Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the Lake Roosevelt National Recreation Area and the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation



LAKE ROOSEVELT NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CULTURAL RESOURCES SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Federal and Tribal Lands in the Lake Roosevelt Area Concerning the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation

by

Lillian A. Ackerman

Submitted to the National Park Service

Order #1443-PX 9000-95-137

PROJECT REPORT NUMBER 30

Center for Northwest Anthropology
Department of Anthropology
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington

November, 1996

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many individuals and organizations have assisted in the creation of this narrative. Dr. Frederick F. York, Anthropologist, of the National Park Service has been instrumental in guiding me in the gathering of materials and the writing of the manuscript, as well as providing the funds to the Center for Northwest Anthropology, Washington State University, for the execution of the task.

My gratitude goes to Adeline Fredin, Tribal History Officer of the Colville Confederated Tribes, who gave me free access to her extensive ethnographic files and who has been generally supportive throughout the project. I also thank Joyce Justice along with her colleagues at the United States Federal Archives and Records Center in Seattle, Washington, who enthusiastically supplied me with many excellent materials. My thanks also to the National Archives, Washington, D. C.; the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at the Thomas Foley Library, Gonzaga University; the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, Manitoba; Holland Library, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington; Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington; the Eastern Washington State Historical Society in Spokane, Washington; Archives and Manuscripts in the Suzzalo Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington; the Archives at the University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho; and several other sources where data for this narrative were acquired. They were all helpful in providing material and making the experience of research gratifying. My thanks also to John Morrison, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, for preparing Figures 4, and 6 to 28.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this document is to give an ethnographic overview and assessment of existing information on the historical and contemporary native populations of the Lake Roosevelt and Coulee Dam National Recreation Area. To meet this requirement, the cultures of all eleven of the Colville Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation are described, based on available published and archival information.

Chapter 1 presents the objectives of the report. Chapter 2 consists of a brief narration of the intergroup culture of the entire Plateau, which serves as context for the cultural description of the tribes currently on the Colville Reservation. The intergroup culture of the Plateau includes trade patterns, task groupings in which seasonal resources were shared with all comers, the extensive kinship network, which tied groups together culturally, politically, and economically, and other factors that unified Plateau societies across tribal lines.

Chapter 3 describes each of the eleven tribes culturally, based on available information, and assesses each of the ethnographic sources.

Chapter 4 describes the historical contacts between the Indians and the Europeans and Euro-Americans. The latter included fur traders, missionaries, settlers, and soldiers. The Treaty of 1855 is noted with the wars arising from it. The restriction of Indians to reservations, particularly the Colville Reservation, is described.

Chapter 5 has a discussion on the history of the Colville Reservation, its creation, reductions in size, the allotment process, loss of culture, persistence of culture, the building of Grand Coulee Dam, and the termination threat. Finally, the modern day situation is briefly discussed including modern culture, kinship to other reservations, and relationship to federal and local governments.

Chapter 6 presents recommendations for future research. They include a satisfactory definition of village, extended family, band, and tribe; a clarification of land tenure rules; more evidence on the role of women in the Salmon Ceremony; more data on the puberty blanket; an evaluation of how the recurrent epidemics in the Plateau affected the cultures socially in the past, and the contemporary numbers of the constituent tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation. Not all recommendations are listed here: there are fifteen recommendations in all.

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

The ethnographic and ethnohistorical data on the eleven tribes now constituting the Colville Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation demonstrate clearly that most of the eleven tribes used the area around the present day Lake Roosevelt before the land was flooded by Grand Coulee Dam. The most clearly affected were the Colville (Sxoielpi), Lakes (Sinjaxtee), and Sanpoil tribes who had villages and fishing camps in the area. The Nespelem also had one village in the area, but all of these tribes plus the Southern Okanogan fished for salmon on that stretch of the Columbia River, particularly around Kettle Falls. The Colville or Sxoielpi Indians clearly owned and managed the fishery at Kettle Falls, while the Lakes occupied territory just north of the Falls and by custom used the fishery regularly and thus had a large stake in its operation. The Sanpoil had villages further down the river, one village being where the Spokane River ran into the Columbia before that area was flooded. The Colville and Sanpoil Indians shared a number of village and fishing sites along the Columbia below Kettle Falls.

After Grand Coulee Dam was built, not only were the salmon runs harmed, but camas fields and other areas with wild plants were flooded, reducing the availability of the vegetal foods that made up fifty percent of the diet in most Plateau groups.

The Moses-Columbia group was also affected by the flooding, as the Grand Coulee, that is, the canyon that became Banks Lake, was part of its territory and was much favored by them for hunting and camping. The evidence for the use of the Grand Coulee by the Wenatchi, Chelan, Methow, and Entiat is less clear, but considering the extensive kinship network that these four tribes had with each other and the Moses-Columbia, it would be strange if they did not exercise usufruct rights in their relatives' territory. It would also be remarkable if they did not have relatives and therefore resource rights among the more easterly tribes mentioned above (Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lakes, Colville) who had villages flooded by Grand Coulee Dam. Thus, they too would have lost resources due to the flooding.

One would suppose that the rights of the Palus and Wallowa Nez Perce in the Lake Roosevelt area were non-existent, as they were placed on the Colville Reservation away from their native habitats. Again, however, after they intermarried with local people on the Colville Reservation, thereby earning rights to their relatives' resources, their rights would have been curtailed by the flooding as well. One source noted that Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce and Chief Moses of the Columbia were cousins; that is, they were brothers in the Plateau kinship system. The interlocking kin network and resource privileges extended extremely far, so all of these tribes on the Colville Reservation, plus undoubtedly others, were affected.

Access to resources through kinship networks is best illustrated by the "task groupings" in which peoples from different tribes met at a site where resources of a certain kind were especially abundant. This included salmon or vegetal foods. Those who were related to the group that owned the site had the privilege of exploiting the wild resources at will. Those who were not related had to ask the chief or Salmon Chief for permission to obtain resources. In historical times, this permission was always given, probably due to the thinning of the population from epidemics and the consequent lessening of pressure on the resource. As a result, almost every Plateau Indian had an interest in resources such as those provided by the stretch of the Columbia which was flooded by Lake Roosevelt. The Plateau was an areal culture with an interdependent economic system, much like a modern state.

After the fur traders arrived, they eventually built their most important interior post at Kettle Falls in Colville territory. They had to agree that they would not interfere in the fishery before they were allowed to build in the area. They traded for salmon, but supported themselves mostly through agricultural pursuits, which supported not only themselves, but other Hudson's Bay Company posts in the Plateau interior.

Even whites in recent times had a stake at Kettle Falls. During the 1930's, an elderly Nespelem woman spoke of the "Salmon Days," where the Salmon Chief managed the fishery in the traditional manner, but whites as well as Indians participated in fishing. Much trade was going on within and between the two groups of people. Indian women sold pies, there was gambling among all groups, and a rodeo was included in the festivities.

