations and all life.

Plants are important for a variety of reasons. They are gathered for their roots, leaves or seeds, etc., according to the seasons. Some plants are important for food, others for their medicinal qualities. Plants can be used in a variety of ways such as making baskets, cordage for ropes or making traps, weapons, etc. Our ancestors braided moccasins and garments from sage bark. Some plants and roots are used for ceremonial purposes, for curing illnesses, for cleansing our physical body, our spirit and soul.

Animals are important; they provide meat for nourishment, the hides provide clothing, shoes, shelter, tools and weapons.

Our elders continually remind us that the animals were here long before we were. They possess more knowledge than we do. According to our legends, there was a time when animals could speak. They taught us which plants were edible and which plants to use for curing illnesses and how to use them, and how to take care for and respect the earth and the resources she provides. We are taught that we must always respect those we share the earth with.

Before a harvest, ceremonies are conducted, and prayers are offered in the native tongue. Appropriate songs are used, and sometimes there are several songs that must be sung in a certain sequence.

Indian people never hunt for recreation. Hunting is always out of necessity. We never kill a deer for his antlers. In fact, many of the larger animals are spared so they may provide for a stronger gene pool. When an animal is harvested, it is never wasted regardless. We realize that a life was taken so that we may live, leaving it would be disrespectful. Our people use virtually every part of the animal, the meat, hide, bones, horns, etc.

artifacts out. Some of the stone mortars and other artifacts are heavy, but with the aid of an ATV, that's not a problem. They could easily make several trips.

- ATVs also contribute to the spread of noxious weeds by distributing seeds into areas where there were none.
- There can also be a fire hazard during extreme dry conditions, which is usually in the fall during hunting season.

I have brought this to attention of the agencies and they usually recite their regulations, and deny that anyone is doing those things. I remind them that regulations are useless without enforcement.

I have served on the Bureau of Land Management's (BLM) Resources Advisory Council (RAC) for 10 years, and I am always frustrated that recreation is held in such high regard. They seem to be under the impression that public lands are theirs to destroy. There needs to be more consideration for the natural inhabitants and the environment. If the trend in the increase of ATVs on forest and public lands continues at the pace that it has in the last several decades; just think of the destruction that they'll leave in their wake in the next 10–20 years if nothing is done.

There is an area known as the Owyhee Front along the Snake River (on public lands) in Owyhee County that is designated for ATVs. It consists of several hundred miles of trails across 135,000 acres of public land. This area is used for races and other events and by recreational users. So they have an area set aside specifically for ATV/OHV use.

I would like to make a recommendation that stronger measures be taken to protect the Federal lands and the resources. Most of the public lands are currently designated as "Open," and there are no restrictions on ATVs, and enforcement is nearly nonexistent.

I recommend that public lands be closed to ATV/ORV use until there are regulations developed to control this desecration and adequate law enforcement to ensure that OHV users will stay on the designated trails. Travel Management Plans must be developed and all unauthorized trails must be closed to ORV use and decommissioned. OHV registration fees should be increased for the rehabilitation on Federal lands.

Arrangements need to be made with the ranchers and others that use ATVs for fence repair and duties related to their line of work.

During hunting season the ATVs could be permitted, only for the duration of the hunting season to licensed hunters providing they stay on the designated trails.

Thank you for the opportunity to share some of our thoughts, experiences and suggestions with the Sub-Committee on Natural Resources. Thank you for the opportunity to share some of our teachings on the importance of our homelands to contemporary tribal members and the traditional importance of the resources. It is our hope that others will understand and embrace the love and respect we have for everything that we share the earth with.

It is our duty as contemporary caretakers of the earth, to preserve all we can so that the coming generations can have and enjoy all the earth has to offer, and it will be their time to do the same for their grandchildren.

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UNDERSTANDING PLACE: TOURISM, MIGRATION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN NORTH CENTRAL WASHINGTON

Julie Tate-Libby

ABSTRACT

The Pacific Northwest has long been considered a Mecca for outdoor enthusiasts and recreationalists, resulting in an historic shift from extractive, resource-dependent industries such as mining, logging, and ranching to service-based industries such as tourism, recreation, viticulture, and small-scale farming. However, while some areas like the Methow Valley of north central Washington have experienced a marked influx of amenity migrants in search of lifestyle and recreation, neighboring communities along the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers have been the loci for work-related migrations to support a large fruit and agricultural industry. This article explores the ongoing multiple migrations in north central Washington and the resulting social and economic enclaves that result.

Introduction

This article explores the historical and contemporary makeup of three diverse communities that lie within a 45-mile radius of each other in north central Washington: the towns of Bridgeport and Brewster, located along the Columbia River; Omak and Okanogan along the Okanogan River; and the Methow Valley on the eastern slopes of the Cascade Range.¹ Over the past three decades these communities, once considered a bioregion in terms of geography and commerce, have all undergone social and economic restructuring, shifting from extractive, resource-dependent industries such as mining, logging and ranching to service-based industries such as tourism, recreation, viticulture, and small-scale farming. However, while some areas like the Methow Valley have experienced a marked influx of amenity migrants in search of lifestyle and recreation, neighboring communities along the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers have been the loci for work-related migrations to support a large fruit and agricultural industry. Together, these communities are representative of the economic and social changes that have taken place in rural north central Washington and, as Rothman (1998) and others (Gottlieb 1998; Smith and Krannich 2000; Nelson 2002) suggest, the kind of restructuring that characterizes much of the American West.

This article has to do with social and economic changes associated with migration and tourism. While anthropologists have long been interested in tourism as a vehicle for cultural change (Smith 1989; Bruner 2004, 2005; Gmelch 2004), most tourism studies have focused on international tourism in exotic locales. Less attention has been given within the anthropological literature to tourism's role in restructuring communities and the multiple forms of migration that result from the shift to service industries. In particular, while the link between tourism and amenity migration has been well-established by tourism academics and geographers (Hall and Williams 2002; Coles, Duval, and Hall 2005; Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen 2007), scant attention has been paid to these processes by anthropologists themselves. This is unfortunate, as

anthropology offers a qualitative and discerning view on the social organization of communities and the multiple processes of power therein. This article attempts to address this dearth by drawing attention to tourism, migration, and the changing socioeconomic landscape in rural north central Washington.

North Central Washington as a Bioregion

North central Washington includes the counties of Okanogan, Chelan, and Douglas and is considered one of the top fruit-producing regions in the State of Washington, exporting among other things apples, cherries, peaches, and apricots (Kerr 1980). More recently, the region has become a center for wine tourism and viticulture. It is an arid landscape, dependent on irrigation from the Columbia and Okanogan rivers, which wind their way from Lake Okanogan in British Columbia through the arid, highland plateau of Okanogan and Douglas counties. The combined population of all three counties is around 143,000 residents in a land mass that spans 6,432,000 acres (WSDOT 2012). Rural orchard towns with populations of 2,000 and less lie scattered along the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers. Bordered on the west by the North Cascades and the Columbia River to the east, the region also contains the Colville Indian Reservation and large amounts of public land.

Geographically, the communities of Brewster and Bridgeport, Omak and Okanogan, and the Methow Valley are connected via waterways that formed the early centers of trade and development in the region as a whole (Fig. 1). Settlement patterns focused along the Columbia, Okanogan and Twisp rivers. Before white settlement in the 1890s, the region was comprised of linguistically and culturally similar American Indian groups who had established trade routes throughout the region and identified strongly with the Plateau subsistence culture. Later, as the region was incorporated into America's western expansion, settlers were similarly dependent on the region's geography, which shaped the different industries that grew to prominence in each community.

Bridgeport and Brewster

Originally the sites of Chinese placer mining camps in the late 1800s, the communities of Bridgeport and Brewster, located on the banks of the Columbia River, have long been supported by the fruit industry (Fig. 2). The story of Dan Gamble, a young immigrant from Nova Scotia who walked 3,500 miles across North America to seek his fortune and ended up in what is now Brewster (Hunter 2010), is representative of the early settlers who came to the region and carved out thousands of acres of orchard. Today, Gamble's enterprise is known as Gebber's Farms, a 5,000-plus acre apple and cherry operation overlooking the Columbia River in Brewster. Gebber's Farms made national news in 2010 when an audit by the Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) prompted the firing of 550 illegal Mexican workers (Preston 2010). The following summer, Gebber's was approved to hire 1,200 H-2A classified farm workers (the visa status given to foreign nationals for temporary or seasonal agricultural work), including 300 Jamaicans. Today, Brewster and Bridgeport's population is over 70 percent Hispanic, and 90 percent of the school's enrolments are Hispanic children.



Fig. 1. Map of Washington, ca. 1950. The communities discussed are located west of Grand Coulee in the center of the map (reproduced with permission from the Shafer Museum).