Without question, the Native American groups identified above were directly impacted by the construction of Grand Coulee Dam. Villages, fishing camps, and vegetal resource extraction camps were all inundated by the rising Lake Roosevelt waters. Similarly, the annual availability of fish and plant products was drastically altered in the project area as a direct result of reservoir construction.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	v
MANAGEMENT SUMMARY	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xv
CHAPTER 1 - OBJECTIVES AND STUDY DESCRIPTION	1
CHAPTER 2 - TRADITIONAL PLATEAU INTERGROUP CULTURE	5
Verne F. Ray - *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America*	
Assessment	5
Angelo Anastasio - "The Southern Plateau: an Ecological Analysis of Intergroup Relations"	5
Trade	6
Hostilities	7
Villages, Bands, and Tribes	8
Task Groupings	8
Mechanisms of Intergroup Relations	11
Assessment	13
Lillian A. Ackerman - "Nonunilinear Descent Groups in the Plateau Culture Area"	13
Assessment	15
Lillian A. Ackerman - *Gender Equality in the Plateau Culture Area,* "The Ideology of Gender in the Plateau" "Complementary but Equal: Gender Status in the Plateau"	15
The Economic Sphere	15
The Domestic Sphere	17
The Political Sphere	17
The Religious Sphere	17
Assessment	18
CHAPTER 3 - TRADITIONAL TRIBAL CULTURES	19
The Colville (Sxoielpi)	21
David H. Chance - "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District," *People of the Falls*	21
Locations	21
Political Organization	21
Social Organization	22
Subsistence	22
Dorothy I. D. Kennedy - *Utilization of Fish by the Colville Okanagan Indian People*	22
Salmon Ceremony	22
Assessment	23

David H. Chance - "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District,"
People of the Falls 23
Assessment 24
Mourning Dove - *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography* 25
The Kettle Falls Fishery 25
A Description of a Hunt 25
Domestic Arrangements 27
Life Cycle 27
Trade 28
Religion 28
Assessment 29
Linguistic and Ethnic Affiliations 29
Village Map and Other Locations 29

The Lakes (Sinjaxtee) Indians 30
Location 30
Nancy Perkins Wynecoop and N. Wynecoop Clark - *In the Stream: An Indian Story* 30
Social Organization 30
Assessment 32
Linguistic and Ethnic Affiliations of the Lakes 32
Village Map 32

The Sanpoil and Nespelem 33
Verne F. Ray - *The Sanpoil and Nespelem* 33
Location 33
Language 34
Pattern of Life 34
Yearly Cycle 34
The Daily Round 35
Houses and Household 35
Household Articles 35
Clothing and Personal Decoration 36
Subsistence 37
Fishing 37
The Salmon Chief 37
The First Salmon Ceremony 38
Hunting 38
Vegetal Foods 39
Food Preparation 40
Famines 40
Social Organization 40
Kinship and Names 41
Trade and Travel 42
The Cycle of Life 42
Birth and Infancy 42
Childhood 43
Puberty 43
Marriage 44
Death 46
Diversions 46
Concepts of the Supernatural 46
Guardian Spirit Quest 47
Winter Dance 48
Assessment 48
R. Bouchard and D. Kennedy - *Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State* 48

Village Maps and Other Locations 48
Assessment 49

The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan 73
Ross Cox - *The Columbia River* 73
Alexander Ross - *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813* 73
James A. Teit - *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus* 75
Subsistence 75
Hostilities 76
Political and Social Organization 76
Life Cycle - from Pregnancy to Death 77
Assessment 77
Leslie Spier (ed.) - *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington* 78
Richard H. Post - The Subsistence Quest 78
Assessment 79
Richard Post and Rachel S. Commons - Material Culture 79
Assessment 79
L. V. W. Walters - Social Structure (Social Organization) 80
Trade 80
Hostilities 80
Band Organization 81
Village Life 81
Kinship Terms 81
Inheritance and Property 81
Crime and Punishment 82
Chieftainship 82
Assessment 83
May Mandelbaum - The Individual Life Cycle 83
Naming 83
Childhood 83
Marriage 84
Divorce 84
Sexual Relations 85
Assessment 85
Walter Cline - Religion and World View 86
Sumix 86
Assessment 88
Rachel S. Commons - Diversions 88
Assessment 88
Village Locations 88
Overall Assessment 88

The Moses-Columbia (Sinkiuse) 89
James A. Teit - *The Middle Columbia Salish* 89
Assessment 90
Allan H. Smith - *The Cultural Resources of the Rocky Reach of the Columbia River, Vol. I* 90
Social Organization 90
Ethnography 91
Annual Round 92
Intertribal Gatherings 92
Assessment 92
Verne F. Ray - "The Columbia Indian Confederacy: A League of Central Plateau Tribes" 92
Political Organization 92
Assessment 93

Stuart A. Chalfant - "Material Relative to Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy by the Columbia Salish" 94
Assessment 94

The Wenatchi (Pisquow) 95
Stuart A. Chalfant - "Material Relative to Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy by the Wenatchi Salish 95
Origins 95
Social and Political Organization 95
Assessment 96

The Chelan 97
Allan H. Smith - *Ethnography of the North Cascades* 97
Language 97
Population 98
Subsistence 98
Fishing 98
Hunting 98
Plant Foods 98
Houses and Villages 98
Travel and Trade 99
Social and Political Organization 99
Pictographs 100
Assessment 100

The Methow 101
Dale M. Kinkade - "On the Identification of the Methows (Salish)" 101
Assessment 101

The Entiat 102

The Chief Joseph Band of the Nez Perce 103
Verne F. Ray - "Ethnohistory of the Joseph Band of Nez Perce Indians: 1805-1905" 103
Assessment 104
Erskine Wood - Days with Chief Joseph 105
Assessment 106
Richard L. Blandau - The Nez Perces on the Colville Reservation: 1885-1968 106
Assessment 107

The Palus 108
Stuart A. Chalfant - Ethnohistorical Report on Aboriginal Land Occupancy and Utilization by the Palus Indians 108
Identification of the Palus 108
Political Organization 108
Origins of the Palus 108
Assessment 109
SUMMARY 109

CHAPTER 4 - CONTACT HISTORY 111

Explorers and Fur Traders 111
Missionaries 113
Lillian A. Ackerman - "The Effect of Missionary Ideals on Family Structure and Women's Roles . . ." 113
War 115
Assessment 117

CHAPTER 5 - THE COLVILLE INDIAN RESERVATION 119

Creation of the Colville Reservation 119
Administration of the Reservation 121
Verne F. Ray - "The Kolaskin Cult . . ." 124
Land Pressures 125
Further Land Loss and Cultural Pressures 126
Social Pressures and Cultural Impacts 127
Gender Status 129
Political and Cultural Factors before 1938 130
The Indian Reorganization Act 130
Grand Coulee Dam 131
Termination 131
The Reach for Self-Sufficiency 134
Education 134
Contemporary Culture 135
Assessment 138
Current Problems 138

CHAPTER 6 - Recommendations for Future Research 141

REFERENCES CITED 143

APPENDICES
Appendix 1 - Locations at the Kettle Falls Fishery 151
Appendix 2 - Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 30, 1889 155
Appendix 3 - Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 26, 1889 159
Appendix 4 - Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 15, 1890 163
Appendix 5 - List of Indian Patents in fee in Ferry County - 1917 167
Appendix 6 - Letter to O. C. Upchurch, Superintendent, Colville Indian Agency 185
Appendix 7 - Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1934 187
Appendix 8 - Exchange of letters between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Superintendent, Colville Indian Agency 189
Appendix 9 - Samples of partial allotment sales for the Grand Coulee Reservoir 193

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Intermarriage among Plateau tribes 9

Figure 2. Intermarriage among Plateau tribes (part 2) 10

Figure 3. Participation of Plateau tribes in Bison Hunting 12

Figure 4. Aboriginal Territories of tribes now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation 20

Figure 5. The lower Falls, as painted by Paul Kane 26

Figure 6. Place Names 1 to 6 - Sanpoil 50

Figure 7. Place Names 7 to 11- Sanpoil 51

Figure 8. Place Names 12 to 25 - Sanpoil 52

Figure 9. Place Names 26 to 43 - Sanpoil 53

Figure 10. Place Names 64 to 89 - Sanpoil 54

Figure 11. Place Names 90 to 101 - Sanpoil 55

Figure 12. Place Names 102 to 108 - Sanpoil 56

Figure 13. Place Names 138 to 142 - Sanpoil and Colville 57

Figure 14. Place Names 143 to 149, 151, 153 - Sanpoil and Colville 58

Figure 15. Place Names 150, 152, 154-164 Sanpoil and Colville 59

Figure 16. Place Names 165 to 179 - Sanpoil and Colville 60

Figure 17. Place Names 180 to 181 - Sanpoil and Colville 182 to 190 Colville 61

Figure 18. Place Names 191 to 227 - Colville 62

Figure 19. Place Names 228 to 242 - Colville 63

Figure 20. Place Names 243 to 283 - Colville 64

Figure 21. Place Names 284 to 305 - Colville 65

Figure 22. Place Names 306 to 338 - Colville 66

Figure 23 Place Names 361, 363 to 383, 395 to 399 - Colville
Place Names 361, 363 to 374 - Lakes and Colville
Place Names 375, 383, 395, 399 - Lakes only. 67