The roots of these demographics date back to the early 1900s when most orchards were between 5 and 10 acres, and initially, a single family could maintain an orchard without outside help (Anderson 1980). Within a few years, however, businessmen and capitalists from the East Coast began buying up family farms and purchasing large tracts of land for orchards. During World War I, labor shortages increased as most young men were conscripted into armed service. Hoboes, known variously as bindlestiffs, fruit tramps, or bums, began a seasonal migration up into north central Washington to harvest fruit, returning to cities like Chicago or New York during the winter (Wyman 2010). From the outset, orchard labor was a transient business, dependent on the influx of migrants during the harvest season. In 1941, Martha Gamble recruited the first Hispanic work force through the guest-worker program initiated by the U.S. government during World War II (Gamboa 2000). Labor shortages during the war prompted a flood of migrant laborers from Mexico, but for the next two decades, they followed annual migrations, leaving after the harvest or returning in the spring to prune and plant (Garcia 2005).



Fig. 2. Bridgeport and Chief Joseph Dam (photo by Brad Skiff).

Even by the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, most of the labor in Bridgeport and Brewster was seasonal, albeit a few Mexican families had begun to move into the area and settle permanently. Housing for migrant workers usually consisted (and consists unchanged today) of small, windowless cabins known as “picker shacks.” In these nine-foot by ten-foot structures, some Mexican families and relatives house together with pets, children, and chickens. Following the 1996 North American Free Trade Agreement, rural Mexican families were forced off their land and began moving north, where previously established labor migrations paved the way for permanent settlement (Garcia and Garcia 2005). From 1996 to the present, the Latino populations of Bridgeport and Brewster have risen to over 70 percent in both towns (United States Census Bureau 2010). Today, Mexican American families make up the social and ethnic fabric of Brewster and Bridgeport, euphemistically known as “Little Mexicos” (Fig. 3).

It would be easy to characterize the Latino populations of Bridgeport and Brewster as passive players in the larger socioeconomic structures of globalization and work-related migrations of which they are a part. However, to use Ortner’s (1999) metaphor of the ‘serious games’ that people play, I would argue that Mexican immigrants in Bridgeport and Brewster have actively negotiated their status and roles within an overwhelmingly antagonistic white community. Analyzing the Sherpa’s role in the mountaineering industry of Nepal, Ortner (1999) suggests that people do not just enact the cultural scripts and material necessities that shape their lives, but rather live life with purpose and intention, that social life is a matter of social relationships—“of cooperation and competition, of solidarity and exploitation, of allying and betraying” (Ortner 1999:23). It is this purposeful intention, or ‘serious game,’ that informs the



Fig. 3. Typical building in downtown Bridgeport showing use of English and Spanish language in signage (photo by Wayne VanZwoll).

Latino experience in Brewster and Bridgeport and makes these communities unique within the larger Mexican immigration trends in America. To illustrate this point, I will describe what it was like growing up in Bridgeport in the 1980s and compare it to my students' experiences today.

Bridgeport in the 1980s was predominately white. Most of the kids I went to school with were the children of orchardists. Their parents were well-to-do, had lived in the community for at least two or three generations, and were in many ways a tight-knit, politically conservative community. In September and October, the towns filled up with young, Spanish-speaking Mexican men whose voices could be heard drifting across the fields. At four-o'clock on Friday afternoons (payday) the grocery store was filled with men just coming in from the orchards. As they spoke little to no English, they filtered through the store en masse, talking and gesturing among themselves, no doubt trying to find familiar products to cook with. At that time the farm workers were largely invisible except during the harvest and spring pruning. I knew no Hispanic children and rarely saw women, mothers, or wives.

Today many of my students at Wenatchee Valley College are from Bridgeport and have grown up there as first-generation Mexican Americans. They describe helping their parents in the orchards as children, then cutting wheat in the fields above Bridgeport, often working 13 to 14 hours a day. One student described how families look forward to cherry season because it is a relatively short harvest with lots of overtime hours, and they can take their children to work in the orchards with them. One adult student told the class that when she first came from Mexico, she had left her infant and two-year-old daughter behind until she could afford to move them to the United States. She worked as a nanny, taking care of a white family's children until she was able to bring her own children to Bridgeport. Because most of the jobs here are seasonal, winter is a

difficult time for families who live paycheck-to-paycheck; the average household income in Bridgeport is around \$30,000 a year (City-Data.com 2012). In addition, because many of the residents are undocumented, they are unable to apply for unemployment benefits.

Immigration scholar Erasmo Gamboa (2000) has argued that throughout World War II, the Bracero Movement (the term used to describe the guest-worker program initiated by the U.S. during World War II) in the Pacific Northwest enabled growers to benefit from their ability to meet the higher demand for farm products while at the same time profiting from low-cost Mexican labor. These factors during the 1940s enabled growers like Gebber's to increase their land holdings and production facilities while keeping Mexican migrants unskilled and semi-transitory. Later, during the 1990s when Mexican families began immigrating full-time, the massive influx of Mexican and other Latinos families prompted a gradual out-migration of middle-class Caucasian households. Orchardist children left for college and did not come back. Gamboa notes that while other war workers during World War II "made good in the new economic order, the Mexicans arrived unskilled and stayed that way" (2000: 129). While this can be seen in the average household income for Bridgeport, nonetheless, Mexican-American families have not been passive in negotiating their situation. Today, the children who arrived or were born in Bridgeport and Brewster in the 1990s are graduating from high school; the vast majority of them are going to college and technical schools. In 2011, due to their high graduation rates and college-bound seniors, Bridgeport High School was one of three contenders for a visit by President Barack Obama to speak at their graduation ceremony (Yardley 2011). Even younger children frequently translate for their parents who do not speak English and act as intermediaries between their families and school or government officials, gathering valuable skills in understanding legal issues and communicating with those in power. Furthermore, many of the families that moved to Bridgeport in the 1990s now own their own homes; some have purchased their own land and operate their own orchards. The migration patterns that emerged during World War II can still be seen today in the familial networks that stretch from Washington to the Mexican states of Nayarit, Jalisco, and Michoacán, but instead of a transient, unskilled farm worker class, Brewster and Bridgeport are filled with Mexican-American families who run businesses that cater to their own needs. In downtown Bridgeport and Brewster you can find Mexican pastry shops, Quinceañera shops, and numerous buses that have been transformed into mobile taco stands. By settling in these communities with their families and relatives, Mexican Americans in Bridgeport and Brewster have been able to turn a once hostile, White-dominated community into a poor, but thriving, Mexican-American community that has much the feel and atmosphere of rural villages in Mexico.

Omak and Okanogan

In contrast to Brewster and Bridgeport, the towns of Omak and Okanogan remained dependent on mining, logging, and ranching until much later into the twentieth century. Geographically, the Okanogan Highlands and the Kettle River Range, which form the dry, hilly topography of the region, are considered the foothills of the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 4), much better suited to cattle ranching and mining than agriculture. With the closure of the Wagner Mill in Twisp in 1985, Okanogan became the locus for a declining logging industry, much of which was taken over and incorporated in the 1980s by the Colville Tribal Enterprise Corporation (CTEC). Today, the CTEC oversees several timber companies in Omak and Okanogan, including two mills and two harvesting companies. Up until 2009, at the height of the most recent economic recession,

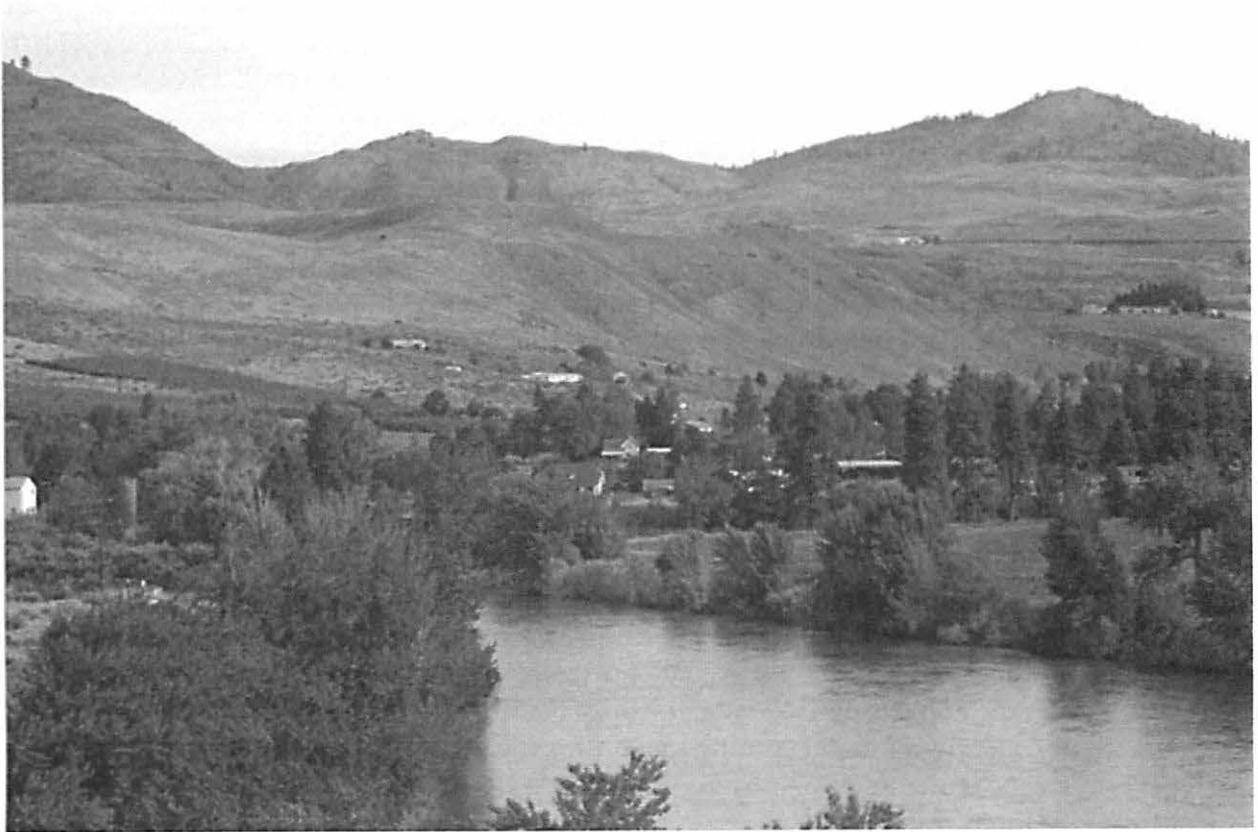


Fig. 4. The Okanogan River in Omak, Washington (photo by Ken Libby).

CTEC employed more than 1,000 people, mostly registered members of the Colville Confederated Tribe (Fogarty 2011). In 2009, CTEC shut down both mills and fired hundreds of workers, mostly loggers and construction workers. Although the CTEC has recently added a convenience store and hired 100 people in the last 15 months, unemployment on the Colville Reservation is around 55 to 60 percent (Fogarty 2011). In 2010, the AFL-CIO filed a claim for the workers of both mills who had been laid off in 2009 to receive Worker Adjustment Assistance, which would provide money for job training and retraining.

As an instructor at Wenatchee Valley College in Omak, I have had at least 15 adult men in my classes over the last two years who were recently laid off from the mills. Their stories are remarkably similar; one young man had dropped out of high school to start working at the mill: “It wasn’t too bad,” he said, “I was making \$16 an hour without a high school education or a GED.” When asked what he would do now that the mills were closed down, he said he did not know. Another man who had worked at the mill for most of his adult life was going back to school to become a chemical dependency counselor. Yet another young man who had spent the last few years operating heavy machinery at the mill was transitioning back to school to go into nursing. For the vast majority of the men I have taught, “Going back to school” is their first experience with higher education. Finding themselves in a female-dominated environment, being asked to write papers and comment on theoretical ideals, and facing a future in the service industry such as nursing is, at best, disorienting.

The experiences of these men highlight one of the problems with rural restructuring: the suitability of service jobs for men who have worked in blue collar, physically demanding jobs for most of their lives. Asking a former heavy-machine operator to work in retail at Walmart or as a housekeeper at a motel involves not only downward economic mobility, but often gendered dimensions as well. The loss of jobs in this kind of restructuring significantly affects more men than women. It is not conjecture to say that one can almost immediately see the effects of male unemployment in the rising rate of alcoholism, domestic violence, and rural suicide in these communities. Okanogan County's suicide rate tripled from 2010 to 2011, making its per-capita suicide rate nearly twice the national average (Maheffy 2012). According to a spokesperson for Okanogan County Health Department, these numbers are artificially low and do not include at least six other alcohol-related deaths in the first few months of 2012. It is worth noting that in neighboring, rural Chelan County, which has also seen a sharp increase in suicide, 11 out of 18 suicides were between the ages of 40 and 65 (Maheffy 2012) and, reflecting national trends, 14 of the 18 deaths were male.

Today, the median household income for Okanogan County is at 65 percent of the norm for Washington State at \$37,900 per year, with 19.6 percent of the population living below the federal poverty level (United States Census Bureau 2008). Corresponding to these demographics, a recent study conducted by Washington state Department of Social and Health Services found that Okanogan County ranked first in the State for the number of drug and alcohol-related deaths in 2007 as well as the number of drug law violations (Washington State DSHS 2008). In addition, the County ranks among the highest in the nation for high-school dropout rates: as of the 2000 census, 23.4 percent of the adult population had less than a high school diploma and 9.7 percent did not finish the ninth grade.

While these statistics show the general economic environment in the Omak/Okanogan area, they do not do justice to the level of poverty and overall health of the community. Culturally, the region was, and is, strongly influenced by the Colville Indian Reservation. Although there are some orchards and around 12 percent of the population is Latino (Census Bureau 2010), Omak and Okanogan remain in many ways outposts of the Wild West. The annual Omak Stampede has become a regionally famous event, drawing people from all over the County for a four-day festival of tribal dancing, drumming, and rodeo competitions. The infamous Suicide Race (so called for the number of horse deaths on the race track) has become a tourist draw in its own right and is composed of Native American families who have participated in it since its inception.

Today, if you walk down Main Street in Okanogan you see a large building plastered with paper and the windows boarded up with plywood. This now defunct business has become the center for the Okanogan Community Action Council, a non-profit organization that oversees community development and offers assistance to low-income families. In addition to this, there are several businesses, including a Western goods and clothing store, several taverns, a thrift store, a boarded-up Christian bookstore, a used-vacuum cleaner store, and a gas station. Omak's Main Street is similar: there are several boarded-up, defunct fast-food outlets; the Cat's Cradle Thrift Store; a Quinceanera clothing store; a movie cinema; a quilt store; and two stores selling beads and Native American blankets. The rest of the town now lies to the north, where a Walmart Superstore and The Home Depot dominate the landscape along with the ubiquitous McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Payless Shoes. What was, in the 1980s, a thriving business district and downtown with cafes, hardware stores, a drug store, and several boutiques, is today a burnt-over landscape of boarded-up buildings and "For Lease" signs.

The Methow Valley

It is particularly the Walmartized landscape that people in the Methow abhor. In the Methow there are few-to-no chain stores, and this is how most Methow residents want it to stay. The Methow Valley, a mere 35 miles over the Loup Loup Pass from Okanogan, is a popular outdoor recreational center and a locus for amenity migration and vacation homes (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Second home in the Methow Valley (photo by Ken Libby).

The development of a tourism economy in the Methow Valley was a combination of several events. Ever since the early explorations of Alexander Ross (Marler 2004), developers have sought a trans-Cascadian highway that would link the Methow Valley with the Puget Sound (Portman 2002). At first, local residents lobbied for the highway to transport beef, apples, and hay. By the 1970s, however, it looked as though the highway could serve as a tourist destination, as small-scale farming was in decline. The new, scenic Highway 20 opened in 1972, transforming the economy of the Methow Valley from a sleepy agricultural community to a highly seasonal, outdoor recreational tourist center (Roe 1997). As Joanne Roe notes in her account:

One weekend near the end of the 1973 season, a restaurant's supplies were so depleted that it offered only two items on the menu, and the fully booked Trail's End Motel personnel called as far as Chelan to find accommodation for the stranded travelers (Roe 1997:87).

The second significant development for the Methow Valley occurred during the Vietnam era, as counter-cultural transplants began moving to the valley, establishing once again the small-scale homestead. As sociologist Jim Hutchins noted in a study funded by the Forest Service in 1980, the incoming urban refugees tended to be well-educated, middle-class professionals disillusioned with mainstream America (Hutchins 1980). They sought a return to sustainable living and they found it in the Methow Valley. Local residents viewed the newcomers with somewhat mixed emotions. One woman who was born and raised in the Methow commented,²

I guess looking back, in some ways I feel that we were naive and taken advantage of. We had no idea what they really had. Down at the hotel and the store, my Dad used to give these poor hippie kids stoves to cook on and all this stuff because they seemed so down and out, when really their parents had bought them this land they were living on to get rid of their troubled kids. . . . (Tate-Libby 2005a)

Many of these transplants did not want to see economic growth, particularly in the form of tourism, but rather wanted the valley to remain ‘pristine’ and untouched, as they found it when they got here. While the Methow has been a draw for urban refugees since the 1970s, the mid to late 1990s saw a similar immigration of urban professionals looking for lifestyle and community, which has transformed into a rubric of sustainability and green living. This coalition of preservationists has strongly influenced the Methow’s character, resulting in more than 80 nonprofit institutions—many, such as the Methow Conservancy, are dedicated to preserving the area’s natural resources. At the same time, however, most of the development post-1990s has been in the second-home and construction industries. According to a census in 2005, just over 62 percent of the properties in the Methow Valley are owned by absentee landowners. Correspondingly, a study in 2002 found that 68 percent of the region’s annual income is generated elsewhere (Nelson 2002). By most estimates, this number is probably outdated as the last five years have seen a marked increase in urban professionals who work in information technology jobs and reside in the Methow Valley.