Figure 24. Place Names 384 to 394, 401 to 403 - Lakes 68

Figure 25. Place Name 404 - Lakes 69

Figure 26. Place Name 405 - Lakes 70

Figure 27. Place Names 406 to 407 - Lakes 71

Figure 28. Place Name 408 - Lakes 72

Figure 29. Boundaries of the Colville Indian Reservation from its inception to the present 120

Figure 30. The Grand Coulee in 1846 132

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION - OBJECTIVES AND STUDY DESCRIPTION

The National Park Service commissioned a comprehensive ethnographic overview and assessment study concerning the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation in relation to Lake Roosevelt and the Coulee Dam National Recreation Area in northeastern Washington. This report is the result of that commission, executed by The Center for Northwest Anthropology of Washington State University, with Lillian A. Ackerman as ethnographer.

The specific objectives of the overview were:

1. to conduct an ethnographic overview and assessment of existing information on the historical and contemporary native populations of the Lake Roosevelt and Coulee Dam National Recreation Area,

2. to produce an ethnographic overview and assessment document, which would synthesize and evaluate the available data, accompanied by appropriate maps and illustrations. The document includes an exhaustive and annotated list of published and unpublished sources consulted as part of the research.

Objective 1, the ethnographic overview and assessment of all published and unpublished or archival information was completed. All sources, both published and archival, were read carefully and abstracts made of their contents. Then the summaries were placed in folders, one for each tribe, and one for historical description including first contacts, fur traders, missionaries, the colonization period including wars (this necessarily includes more than the tribes of the Colville Reservation), and the reservation period. The latter includes the termination threat and the contemporary situation on the Colville Reservation.

The following bibliographic repositories were visited:

Holland Library, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington
Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington:
Spokane Public Library, Spokane, Washington
Archives, Eastern Washington State Historical Society at theCheney Cowles Museum, Spokane, Washington
The Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at the Thomas Foley Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington
Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada Tribal History Office, Colville Indian Reservation, Nespelem, Washington
Archives, Colville Indian Reservation, Nespelem, Washington
Attorney's Office, Colville Indian Reservation, Nespelem, Washington
Superintendent's Office of the Bureau of Indians Affairs, Colville Indian Agency, Nespelem, Washington
U. S. Bureau of Reclamation, Coulee Dam, Washington Tribal Museum, Coulee Dam, Washington
Education Department, Colville Indian Reservation, Nespelem, Washington
The U. S. Federal Archives and Records Center, Seattle, Washington
Archives and Manuscripts, Suzzallo Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington
Archives, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho
Center for Northwest Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington
National Archives of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Through Internet access, it was learned that the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, had almost no descriptive ethnographic data on the Plateau area. Their collection consisted of numerous photographs, some language documents, but almost no ethnographic and historical descriptions. This was confirmed through two telephone conversations with librarians at the Smithsonian. One librarian explained that their collections were designed to aid them in mounting exhibits and were not meant to be exhaustive.

Professor Allan H. Smith was contacted regarding the Smithsonian Archives. He confirmed my conclusions about the collections, and further stated that there was very little ethnographic material in archival sources. We discussed the few sources that were useful, all of which have been published. Professor Deward E. Walker, Jr., of the University of Colorado was also contacted regarding the same subject. He said the Smithsonian and the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia did not have many archival resources, though the latter had a few things on the Nez Perce.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives pertinent to Fort Colvile and Fort Okanogan have been placed on microfilm. These were sent to me by mail and examined on the campus of Washington State University.

Throughout the research, at least twice a month, regular contact was made with Ms. Adeline Fredin, Tribal History Officer, Colville Confederated Tribes, Nespelem, Washington. Communication was maintained with Dr. Frederick York, Contracting Officer of the National Park Service, at about the same frequency.

The synthesis required in Objective 2 constitutes this report. The organization of the document is as follows:

Chapter 2 consists of a brief overall ethnographic view of the Plateau to serve as context for the cultural description of the tribes currently of the Colville Reservation. The description includes natural resource areas, trade networks, and the nature of kinship networks.

Chapter 3 consists of ethnographies of each of the eleven constituent tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation. It should be understood that the cultures have changed since aboriginal times, and we have no information on how they have changed. We can only make an evaluation of the evolution of the native cultures: has the evolution taken a native direction or has it been diverted into a Euro-American cultural path?

Chapter 4 is a description of the contact period. It includes the following subjects:

Fur traders
Missionaries
Incursions of settlers and miners
The Treaty of 1855 and the ensuing wars
Indians' restriction to the Colville Reservation

Chapter 5 consists of the history of the Colville Indian Reservation. It includes:

Changes in land area, the reservation's creation and reductions
The B. I. A. administration of the reservation
Cultural changes that were forced on people, and description of the culture during this period
The Dawes Act (allotments) and the opening of the reservation
Acculturation pressures including the loss of the traditional polities (1938)
The building of Grand Coulee Dam (1939)
The Termination threat
Settlement of claims from Grand Coulee Dam
Present day situation

Chapter 6 presents recommendations for future research. A few of them are:

1. A satisfactory definition of village/extended family, band, and tribe.

2. Land tenure rules.

3. A further look into the role of women in the Salmon Ceremony.

4. A search for more evidence regarding the "virgin cape" or as referred to in my notes, the puberty blanket.

5. In Wynecoop and Clark's privately printed narrative on the Lakes, the separate residences for men and women should be investigated.

6. In Wynecoop and Clark's account of the Lakes culture, the dance of fertility is unique in Plateau literature. It would be interesting and useful to get some verification of these things from an elder before such knowledge is lost.

7. Some evaluation should be made on how the recurrent epidemics in the Plateau must have affected the cultures socially. I see evidence of tighter social structure in the Colville tribes' aboriginal cultures than that compatible with band organization. Chiefs were hereditary, which is not a feature of band organization, there were other political offices among most groups, and I suspect tribal organization was a lot tighter in order to deal with a much larger population before epidemics decimated it.

8. An investigation of census numbers over time for each of the tribes may give clues to their social health. For instance, the numbers for some tribes were dangerously low in some periods, suggesting they could not even replace themselves. These numbers could be compared over time with the present day census of each tribe. In recent years, I believe, overall tribal numbers have been growing, but perhaps at a differential rate. I suspect that early historical influences have affected that rate, as some groups were far more flexible at adapting to the new conditions than others.

9. Testimony from the people most affected by Grand Coulee Dam opens up areas for research that were not previously known. The factionalism caused by the flooding has not been recorded so far as is known, nor the shortage of potable water resulting from the flooding. On the other hand, investigating these commentaries may only open up old wounds.

There are fifteen major recommendations in all discussed in Chapter 6, plus a number of lesser recommendations.

Chapter 2

TRADITIONAL PLATEAU INTERGROUP CULTURE

To understand the traditional cultures of the eleven constituent tribes of the contemporary Colville Indian Reservation, it is necessary to place them into an overall view of Plateau culture. No Plateau society was isolated. They all participated in a vigorous exchange of people, ideas, and goods, and the exchange affected all aspects of the societies involved.

This report describes traditional culture so far as we know it. Some of the descriptions come from historical sources, which are always incomplete. Actual ethnological fieldwork did not occur in the Plateau until the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, one to two generations after the Indians were forced onto reservations. This fact should be kept in mind when reading the ethnographies. Consequently, rather than the term, "aboriginal," I prefer to use the term, "traditional," when referring to relevant cultural patterns.

"Traditional" is defined here as being derived from the aboriginal past, based on best available information. Some Colville Reservation cultural traits are no doubt aboriginally derived. Examples include the organization of the extended family, the kinship system, the incest regulations, and gender equality. It is supposed these traits have a long history, back into pre-contact or aboriginal times Even after contact, these cultural patterns were retained. This situation I call "traditional." Consequently, it is possible to have or retain certain traditional cultural patterns up to modern times.

Verne F. Ray - *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America*

Verne Ray, one of the early ethnographic pioneers in the Plateau, did extensive fieldwork all over the area, and integrated his findings in his famous work, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (1939). It is significant that he could describe the entire Plateau in sweeping terms because of the great similarity among the societies in the area. His work defines variations among Plateau groups in major cultural traits, but the cultures have basic similarities or themes (Ray 1939:3).

Ray differentiates between the northern and southern Plateau societies. The two areas are distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; a distinction not based on linguistic difference. The cultural division runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary between Salish and Sahaptin languages, but nearly 200 miles *north* of it. Ray believes that the cultures of the Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia represent an older strata of culture in the Plateau, for they display fundamental aspects of Plateau culture (Ray 1939:147-149). All of the above groups except for the Lower Spokane now live on the Colville Reservation.

Assessment - This is an encyclopedic work describing several aspects of all Plateau cultures. Ray's comparison of these cultures is extraordinary and is a standard for ethnographers in the Plateau.

Angelo Anastasio - "The Southern Plateau: an Ecological Analysis of Intergroup Relations"

While Ray carefully documented the similarities and differences among Plateau cultures, most notably in his 1939 and 1941 works, it was another talented scholar, Angelo Anastasio, who conceptualized the Plateau as a socially unified area, and described the cultural and social mechanisms making this unification possible. By examining all historical sources on the Plateau peoples between the years 1805, when Lewis and Clark entered the Plateau, to 1855, the year of treaty signing, Anastasio (1972) comes closest to describing the aboriginal conditions. He postulates that two kinds of interactions were taking place in and among Plateau societies: one between people and their natural environment, i. e., ecological, and the other between tribes, "intertribal or international." These two kinds of interactions are related, each affecting the other to form in the Plateau an over all areal entity. This resulted

in an intergroup culture, which facilitated intergroup relations within the Plateau. The culture consisted of values, norms, rituals and procedures which Anastasio called, "mechanisms of intergroup relations" (1972:110). Anastasio takes each of the twenty-three cultural groups or tribes south of the Canadian border, and examines their relationships to each other. He then examines the home environment of each group. Nine of the eleven groups of the Colville Reservation are included in his study (Anastasio 1972:109-110). The Entiat and Lakes are not included in this survey, due to the dearth of historical information concerning them.

The central basin of the Plateau is surrounded by the Rocky Mountains to the east, the Okanogan Highlands in the north, the Cascade Range to the west, and the Blue Mountains to the south. The country is extremely varied, consisting of plains, woods, valleys, and mountains. Differences in temperature and rainfall are notable. Travel pre-horse consisted of canoeing the rivers along which the villages were located. Since the villages were strung out in linear fashion, one village edge would meet the next village edge. Even after the horse was adopted, many travel routes still followed the rivers (Anastasio 1972:117-118).

Trade

Because of the differences in topography and climate in each area, resources differed from one location to another, at least in quantity (Anastasio 1972:119). This enabled each village or tribe to specialize in hand-crafted items, the materials of which were available in their home territory. The handicrafts were made not only for their own use, but also for trade to other areas of the Plateau (Anastasio (1972:136). A Moses-Columbia elder's remark to me confirms this. She noted that while people made anything they wanted for themselves, they *refrained* from trading in, for instance, fancy baskets to a large extent, since that specialty belonged to the Klikitat, corn husk bags belonged to the Nez Perce, and cedar baskets were a recognized specialty of some of the Salish (Ackerman 1978-1995). This is an area of culture that has not been systematically studied, the closest being that of Griswold's 1954 study on traditional trading networks of the Plateau.

Anastasio notes that even basic food resources were traded. Most Plateau areas had salmon runs, but group interaction or trade was shaped by *when* the run arrived at a particular point, and the quantity and quality of fish available at each point. While a few areas lacked fishing sites altogether requiring these people to trade for salmon, other groups traded salmon for other reasons, which will be indicated below. Further, because of these environmental differences, it was desirable and even necessary to gather resources in other groups' territories, and a protocol was developed to facilitate this. One example is the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan who had little camas, but made up for the lack by obtaining their yearly supply from Wenatchi and Methow lands. The Sanpoil had similar deficiencies, and went south of the Columbia River to obtain roots. The Colville may have gone to Kalispel country for their roots (Anastasio 1972:122, 119).

Thus, every group had access to some root crops, either their own or that of their neighbors. Anastasio says that root crops apparently never failed. Such a failure would have had consequences at least as severe in mortality as smallpox and the other epidemics which afflicted the Plateau peoples in protohistoric and historic times (Anastasio 1972:119).

Vegetal foods supplied at least one-half of the subsistence for Plateau groups. In Sahaptin country, roots supplied 70% of subsistence because of their astonishing quantity (Hunn 1981). Many individuals with camas supplies close to their home traveled to Nez Perce country anyway, as it took only four days to gather a year's supply of roots there, while at home, it required thirty to forty days of labor to procure an amount sufficient for a year (Anastasio 1972:119).

The travel to other areas for resources was not only economic in intent. Gatherings, such as those at the Nez Perce camas grounds, provided avenues for intense social interaction. One met relatives, friends, strangers, and potential marriage partners at these locations. The social atmosphere could be compared to the stimulation of sports events today. And events they were, accompanied by excitement and enjoyment.

Large surpluses of dried foods could be traded for other items. The Wenatchi, Columbia, Methow, and Chelan produced basketry, basketry materials, tule mats, and dried berries. The Columbia and Wenatchi produced stone tools that were considered superior in workmanship and were eagerly sought. The Columbia made ornaments of fresh water shells. The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan, Nespelem, Sanpoil, and Colville produced hemp, which was a very important item, hemp twine, root products, berry products, and some baskets (Anastasio 1972:136).

While vegetal foods made up at least half of the food supply, salmon was the other extremely important category of food, and made up from 1/3 to 1/2 of the food supply, depending on the location. Salmon runs never failed the area as a whole (Anastasio 1972:122), Chance's (1973:18,102) comments on scarcity to the contrary, though there were minor fluctuations in quantity. If these became serious, people visited the territories of their neighbors or relatives to obtain their supply of fish for the year (Anastasio 1972:122).

The salmon runs began at The Dalles in April and reached Kettle Falls in mid-June. Fish were fatter at The Dalles, and were more highly valued than the leaner fish who made it further up the Columbia. Thus, the fatty fish provided another item for trade upriver (Anastasio 1972:122). On the other hand, the leaner fish dried better upriver and kept better in storage than the fatty fish and were valued for that characteristic, so they were traded down the river (Griswold 1954:27). People also traveled to The Dalles and Celilo Falls to trade for fish and other items, and make social contacts, thus forming another stage for intergroup meetings.

The products of hunting were also traded. Hunting was important because it provided the only fresh food available in the winter, and the skins were necessary for clothing. Hunting, however, was not as dependable a source of food as gathering and fishing. The Wenatchi and part of the Columbia, Chelan, and Methow lived in good hunting areas. The Chelan, Methow, and Wenatchi wove mountain goat wool blankets for trade. The Chelan had the reputation for making the best blankets. The Sinkaietk,
Sanpoil, and Nespelem had a fair hunting territory and produced some surplus deerskin clothing and moose skins. To the south, the hunting was much poorer; thus, the greater reliance on vegetal foods (Anastasio 1972:123).