Two themes can be seen from the Methow Valley’s recent history. One is the emergence of a tourism industry based on outdoor recreation and lifestyle. The second is a concurrent trend for amenity migration and vacation homes. Arguably, it is this latter trend that has become the primary industry for Methow Valley residents who participate in the process via the building and construction phase of new homes and in providing services for repeating visitors who are neither residents nor tourists, but something in-between.

Imagined Worlds: The Myth of the Methow

Of all three communities mentioned in this article, only the Methow prizes itself so enthusiastically on its array of natural amenities and the excellence of its community members. In a recent photo book entitled: *The Methow Valley, Between Home and Heaven*, Seattle-based author and photographer Amanda Lumry and Loren Wengerd write, “The majestic view of the Valley and surrounding mountains invite awe, while wild flowers and wildlife inspire attentive and focused observation” (Lumry and Wengerd 2006:1). Such romanticized enthusiasm is replete throughout community events and forms the basis for amenity migration into the Valley. As I have written elsewhere, this kind of sentiment both influences and forms the tourist attraction and has

become the dominant “script” for people living in the Methow. Holland, Fox, and Daro (2008), calling attention to the fact that collective identity develops within ‘figured’ or ‘imagined’ worlds, suggest that meaning is made through these kinds of narratives, where

[I]magined worlds are a realm of interpretation and action generated by the participants of a movement through their shared activities and commitments that imagines the terrain of struggle, the powers of opponents, and the possibilities of a changed world. (Holland, Fox, and Daro 2008:19)

In the Methow, the two dominant themes that emerge when people talk about why they moved to the Valley are the landscape and the community. This in itself is not profound; most people voluntarily move to places that they find attractive, but it is the constant rendering of the Methow as a better-than-anywhere kind of place that operates as a catalyst for multiple preservation movements in the Valley. For example, there are several organizations committed to preserving the natural beauty of the Methow including the Methow Conservancy, Friends of the Methow, and the OWL organization, all of which work within various capacities to maintain the open space in the Valley and prohibit zoning that would enable development. There are other organizations to promote the arts, which include the Methow Arts Alliance, the Pipestone Music Institute, and the Confluence Gallery. These organizations promote cultural events by working within the schools and community to bring outside performers into the Valley and to encourage patronage of the many artists who live in the Methow. All of the registered 87 nonprofits rely largely on private donations to support the salaries of their constituents and the programs they implement. The amount of money that runs through these organizations is not small, totaling \$15,672,583 in 2011 (TaxExempt.com 2012).

It is not a stretch to say that the economy of the Methow Valley is significantly driven by the presence of these nonprofits and the money they bring in from the outside. Furthermore, the emergence of the nonprofits is directly related to the high rate of amenity migrants over the last 30 years who bring with them—among other things—their own cultural capital (Bourdieu 1989) and the desire for goods and services available elsewhere. While the nonprofits function as an important source of outside revenue, they are also sustained by local donation, creating a boon to the economy that is similarly tied to its preservation. In effect, preservation efforts in the Methow are about preserving a way of life and a carefully scripted narrative of the quality of that life.

Consequences of Multiple Migrations

While each community discussed here deserves a thorough analysis in its own right, it is the contrasts between them that illustrate the social and economic disparities with which this article is concerned. As history illustrates, ethnic diversity and migration have always been part of the fabric of the region, from Chinese prospectors to Europeans, homesteader families, and Latino and Mexican-American immigration. Today, however, the region has been splintered into ethnic enclaves that have an increasing sense of isolation from the rest of north central Washington.

The Methow, for example, has become a social and economic enclave of middle-class professionals with stronger cultural ties to the east coast and urban centers from where they came. Recent residents to the Methow Valley remain remarkably unaware of the rest of the county or the region itself. Many new residents have never been to Brewster or Bridgeport, even though they are a mere 45-minute drive away. Those who have driven through Omak and Okanogan express

feelings of discomfort. One young woman remarked that she had a “weird vibe” when driving through Omak. Another woman expressed that she had no interest in the rest of the county and would rather “focus on the Methow where everyone believes in the same things like gardening and sustainable living” (Personal Communication, 2010).

In the past, high-school graduates generally went to universities in eastern Washington such as Eastern Washington University, Washington State University, or Central Washington University, but today’s high school graduates of the Methow Valley compete to get into top universities like Harvard, Stanford, or Columbia. In the Methow Valley, mothers get together and discuss the preferred brand of organic chicken feed, as most middle-class families raise chickens and have an organic garden. Indeed, food politics dominate many a conversation, while gardening in itself has become a status symbol, conveying the dominant values and worldview of their practitioners. Likewise, fundraising for the 87 nonprofits fills social calendars and keeps community members busy raising local consciousness and finding wealthy donors to support their causes, of which there are many.

Twenty-five miles downriver, however, the communities of Brewster and Bridgeport are more concerned with getting their kids in school, learning English as a second language, and acculturating into a sometimes-hostile environment where, historically, their presence was resented by White orchardists even as they depended upon their labor. Most Hispanic high-school graduates in Bridgeport and Brewster attend Wenatchee Valley Community College, and struggle with the challenges of raising a family directly out of high school.

Omak and Okanogan are in many ways riddled with the social problems of long-term poverty, including a high rate of methamphetamine use, drug and alcohol addiction, and domestic violence (Washington State DSHS 2008). Students from my classes in Omak work full-time jobs at Walmart, Pizza Hut, or Safeway, and attend night classes at Wenatchee Valley Community College. Many of them are single mothers who are enrolled in the nursing program. Their primary concerns are making rent payments, keeping warm in the winter months, and having enough to eat while continuing their education in order to have a better life.

The roots of such poverty are relatively recent. Fifty years ago, few differences existed between these communities, except that out of all three, the Methow Valley was the more economically depressed and geographically isolated. During the 1940s, when construction of Chief Joseph Dam was under way, developers dreamed of a town of several thousand (Wilson 1990). Likewise, Okanogan, as the county seat, and Omak were both the economic hubs for the region prior to 1980. When comparing the recent history of these three communities, it is the development of tourism and, subsequently, amenity migration in the Methow Valley that contributes to the Methow’s economic prosperity and social elitism.

Conclusions

In many ways, north central Washington can be seen as representative of communities all over the American West where in-migration to areas close to national parks and wilderness areas saw a 71 percent increase in population during the 1990s (Stewart 2002). The Methow Valley, due to its location in the Cascades, flourished, particularly after the North Cascades National Park was formed in 1968. At the same time, in parts of Washington, Oregon, and Montana, primary-sector industries like wood working, agriculture, and mining declined over 30 percent between 1970 and 1990 (Power 1995). As Rasker and Hanson (2000) note, across the West resource-based industries gave way to a quality-of-life model where perceived ‘lifestyle’ attracted urban refugees

with outside capital and investment income (Rasker 1993; Rasker and Glick 1994). Such has been the case in north central Washington, where communities like Bridgeport, Brewster, Omak, and Okanogan got left behind as resource-based industries declined.

While social and economic disparity in the United States is nothing new, it is the insular nature of these communities that presents not only limited socioeconomic access to those from the poorer regions, but also contributes to a cultural disconnect, where those with fewer resources or cultural capital are barred from places like the upper Methow through prohibitory housing prices and a lack of social support systems. Likewise, residents of the upper Methow Valley rely on their own social networks with little to no knowledge of the rest of the county or the residents therein.

Two years ago, a junior-high student from the Methow Valley presented a poster on César Chavez and the National Farm Worker's Association. When asked what he thought about worker conditions and agricultural labor 25 miles away, he expressed no idea that Mexican farm workers existed in the area. This kind of ignorance is unfortunate because with the outside wealth and capital available in the Methow Valley, the potential for true community and networking is great, but unrealized. Furthermore, the social divisions in a stratified society create a public at odds with one another; where those in decision-making positions are ignorant and unaware of the issues, concerns, and needs of the rest of the population. In north central Washington, the processes of economic restructuring have resulted in vastly different communities with few to no economic ties to each other, and fewer social or cultural ones. For all the residents in these communities, this is a shame.

END NOTES

¹ Research for this article was conducted in part by interviews and fieldwork carried out between 2002–2003 in conjunction with the author's Master's thesis in 2005 from Western Washington University (Tate-Libby 2005b). Current events described by the author reflect her affiliation with the different communities. Julie Tate-Libby grew up in Bridgeport, Washington, during the 1980s, currently teaches at Wenatchee Valley College in Omak, and resides in the Methow Valley. The interpretation of these communities is hers alone, based on her experiences living and working there.

² Quotes from Methow Valley residents were originally taken from interviews conducted between 2002–2003 for the author's Master's thesis, *Tourism and the Methow Dream: Living in Paradise* (Tate-Libby 2005b).

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITHIC EXTRACTION AREAS IN THE OKANOGAN HIGHLANDS DURING THE LATE HOLOCENE: EVIDENCE FROM CURLEW LAKE, WASHINGTON

Christopher D. Noll

ABSTRACT

Recent excavations in the Okanogan Highlands have identified an extraction area at a fine grained volcanic source associated with alluvial chert deposits. While this source may have been exploited for as long as 8,000 years, the intensified development of this site occurred after approximately 3,500 B.P., during a time when the use of high-quality stone increased at sites in the region. High-quality stone use has been interpreted as a sign of increased mobility and group interaction that resulted in access to these materials from other regions. The Curlew Lake lithics suggest that intensified foraging away from the Columbia River may have increased knowledge of, and access to, relatively local high-quality stone.

Introduction

Columbia Plateau foragers have used a wide variety of lithic raw materials throughout prehistory, ranging from relatively coarse igneous and metamorphic stone, to very high-quality chert and obsidian. Archaeologists have made inferences about mobility and interaction of Plateau people based on the quality of stone they had access to. Many of these inferences are based on observations of assemblages from habitation sites which may or may not accurately reflect the complete technological strategy of a group of people. Changes in the proportions of high-quality raw material across various assemblages over time and the strategies used to make use of those materials can tell us a lot about past behavior. Tool production and use seen from the perspective of the extraction and production workshop of a people can provide insight into their technological organization that may not be adequately represented at habitation sites or subsistence task camps (Ericson 1984).

This article explores raw material availability and use in the Okanogan Highlands of Washington State from the perspective of a centrally located quarry and workshop (Fig. 1). Archaeologists working in the region have identified a shift in mobility patterns from residually mobile foragers to logistically mobile collectors during the course of the Holocene (Goodale, Prentiss, and Kuijt 2004; Prentiss and Kuijt 2004; Pouley 2010). This shift is marked by the increased use of semi-subterranean residential structures and the development of the “winter village pattern” where resources were collected throughout the year and stored for consumption during the winter months when access to fresh food and supplies was limited. This shift also may have included a change in the types of stone being used and the manner in which it was exploited. Some have noted that informal cores and flake tools dominate the assemblages of collector villages (Prentiss and Kuijt 2004). The raw material types and distribution in the assemblages such as the various components at Kettle Falls have been used as evidence to suggest shifts in social

connections between the site and neighboring regions (Chance 1986; Pokotylo and Mitchell 1998). However, the description of raw materials as “exotic” is not often elaborated upon or attributed to a specific source.

These interpretations are supported by the data that has been available, which until recently has included limited knowledge of lithic resources in the Okanogan Highlands. The use of Mount Elizabeth fine grained volcanic (FGV) stone has been noted in survey reports from the Curlew Lake area (Perry 1989; Harder and Hannum 2005; Miller 2005). These reports document the use of the FGV stone for tool-making but have not characterized the role of the FGV stone in prehistoric toolkits of people in the region. These reports also have not received much attention in larger-scale studies of regional subsistence and settlement patterns.



Fig. 1. Approximate location of the Mount Elizabeth source and Julian Bay Site workshop.

Recent excavations at a lithic workshop on the shore of Curlew Lake, south of the quarry areas on Mount Elizabeth, provide evidence that high-quality chipable stone was directly accessible to prehistoric people by multiple routes from the north, south, east, and west. The Curlew Lake workshop contains evidence of up to 8,000 years of lithic production using Mount Elizabeth FGV stone but the use of this material and secondary chert deposits at the foot of the mountain appears to have intensified greatly after around 3,500 years ago, when some archaeologists in the region argue that mobility patterns shifted from residentially focused to logistically focused and lithic technological organization appears to have emphasized informal tool forms. The purpose of this paper is to report the timing of the use of the Mount Elizabeth Quarry area, the types of raw material available around Mount Elizabeth, and the technological organization related to the use of these raw materials. This paper provides evidence that during the Late Holocene the Mount Elizabeth source area and Curlew Lake workshop was a place where portable bifaces were produced, and most appear to have been transported away from Curlew Lake for use or further reduction elsewhere.

Cultural Background

The Okanogan Highlands do not have a detailed culture historical chronology of their own, but may be adequately covered by one or more neighboring chronologies. A summary of the broad patterns of Upper Columbia chronologies, with an emphasis on some assumptions based on raw material use, is provided here for orientation purposes.

The earliest period of occupation in the Okanogan Highlands may have begun by 8,000–9,000 years ago, based on artifact assemblages which resemble those of the Cascade Phase dated along the lower Snake River and middle Columbia River (Chance 1986; Pouley 2010). People at this time made use of local materials for many tasks but also incorporated some exotic material into their toolkits when it was available (Andrefsky 1994). Projectile point styles representing the period from roughly 9,000 to 5,000 years ago have been recovered at Curlew Lake, and include lanceolate and triangular side-notched forms (Fig. 2) (Noll and Harder 2010). These points show evidence of impact fractures and resharpening. They were recovered from a relatively small area at the south end of the Julian Bay Site.

The Upper Columbia sequences are better represented beginning approximately 4,800 years ago. At Kettle Falls this time is known as the Ksunku Phase (Chance 1986) or Salmon Phase (Pouley 2010). Pithouse use began during this period though they do not appear to represent a major shift toward relative sedentism (Chatters 1995; Pouley 2010), but rather are part of a transitional period between an immediate return forager-type subsistence strategy and delayed return collector-type subsistence strategy on the Plateau (Goodale, Prentiss, and Kuijt 2004), which lasted until approximately 3,500 years ago. The use of non-local quarried stone is reported at Kettle Falls, along with increased reliance on local tabular quartzite for the production of informal bifacial tools (Chance 1986). One Ksunku projectile point has been recovered at Curlew Lake (Fig. 2) (Noll and Harder 2009). The point is relatively complete though appears to have been laterally resharpened. It is associated with one of the highest density portions of the Julian Bay Site.

The Late Holocene occupations began around 3,500 years ago with the Eagle Period (Pouley 2010), also known as the Skitak and Takumakst Periods (Chance 1986), and Upper Columbia Collector I (Goodale, Prentiss, and Kuijt 2004). This period represents the earliest development of a collector-type subsistence strategy on the Upper Columbia, with winter pithouse occupation, and storage of large quantities of salmon and roots for later consumption. At Kettle

Falls the increased frequency of chert in chipped stone toolkits has been interpreted as a sign of a connection with people to the south, in the Columbia Basin (Chance 1986). The use of tabular quartzite knives made from local raw material increased at Kettle Falls during this period as well (Pouley 2010). Projectile point styles are varied and include several small contracting-stem and square-stem dart tip forms that date between 4,000 and 2,000 B.P., examples of which were recovered at Curlew Lake (Fig. 2) (Noll and Harder 2009). These points are relatively complete and show some evidence of resharpening. They were also recovered from one of the highest density portions of the Julian Bay Site.

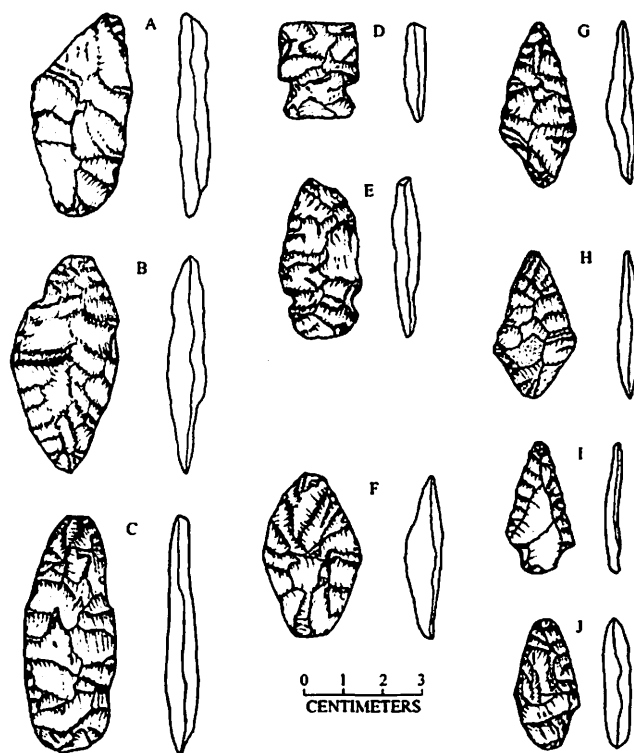


Fig. 2. Hafted bifaces recovered from the Julian Bay Site. (A, B, C: Slawntehus side-notched; D, E: Slawntehus side-notched; F: Ksunku lanceolate; G, H: Skitak contracting stem; I, J: Skitak square stem.