Hostilities

Another arena for intergroup interaction was the Plains. This could have been possible only after the introduction of horses to the tribes of the Plateau and Plains. Unlike the Plains, the Plateau was an excellent area for horses. The native bunchgrass remained nutritious throughout the winter, and the winter was milder than in the Plains area (Anastasio 1972:127). This may have been the reason why the Plains people were so bent on fighting for the Bitterroot valley. They lost too many horses in their harsher winter.

It was the horse which made extensive buffalo hunting possible. The number of horses owned became the basis of judging wealth in the Plateau. Though it was the Flathead who were involved in serious warfare with the Plains tribes with the Bitterroot Valley as the prize, perhaps other parts of the Plateau were also at risk from the Plains warriors. The Flathead invited all Plateau tribes to meet them on the Plains to hunt buffalo and, at the same time, fight off the Blackfeet and other enemy tribes. Anastasio judges that at least 1000 Plateau Indians must have responded to the invitation, as a smaller number might have had difficulty in surviving the warfare. The Palus and Columbia were frequent hunters on the Plains, and the Colville, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Sinkaietk, Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi also participated, though apparently in smaller numbers. The most numerous warriors came from the Kalispel, Flathead, and Nez Perce tribes. This arena, Anastasio judges, was another setting for what he calls a task grouping (Anastasio 1972:132-135).

Hostile relations did occasionally occur between groups within the Plateau. Hostile acts included feuding, raiding, and temporary or long-term conflicts between groups. Feuding was the result of a murder and involved two families, often within the same village. Chiefs tried to settle these affairs through negotiating the payment of a fine in the form of a surrender of goods to the victim's family.

Raiding was a more severe problem. The Wenatchi, Chelan, Methow, Sinkaietk, Nespelem, Sanpoil, and Colville were usually peaceful, defending themselves only when attacked. Consequently, they were often the victims of raids. The primary enemies of the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan were the Thompson, Lakes, Shuswap, Spokane, and Nez Perce. The Sanpoil and Nespelem were raided by the Coeur d'Alene, Lakes, Shuswap, and Nez Perce. Raiding was not done in the name of one polity fighting another, but consisted of a voluntary war party which organized themselves to fight for loot. These hostilities were limited in scope, though they caused damage and loss of life (Ray 1932:115). Raids were sporadic, and never occurred between adjacent groups, since those people were intermarried. The Columbia tribe, according to Anastasio (1972:142-144), seemed to have played a stabilizing role in maintaining peace in the Plateau, and this may have been due to their strong leadership.

Real warfare, in my view, involves the seizure of land, examples of which did occur occasionally in the Plateau between Plateau tribes, but was especially notable in the fighting among the Plains, Shoshone, and Plateau

peoples at the eastern and southern margins of the Plateau. Ray refers to warfare (1939:40-43), though he fails to discuss the attempt to seize Plateau lands by the Shoshone and Plains peoples.

A factor working to preserve peace was the extensive intermarriage that was usual among villages. Unlike some cultures, it was unthinkable for Plateau people to fight relatives (see Figs. 1 and 2 for marriage connections between groups). The customs of intermarriage, the sharing of resources, and an ethic for preserving peace (even though it was occasionally ignored) were factors that united the Plateau peoples (Anastasio 1972:146).

Villages, Bands, and Tribes

These three terms, villages, bands, and tribes have been used with some confusion in the Plateau literature, and authors other than Anastasio will be consulted here to clarify them. One of the characteristics of the Plateau is the autonomy of villages and the lack of tribal organization in most parts of the Plateau (Ray 1936a). Ray (1939:14-15) notes that the term band is used to denote a grouping of villages, or sometimes only one village. The Sanpoil had strictly independent villages without political ties to each other. Thus each village was a "band." In contrast, the Southern Okanogan had *groups* of villages organized into four independent bands. People moved freely from one village to another within each band. In his 1939 work, Ray recognizes tribal organization among only a few Plateau groups by indicating that these groups had strict tribal boundaries and restricted the use of their territory to its constituent villages (Ray 1939:17). Ray, at this time, apparently regarded the keeping of boundaries as an important criterion for the definition of tribe.

By his 1960 article on the Moses-Columbia Confederacy, however, Ray routinely refers to Plateau ethnic groups as tribes. In a personal conversation with him in 1980, he informed me that he has thought of Plateau groups as tribes almost from the beginning of his researches in the field. Unfortunately, there is still confusion among Plateau scholars on whether to refer to Plateau polities as "groups" (also "ethnic groups"), bands, or "tribes." The difficulty in definition arises because of the autonomy of each village, and the lack of an overall head chief in most places.

Professor Elman R. Service has clarified the definition of a tribe. He notes that there are two criteria involved. One is that people unite to fight an outside enemy, a factor which is certainly true at the Plains and Shoshone borders in the Plateau. The other criterion is that there are sodalities (e. g. clans, secret societies) that unite individuals across groups (Service 1962:114-117) or village borders. In my study (1994:289 flw.) of nonunilinear descent groups, I demonstrate that the existence of sodalities does occur in the Plateau in the form of kindreds, which is an organization of relatives traced through both father and mother. Kindreds cross ethnic groups, and can place full siblings in two different tribes, thus creating a social unity across ethnic groups or tribes. Consequently, the argument for the existence of tribes in aboriginal Plateau culture is very strong, and has little to do with defending territorial boundaries.

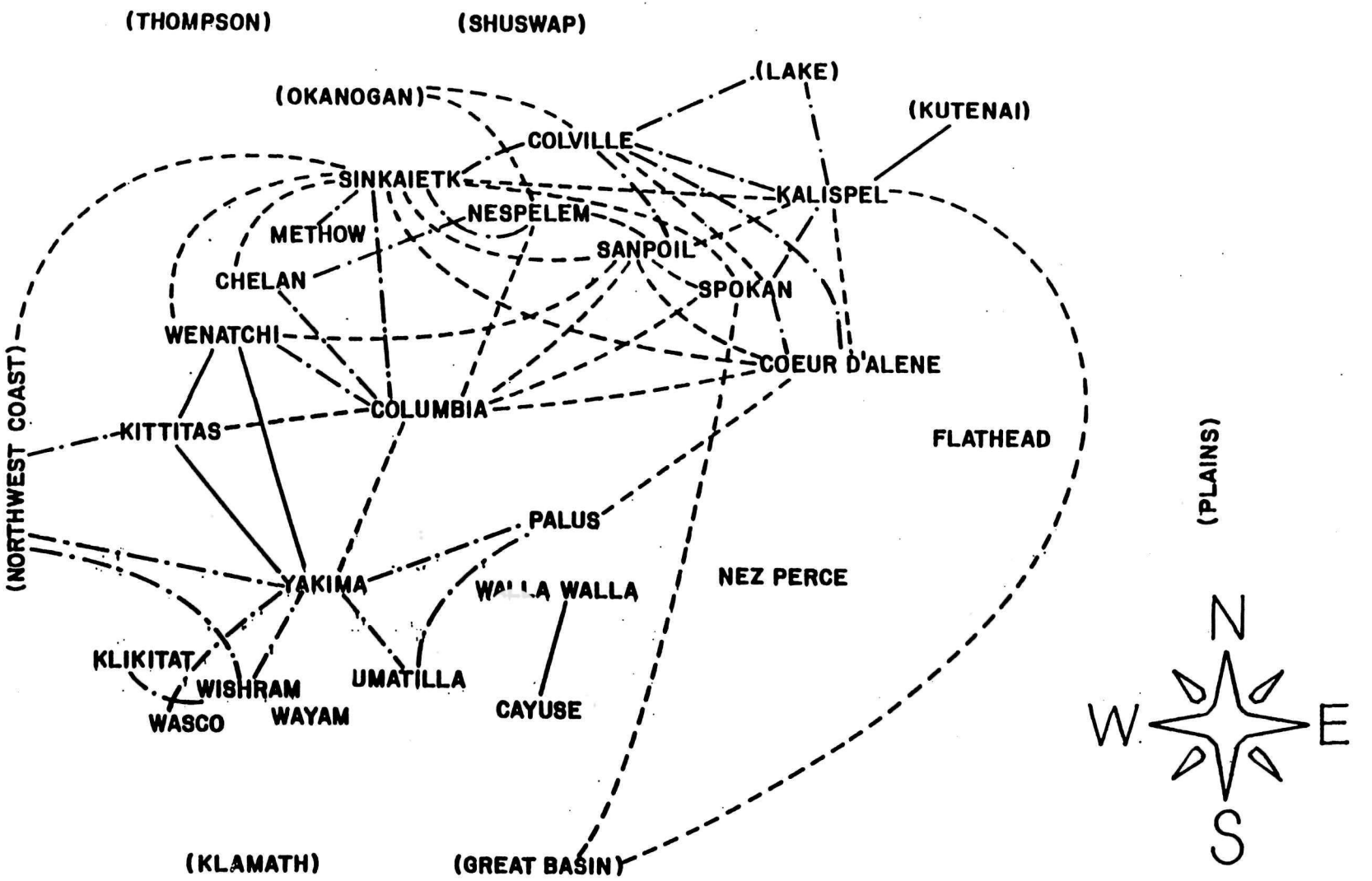
Further supporting evidence for the existence of tribes lies in the fact that grave markers serve as badges of tribal identity and uniqueness. Cedar stakes were placed on graves and emblems were attached that symbolized the tribal identity of the deceased. For instance, Nez Perce graves had bells and feathers attached to the cedar stakes. Further, the known locations of ancestral graves served as tribal markers to a territory. Today, these tribal differences are noted by burial in separate cemeteries with either stone cairns or granite monuments (Miller n. d.).