The Turtle Period (Sinaikst Period by Chance [1986]), lasted from 2,000 years ago to the beginning of Euro-American influence on the region (Pouley 2010). This period contains an apparent peak in human population, root processing, salmon harvesting, and the introduction of the bow-and-arrow (Chatters 1995; Goodale, Prentiss, and Kuijt 2004). There is an increased reliance on local quartzite at Kettle Falls (Pouley 2010) and the use of the fishery was probably more specialized and intensive than during preceding occupations. By 600 years ago sites in the region contain evidence of trade in exotic goods such as marine shells, copper ornaments, and other status items (Goodale, Prentiss, and Kuijt 2004). The adoption of the bow-and-arrow generally coincided with a reduction in projectile point sizes but contracting-stem and square stem forms continue, with small side-notched forms appearing very late in prehistory. None of the projectile points recovered at Curlew Lake could be positively attributed to bow-and-arrow technology.

The culture historical chronology based on the archaeology of Kettle Falls is important to understanding human activities in the Okanogan Highlands during the past. The raw materials identified in the assemblages from various times do not have reported source studies but do make assumptions about local vs. non-local sources and derive interpretations regarding mobility and social connections from those assumptions (Chance 1986; Pouley 2010). The accessibility of these materials in the Okanogan Highlands is an important consideration for the Kettle Falls Chronology and others, which deserves more attention.

Geologic Background

The Okanogan Highlands are the remains of a micro-continent that joined with the North American continent tens of millions of years ago. Much of the area is dominated by the Okanogan Dome which is comprised of granite and gneiss derived from the melting of the older surface minerals of the Okanogan micro-continent (Alt and Hyndman 1984). The study area lies near the center of the highlands in the Republic Graben, which measure some 15 km east-west by 50 km north-south, and contains Eocene Age (50 million year old) andesite and rhyolite (Fig. 3). The volcanic rocks were formed at approximately the same time and are mineralogically similar to the Okanogan Dome granite and gneiss. Due to the formation context the volcanics are actually likely to contain a range of very fine grained rocks with rhyolite and andesite representing the ends of a mineral spectrum which also includes dacite, latite, and others. Today these volcanic rocks form steep-sided mountains and are exposed in numerous cliff faces in the San Poil River and Kettle River drainages.

The Curlew Lake basin was sculpted by glacial ice during the Pleistocene. During the last glacial maximum, the Cordilleran Ice Sheet extended south covering the Okanogan Highlands, and glacial features such as the Okanogan Lobe covered the Waterville Plateau (Alt and Hyndman 1984; Kovanen and Slaymaker 2004). The Curlew Lake area was covered by the Columbia Lobe, which extended south to near the mouth of the Sanpoil River. As a result of Pleistocene glacial activity the river valley floors are covered by deep deposits of gravel outwash. The outwash gravels may include any of the numerous surface minerals from many kilometers north into Canada.

The Mount Elizabeth Resource Area

The Mount Elizabeth area was accessible from the north, south, east, and west via several river corridors and mountain trails (Fig. 4). The mountain trail system is documented through historic and ethnographic sources (Hunt 1900) while the aboriginal use of river corridors for travel is frequently noted by ethnographers throughout the region. Fine-grained volcanic rocks are exposed along all of these routes and most likely were exploited to some degree. Mount Elizabeth lies near the center of the volcanic zone in the central Okanogan Highlands. The remoteness of the mountain apparently did not affect its importance considering that it is documented as a Traditional Cultural Place (CCT 2005) and Curlew Lake is bordered by numerous prehistoric archaeological sites (Perry 1989).

Mount Elizabeth has exposed FGV stone near the summit and in several small cliff and talus areas along its southeast slope (Fig. 5). The cliffs provide access to narrow columns of very fine-grained volcanic rock but the talus probably provided most of the raw material used by

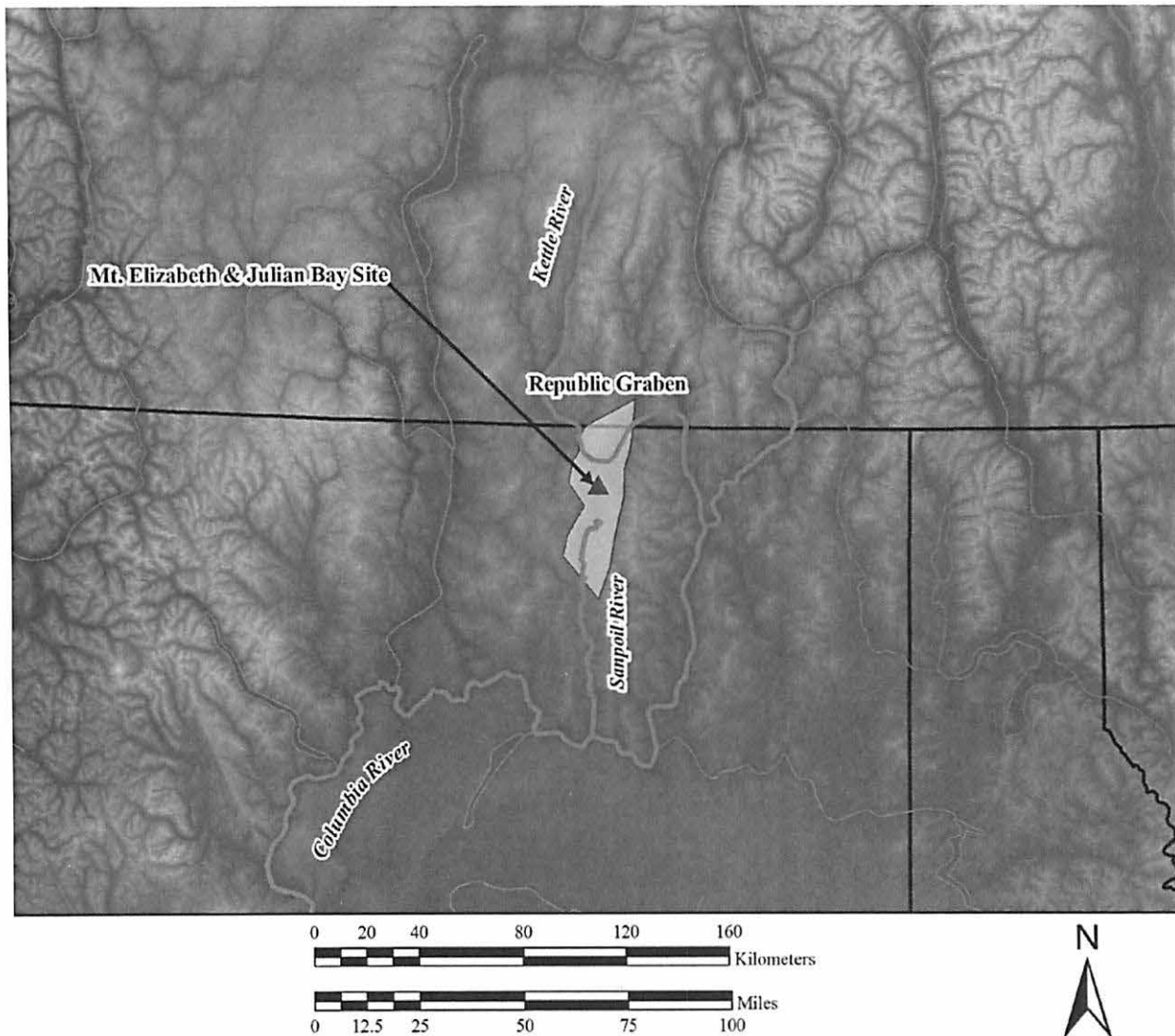


Fig. 3. Relative position of Mount Elizabeth and the Julian Bay Site within the Republic Graben volcanic area.

prehistoric people. At the Julian Bay Site angular to sub-angular andesite raw material blanks and cores with cortex were recovered (Noll and Harder 2009, 2010) suggesting that talus provided much, if not all, of the raw material used for tool production. The talus contains cobbles and boulders in a wide variety of sizes and shapes but it appears that people favored tabular andesite cobbles for many of their cores.

Mount Elizabeth and Curlew Lake were not only attractive for their lithic resources but also provided access to floral and faunal resources as well. Vegetation surrounding the site primarily consists of Ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), lupine (*Lupinus sp.*), arrowleaf balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza sagittata*), wild rye (*Elymus sp.*), and other tall grasses, which all were valued by native people of the region for food, medicine, or technological components (Moerman 1998). Curlew Lake is also home to abundant game including mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), and shellfish beds composed of large and densely packed freshwater mussels (*Anodonta sp.*).