Almost all Plateau villages were located on water courses, and at the water line, demarcation between groups was firmly marked. Upcountry, however, the borders between village territories became amorphous, and the country was used in common by neighbors without restriction (Ray 1936).

Task Groupings

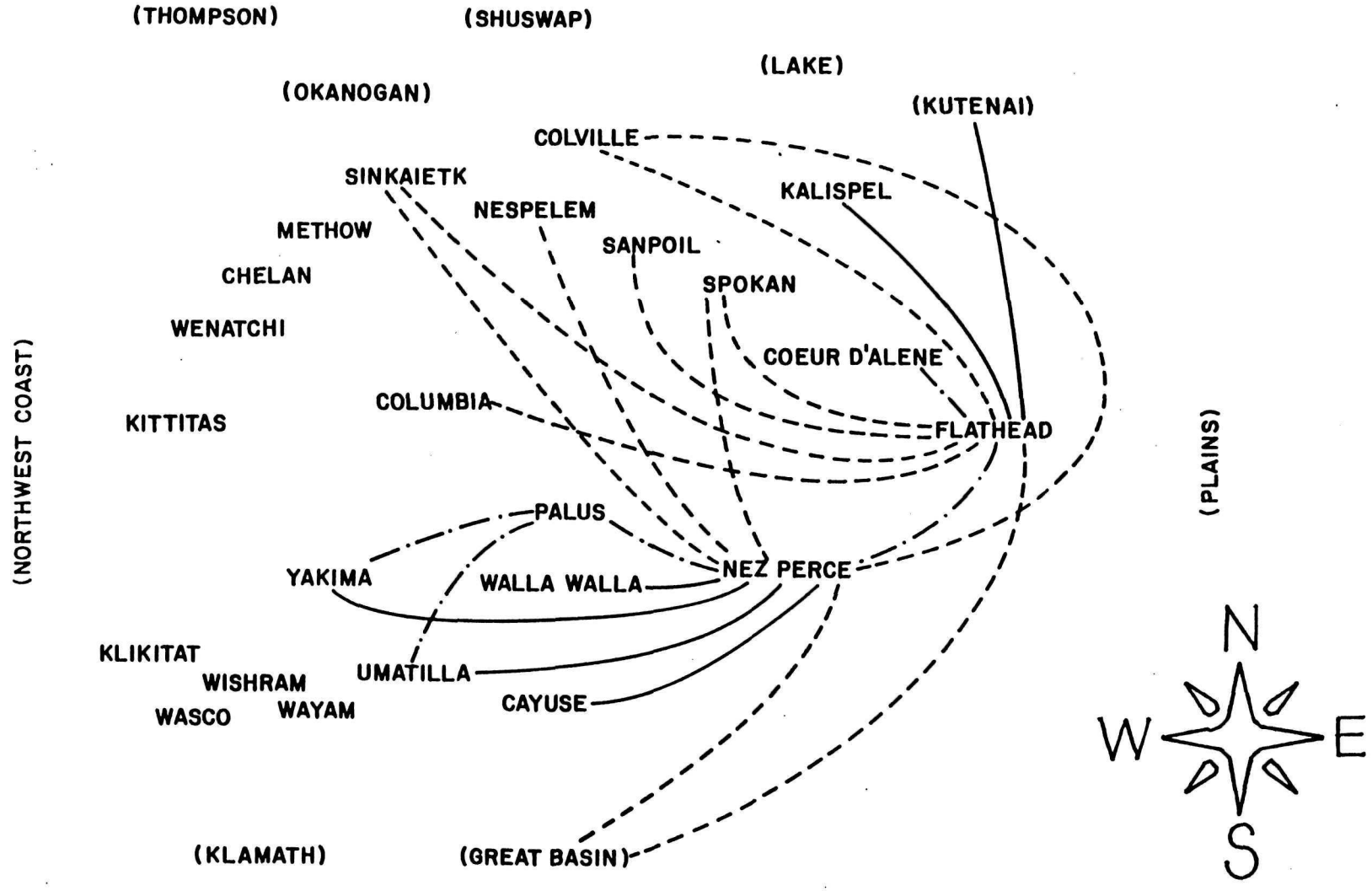
Task groupings were an important feature of Plateau culture. Anastasio defines a task grouping as "a cooperative alliance among a number of groups for a specific period of time to perform one or more tasks and with no necessary further commitments on the otherwise autonomous member groups" (1972:152).

An example of a task grouping was the gathering of people who traveled from several tribes to exploit a productive fishing spot. The arrival of salmon and the ripening of roots attracted people to certain sites from all over the Plateau in order to utilize the natural resource of the location. Economic activity was important at these sites, but social interaction took place as well, not only on an individual level, but also at the group level. Political councils



Intergroup marriages (1): —— many marriages, —·—·— some intermarriages, ----- few intermarriages.

Fig. 1. Intermarriage among Plateau tribes. (From Anastasio 1972:149).



Intergroup marriages (2): —— many marriages, —·—·— some intermarriages, ----- few intermarriages.

Fig. 2. Intermarriage among Plateau tribes. (From Anastasio 1972:151).

because people did not preserve quite enough food to last the year. This situation was quite acceptable to people, for like all hunters and gatherers, a period of hunger did not panic them. They often fasted for religious reasons anyway, and trained their children to endure hunger so they could have successful vision quests. There was actually enough food in the country to feed the Plateau population several times over, limited only by the labor needed to gather and preserve it. There were no reports of death by famine until after contact, and then it was due to epidemics. The Plateau form of gathering and fishing formed a single economic system that extended throughout the area and beyond (Anastasio 1972:138-139).

Thus, task groupings are defined as a number of groups which unite for a specific purpose for a specific time duration. They include the aggregations of people at fishing sites, camas grounds, trading spots, gambling areas, and the fighting/hunting at the bison grounds. They were a cooperative alliance to perform one or more tasks (Anastasio 1972:152).

Anastasio lists several task groupings, but only those concerning the tribes of the present Colville Reservation are listed below. For instance, the task grouping at Celilo Falls, the most productive fishing site in the Plateau was not greatly utilized by the tribes now living on the Colville Reservation. They used Kettle Falls instead, the second most productive fishing site in the Plateau. Those task groupings relevant to the tribes in question are listed here.

As noted, the most important fishing site for the Colville Reservation tribes was the Colville Task Grouping at Kettle Falls. It was the major trading center of the Salish area. The fishing season there began in mid-June, and the timing of it gave the participants the advantage of facilitating the trade of accumulated goods from the previous winter on the Plains and materials from spring hunts. About 1000 people came to this grouping from the Colville, Spokan, Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Sinkaietk, Methow, Chelan, Okanogan, and Lakes groups. Thus, at least eight of the tribes of the future Colville Reservation used this resource, which was later flooded by Grand Coulee Dam. The Colville as the resident group managed the fishery and served as sedentary traders. There is even some indication that they helped to settle controversies that occurred between groups and individuals.

The Sinkaietk Task Grouping was located at the juncture of the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers. It consisted of a fishing site which attracted many people and served as a major trading link north and south. Members of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Columbia, and Wenatchi groups definitely participated. Probably the Methow, Chelan, and Northern Okanogan did so as well. Anastasio is surprised that this grouping was not better described in early historical sources.

The Sanpoil Task Grouping was a fishing site that attracted about 400 people including some from surrounding groups, probably including the Nespelem, Colville, Sinkaietk, and some Spokan. This area was flooded by Lake Roosevelt.

The Wenatchi Task Grouping. was a fishing site which also attracted traders. As many as 2000-3000 people gathered here, including the Sinkaietk, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Methow, Chelan, Columbia, and even people from the Northwest Coast (Anastasio 1972:154-157).

The Bison Task Grouping was for hunting and fighting the Plains Indians, as noted above. Figure 3 shows the tribal participation in this grouping. All tribes, once on the Plains, acted as a unit regardless of hostilities among some of them at home. They formed a camp circle, with each group located in the circle that approximated its geographic location in the Plateau. This grouping drew more people together who were strangers than any other task grouping, with the possible exception of The Dalles-Celilo Falls grouping (Anastasio 1972:163). This last grouping and others will not be described here as they are not as important to the Colville Indian Reservation tribes as the ones discussed above.

Mechanisms of Intergroup Relations

In Anastasio's view, the Plateau can be seen as a single subsistence or economic system extending even beyond its borders into surrounding areas (they traded with the Plains people between battles.) Little of the production in the Plateau was traded impersonally. There were personal trading dyads, gifts given to relatives and friends, goods exchanged in gambling, and goods exchanged at life crises such as birth, marriages, name giving, deaths, etc. (Anastasio 1972:168-171).

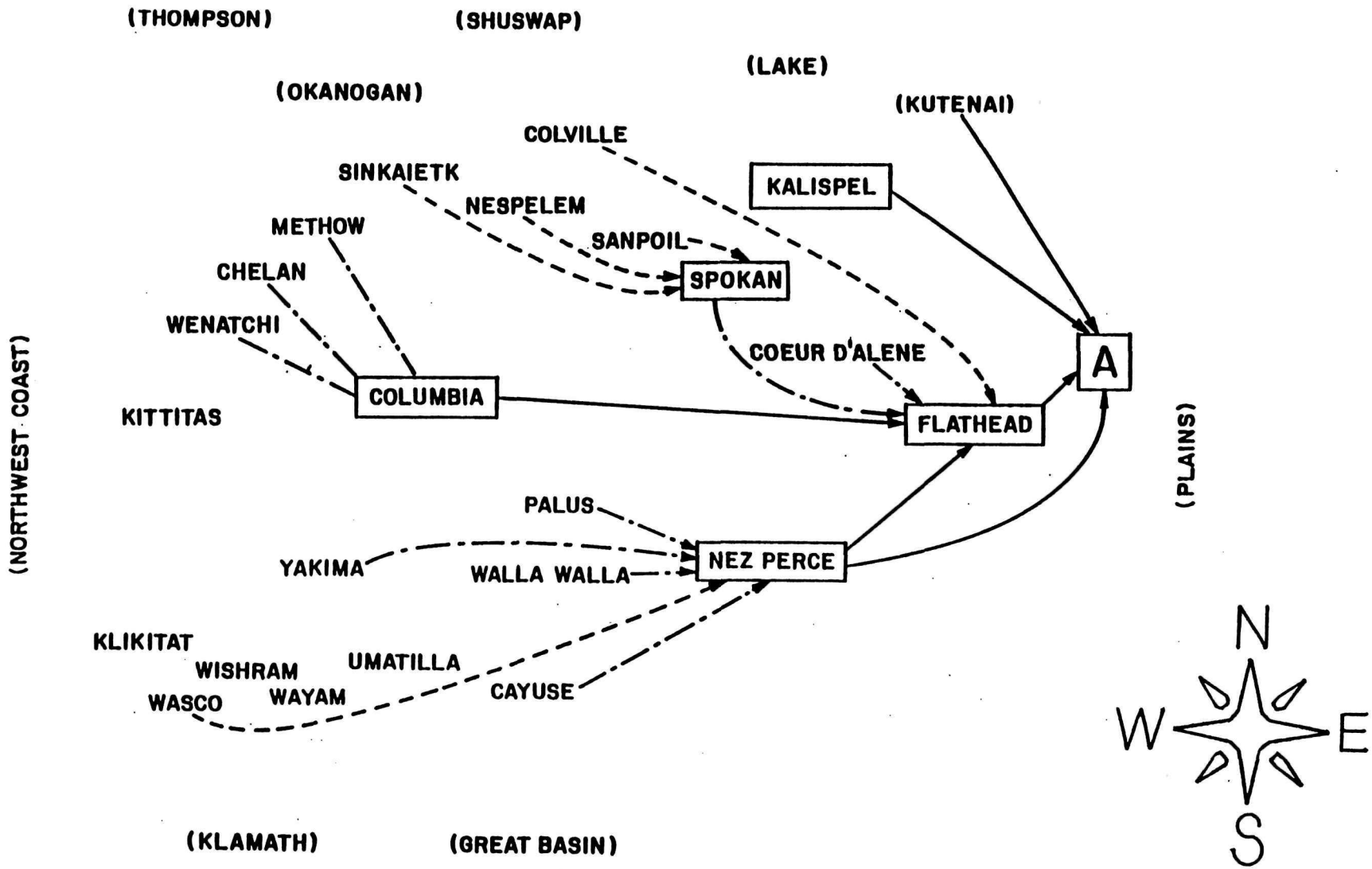


Fig. 3. Participation of Plateau tribes in Bison Hunting.

The Plateau has a bilateral kinship system with few to no barriers against intermarriage. This is one reason why it is difficult to define a group. Some groups have been reported to have become extinct and been replaced by people from surrounding groups. This was said of the Colville in 1853 by Governor Issac Stevens. However, the social entity persisted despite intermarriage. This was typical of the Plateau (Anastasio 1972:173-174).

To the extent that a person could establish relations elsewhere through kinship or friendship, the entire area was in a sense the group to which he or she belonged. The movement of individuals across the area helped tie the groups together (Anastasio 1972:17).

The Plateau peoples also shared certain cultural standards. They held in common the idea that achieving status could be done in a number of ways. These included having spiritual power, accumulating material wealth and giving it away as gifts, becoming a wise, understanding person with good judgment, or being a good orator. All of these avenues to prestige allowed for personal autonomy and talent. An ideal male person was the same as that of the ideal leader and this ideal was shared in all Plateau groups (Anastasio 1972:177-179). Women could also attain prestige through these values.

Assessment - Anastasio's 1972 work described above is, in my opinion, an enlightening piece of work. It better explains Plateau culture than any other single piece of research. The task groupings, while now defunct, have been replaced by powwows and ceremonies today, attended by people from all over the Plateau. Their attitudes and behaviors at these events evoke Anastasio's concept of the Plateau as one social entity.