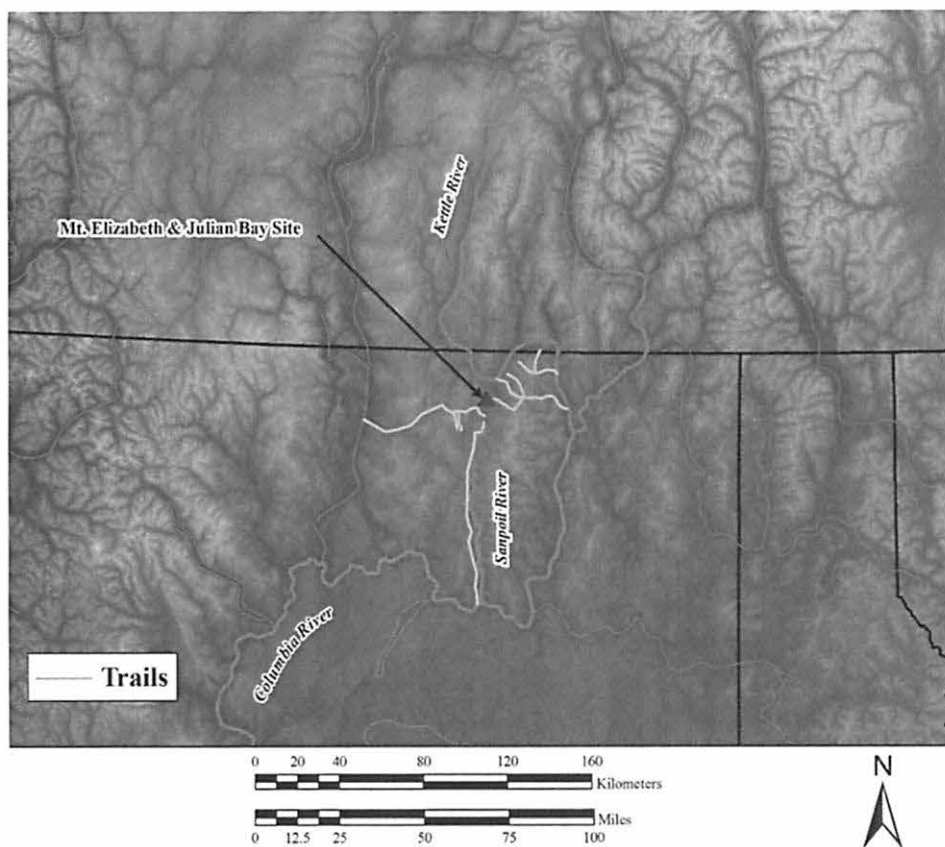


Fig. 4. Pedestrian access routes to the Mount Elizabeth tool stone source.

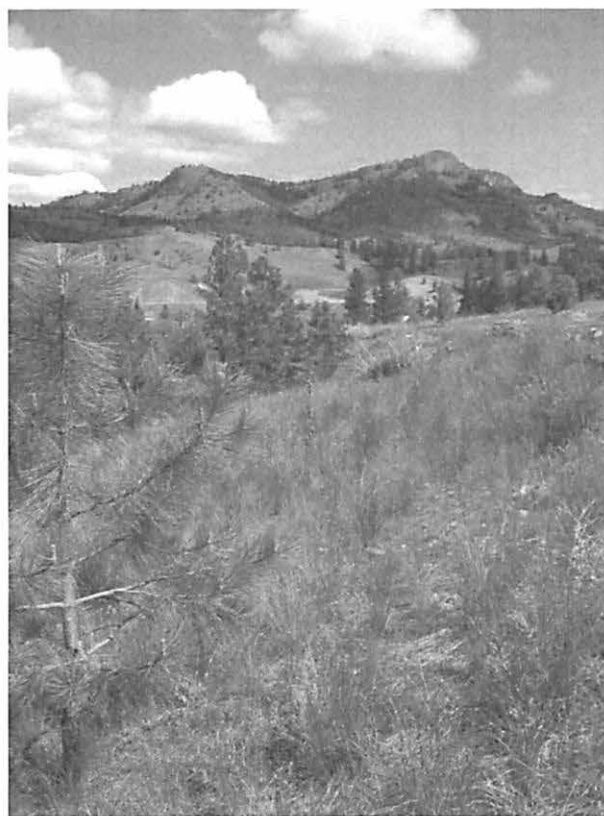


Fig. 5. View of Mount Elizabeth from the Julian Bay Site.

The Julian Bay Workshop Assemblage

Fine-grained volcanic stone accounts for approximately 86 percent of the Julian Bay Site chipped stone assemblage (Fig. 6). The prominence of this material is hardly surprising given the local abundance of andesite. Chert is a distant second in raw material used at 6.5 percent of the assemblage. Some chert is associated with the andesite on Mount Elizabeth in the form of thin chalcedonic veins. These veins have not been observed to exceed 1.0 cm in thickness and probably do not account for any of the raw material used at the Julian Bay Site. In fact, when cortex is present on chert debitage at the site it is the product of mechanical weathering, consistent with fluvial abrasion suggesting the chert was found in glacial outwash or stream beds. The location of the chert cobbles used at the Julian Bay Site can be inferred from attributes of the debitage assemblage.

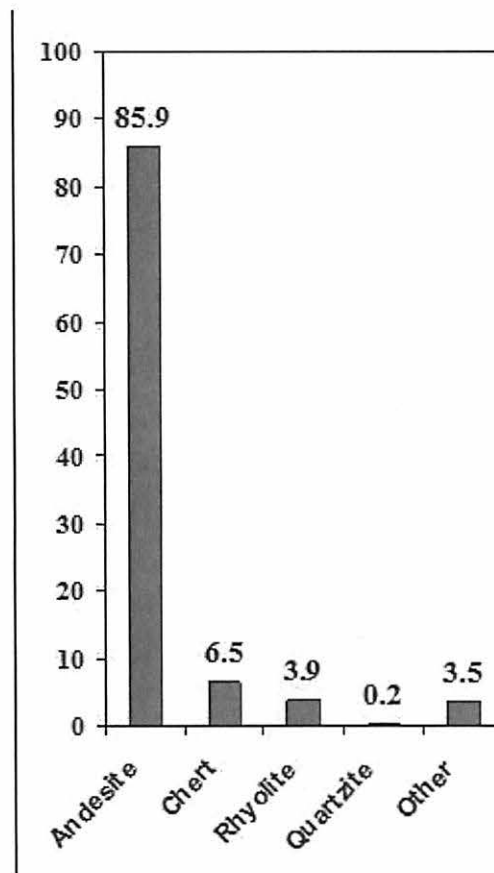


Fig. 6. Relative abundance of tool stone types at the Julian Bay Site.

Local Raw Material

Initial analysis of the Julian Bay site assemblage proceeded with the expectation that andesite would show a different pattern of utilization than chert because usable chert cobbles were not observed in a non-culturally modified form at or near the site. The Julian Bay Site is not a residential base camp, meaning that both the andesite and chert were incorporated into a portable toolkit and one would expect that prehistoric people would attempt to optimize performance of the

toolkit for their expected tasks while minimizing various production and use costs (Nelson 1991). These toolkits should be designed to reduce transport costs and minimize the risk of running out of stone before arriving at the next raw material source. Differences between raw materials should reflect the time in the toolkit, or use-time.

Transport costs are largely reduced through the removal of excess mass, which in many cases simply means unusable material from the exterior of a core will not be carried any significant distance (Kelly 1988; Kuhn 1994; Beck et al. 2002). Therefore, cortex should be absent because it is the portion of a raw material altered through weathering, and is undesirable for tool making (and use) (Crabtree 1972; Whittaker 1994) making it unnecessary weight. Based on the fact that cortex is not useful in chipped stone tools, it is expected that cortex will be infrequent or absent from transported tools.

At the Julian Bay Site the percentages of cortex-bearing cores is exactly the same for both andesite and chert (Table 1). It is interesting to note that the incidence of cores retaining cortex appears relatively high at 63.6 percent. There is a slightly lower relative frequency of chert proximal flakes with cortex than andesite, but it is not significant (chi square = 0.031 df = 1 p = 0.8602). The similar frequencies of cortex between raw materials on cores and debitage is a good indicator that both andesite and chert were acquired locally. It is possible that chert nodules were collected from Curlew Creek near the outlet of Curlew Lake at the foot of Mount Elizabeth during trips to the andesite available immediately north of the creek.

TABLE 1. PRESENCE OF CORTEX ON CORES AND DEBITAGE BY RAW MATERIAL.

Cores	Cortex	
	Absent	Present
Andesite	12 (36.4)	21 (63.6)
Chert	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)
Proximal Flakes		
Andesite	1755 (87.0)	263 (13.0)
Chert	171 (87.7)	24 (12.3)
Percentages of raw material in each cortex category listed in parentheses.		

Workshop Production

The Julian Bay Site contains abundant evidence of the reduction strategies employed at the site in the form of debitage and broken tools, associated with projectile technology representing at least the last 3,500 years. Over 96 percent of the Julian Bay Site assemblage is debitage. The

debitage provides important clues regarding the chipped-stone tool production activities that were practiced. A sample ofdebitage representing approximately 34 percent of flake platforms at the site was examined to determine the form of the objective piece the flake was removed from. Three platform shapes were distinguished including flat/cortical, simple faceted, and bifacially faceted (Fig. 7). The flat/cortical platforms possess either a single continuous surface facet or cortex covering, the simple faceted platforms have two or more facets separated by arris(es) trending in one direction, and bifacially faceted platforms have a complex platform with flake-scars divided by the margin of the flake parallel to the width of the flake.

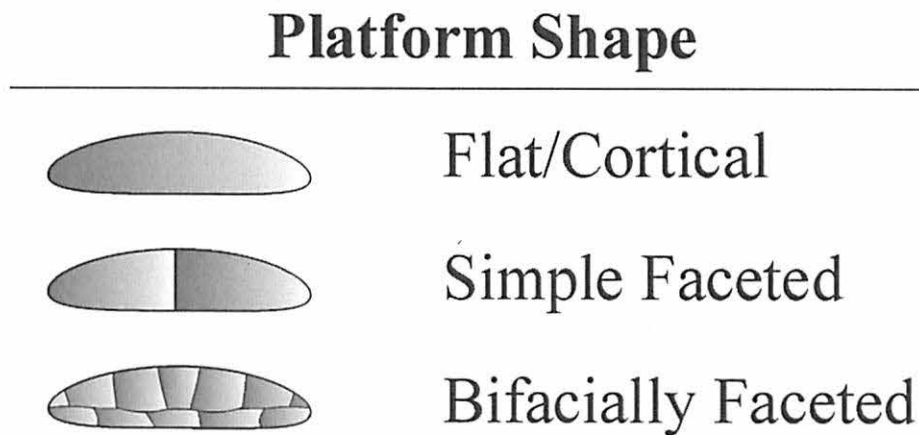


Fig. 7. Generalized platform characteristics.

The flake platforms examined suggest biface production was an important activity at the Julian Bay Site. Roughly half the andesite and chert platforms are bifacially faceted (Table 2). Simple facets comprise more than 30 percent of the sample, while flat or cortical platforms are present on approximately 20 percent of the sample. It is difficult to determine if the entire assemblage represents chipped-stone tool production from raw cobble to late-stage biface, but that reduction strategy could explain the distribution of platforms observed. Furthermore, the reduction of andesite and chert appears to follow a similar trajectory. The differences in the distribution of represented platform types between andesite and chert are not significant (chi square = 0.49, df = 2, $p = 0.7827$).

The tool assemblage contains seven tool types made from andesite and five from chert (Table 3). The only tools forms represented exclusively by andesite are unidirectional cores and non-hafted bifaces. Unidirectional cores are limited to two specimens (5.7 percent of cores) and do not appear to represent a reduction strategy common during the later Holocene. The non-hafted bifaces are interesting because they make up 21.8 percent of the andesite tools yet are absent among the chert artifacts. The non-hafted andesite bifaces are nearly all specimens broken during production, indicated by a bending-type fracture and lack of margin retouch. As noted above, andesite is highly abundant, and production failures among andesite tools may simply be more visible because they were used so extensively.

Overall the tool assemblage suggests a focus on intensive portable tool production. Cores and tools broken during production account for 43 percent of the objective pieces, while flake tools comprise 51.6 percent of the tool assemblage, and hafted bifaces make up just 6.4 percent of the tool assemblage. The broken bifaces are three times more abundant than the hafted bifaces, and many of the Late Holocene-age hafted bifaces, do not appear to be discarded exhausted tools.

Discussion

The previous section represents a small part of the analysis of the structure and lithic technological organization of the Julian Bay Site. Biface production appears to have been an important component of late Holocene activity at the site (Fig. 8). The tool assemblage suggests that logistical tool production rather than toolkit replenishment was the goal of Late Holocene chipped stone production. This is contrasted with the somewhat smaller assemblage associated with Middle Holocene projectile forms which appear to have been replaced at Curlew Lake with fresh tools made from Mount Elizabeth andesite. Site activities appear to show a change in the pattern of site use over time, but the Julian Bay Site assemblage is not easily correlated with tool use at other studied sites in the region.

A shift in the relative abundance away from formal tools to informal flake tool forms is one of the major patterns associated with greater residential structure investment and logistically oriented collector subsistence systems during the Late Holocene observed at Kettle Falls (Chance 1986; Pouley 2010) and just to the north at sites in Canada (Prentiss and Kuijt 2004). Bifaces remain in the assemblages of Plateau sites throughout the later periods, but the relative abundance of these tools is greatly reduced and they are predominantly made from high-quality raw material (Andrefsky 1994, 2005:235–243). Plateau people moved throughout a wide area while practicing what many refer to as a seasonal round (Hunn 1990) to collect and store resources for occupation of the winter villages. A consideration of the way in which tool stone was acquired and used was integrated into that collection system.

TABLE 2. PROXIMAL FLAKE PLATFORM TYPE FREQUENCY BY TYPE.

	Flat Platform		Simple Faceted Platform		Bifacial Faceted Platform		
	Count	Perecent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	
Andesite	147	20.1	250	34.3	333	45.6	730
Chert	13	18.5	22	31.4	35	50.0	70
Total	160		272		368		800

TABLE 3. FREQUENCY OF TOOLS BY RAW MATERIAL FROM THE JULIAN BAY SITE EXCAVATED ASSEMBLAGE.

Tool Type	Raw Material	
	Andesite	Chert
Hafted Biface	8	2
Non-hafted Biface	34	0
Retouched Flake Tool	56	7
Non-retouched Flake Tool	23	10
Core-Bifacial	12	5
Core-Multidirectional	21	6
Core-Unidirectional	2	0
Total	156	30
<i>Shannon-Wiener Index</i>	<i>1.66</i>	<i>1.51</i>
<i>Richness</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Evenness</i>	<i>0.852</i>	<i>0.936</i>

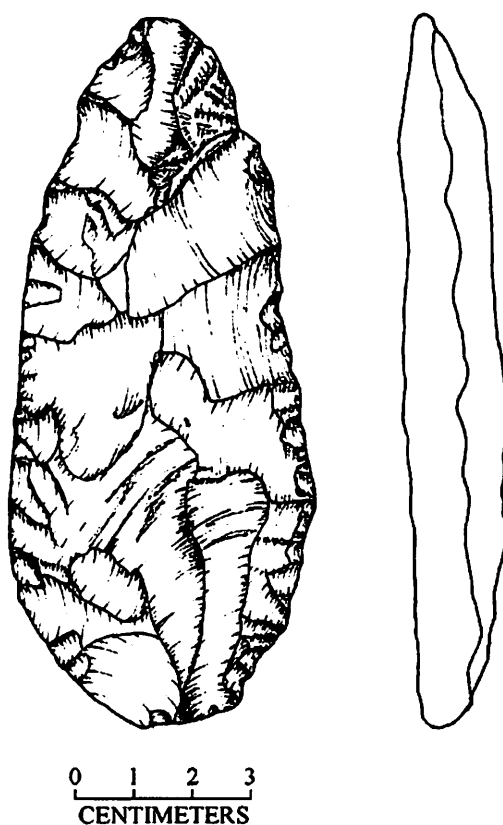


Fig. 8. A large unhafted biface from the Julian Bay Site.

The Julian Bay Site offers a data set which differs from many other sites in the region in that it represents activities carried out during the mobile phase or logistical foray of people in the Okanogan Highlands during the Late Holocene. The production of bifacial tools and/or cores is not uncommon for mobile people. Bifaces offer efficient use of raw material in a portable, reliable, and versatile package (Andrefsky 1994:157; Nelson 1991). Based on the data collected at the Julian Bay Site, bifaces may have continued to play a significant role in the toolkits of Late Holocene collectors during the task-oriented movements away from the residential base.

Conclusions

The central Okanogan Highlands offered abundant high-quality lithic raw material to prehistoric people in the region. The earliest occupants of the Julian Bay Site were able to replace broken tools. After around 3,500 years ago, the pattern of use appears to have shifted and people began producing many more tools than it appears they needed to replace. These tools included a large number of bifaces. There is a potential that people from many different areas came to Curlew Lake to acquire tool stone. Future researchers interested in prehistoric mobility patterns on the Plateau will benefit from geochemical source analysis which may tie sites throughout the Okanogan Highlands and surrounding regions to this source. Time, place, and purpose provide influencing factors to chipped-stone toolkits. In the future we may find that the toolkits of Plateau collectors were much more varied and complex than the evidence at residential sites alone would suggest.

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