Lillian A. Ackerman - "Nonunilinear Descent Groups in the Plateau Culture Area"

A seemingly universal feature of Plateau-wide culture, which was researched on the Colville Reservation, was the existence of nonunilinear descent groups. These have not been identified and described until recently (Ackerman 1994). Nonunilinear descent groups are ambilineal, that is, a member of a descent group traces his/her eligibility to be in that group through a combination of male and female ancestors. The localized extended families referred to in Plateau literature are really descent groups. Individuals trace their descent back to the founding ancestor of their group, who lived five to seven generations back (Ackerman 1994:292).

The descent groups were present in the past and persist into the present. These descent groups were the mechanism for the complex level of social integration that existed in traditional Plateau culture despite its seemingly simple political organization.

In both past and present, there is a stress on generation in the kinship system so that all cousins are equated with siblings, and relatives of any degree of kinship on both sides were/are recognized and placed in intimate categories like sibling, parent, child, etc. Membership in a descent group was activated by residence in the past (Ackerman 1994:291, 306). Each Plateau descent or residence group had its own rituals. One could change membership in a descent group by changing residence, and one could claim residence not only through in-laws, but through kinship with a cousin or other relative living in an entirely different tribe (Ackerman 1994:294-295).

Thus, a Plateau individual was a potential member of several nonunilinear descent groups, some in far places, but since rights could be activated only in one area at a time through residence, membership was limited by that fact. Consequently, descent groups were flexible. People lived where resources were available and the population was distributed over the land in this foraging economy more evenly than in a unilineal system, in which relatives were traced only through the father or the mother (Ackerman 1994:306).

As well as descent groups, the kinship system included kindreds. All of an individual's relatives belonged to the kindred and were scattered all over the Plateau; today on several reservations. Since one could not marry a relative of any degree, people often married someone living at a far distance. A kindred member was "obliged" (usually they were delighted) to house visiting kindred, sometimes for a whole resource season. Kindred came for the fishing season, or hunted or dug for roots with their relatives. In winter, however, they returned to their winter villages which was their "real" home. Sometimes they wintered over with their kindred, perhaps with an eye towards making it their permanent home (Ackerman 1994:290).

An individual had the option to use resources anywhere, providing he or she asked the local chief for permission first. Certain areas, such as The Dalles or Kettle Falls, had so much of one resource as described above, that they could easily allow outsiders to use it. While permission was always given by the chief in the memory of consultants, the protocol had to be followed, unless the visitor was a relative of someone who lived in the resident village. Then he has a *right* to that resource provided he simply announced his presence to his relative. This could be a very important right if some important resource like salmon failed in one's home territory (Ackerman 1994:290).

Since the kindred was so important, it was extended in every way possible. Even when a couple divorced, the families of the couple continued to cultivate kinship ties and address each other by kin terms. The accumulation of kin was further increased in the past by customs such as polygyny. A man would marry a woman for some years, leave her and marry another or others. All his children were half-siblings in Euro-American custom, but were treated like full siblings in the Plateau, with rights of residence, and other kinds of support. Thus, divorce was creative and not simply disruptive in this society, especially as women were well able to support themselves and their children, and had a large network of relatives to call on for special needs. Further, remarriage was always likely (Ackerman 1994:290).

When a young man returned home from prolonged visits, perhaps after many years, he was asked by his elders if he had left children behind. This was important to know to avoid incest in the next generation, and also so that the children would seek each other out as adults. These half-siblings could even provide a new residence group for each other and thus a new descent group (Ackerman 1994:291).

These complex kin networks not only led to a sharing of resources, but compelled a general peace, as noted above. If fighting broke out between groups, peace was secured by the exchange of marriage partners, since relatives do not fight each other in the Plateau social system. The nature of the kinship networks also led to very similar cultures developing throughout the Plateau since ideas traveled with people in their marriages, and in turn, the similar culture made far-flung marriages more comfortable (Ackerman 1994:291).

The extended family was based in a winter village in the past and, as noted above, traced their genealogy to a founding ancestor of that family, through either or both male and female lines. The descent group provided an individual's identity. A person's identity was acquired by growing up in a group that reared either his father or mother; or in adulthood a person chose to live with his father's group though raised in his mother's group or vice-versa; or he/she might marry into a group and affiliate him or herself with those people. Affiliation to one's affinal group or in-laws was not automatic even though residing among them. A person had to be accepted by learning and participating in the local customs and rituals. Or, alternately, he or she could retain ties to their natal group by not participating in the rituals. Many widows and widowers returned to their natal groups, which were their descent groups. The nature of these rituals were not researched, but were religious in tone, and were restricted to a particular winter group or descent group. Further investigation is needed on this subject (Ackerman 1994:293).

The winter village areas were exclusive to its native descent groups, which usually numbered two to a village. No one else was allowed to winter over unless specifically invited, and usually with an eye to recruit these people as new members. Others who had been using village resources for three seasons of the year had to go to their home, their own winter village. This exclusion may have been necessary in the past before two-thirds of the population had died from epidemics of European origin, (Boyd 1985:398). Outsiders were excluded in the winter because they were not owners of the corporate land. The owner group managed and preserved the resources of the land. Thus, the formation of nonunilinear groups seems to be a reasonable mechanism to deny outsiders access to land to prevent overexploitation of natural resources. Permission to allow access then was not an empty formality in the not-too-distant past, but was needed to manage the resources on their territory. Even today, Colville people see the need to ask for permission to hunt, etc., as significant. It reinforced his or her outsider's relationship to the land (Ackerman 1994:299, 297).

The control exerted by descent groups with its associated flexible residence would have been ecologically useful in two ways. It would have reduced economic pressure on the village of origin, and it would have added new labor to extract the local resources of a village that had surplus resources for its residents in that generation (Ackerman 1994:300).

How did a descent group retain its name with the founder's birth receding into history? If an especially talented chief was chosen from among the founder's descendants, he was given the founding chief's name, and the family group continued to be known, for instance, as the family of Chief Moses (Ackerman 1994:302).

Not just a new chief, but everyone inherited at least one name from ancestors, thus continuing a family history. Naming in this fashion provided temporal continuity to the nonunilinear descent group. The child was given a place in the social world by having a personal tradition to carry on and ideals to fulfill. Through naming, the nonunilinear descent group remained coherent over space and time. This system still exists today on the Colville Reservation, and probably other Plateau reservations as well (Ackerman 1994:301-302).

It is the descent group and the kindred that provide the social complexity that has been observed in the Plateau by Anastasio and others, despite the politically simple band structure. It was the nonunilinear descent groups and the kindreds that provided the dynamic that drove the area-wide economic system and all other culture systems. The kinship network united the peoples of the Plateau and provided the means whereby individuals were shifted and rearranged across ethnic and band lines, which assured a regional cultural sharing, peace between communities, and social cohesion (Ackerman 1994:306-307).

Assessment - This research confirms aspects of Anastasio's vision of the Plateau as a unified social entity, and it provides the mechanisms on how that unity occurred.

Lillian A. Ackerman - *Gender Equality in the Plateau Culture Area*
"The Ideology of Gender in the Plateau"
"Complementary but Equal: Gender Status in the Plateau"

Another characteristic of Plateau culture which was researched almost entirely on the Colville Reservation was the gender equality which permeates all Plateau societies (Ackerman 1981, 1982, 1988, 1993, 1995). The author was able to extend her remarks to the entire Plateau culture because of the extensive marriage networks, which spread the gender division of labor and thus gender equality throughout the area. It was noted in these studies that Plateau groups resemble each other very strongly in economic and domestic life, but show some variation in the politics and religion from one group to the next.

Factors suggesting gender equality had been noted by fur traders, missionaries, and certain scholars (Ray 1939). Such observations were made in passing; no definition was offered. Ackerman used Schlegel's (1977:8) definition of gender equality, and applied it to the economic, domestic, political, and religious spheres of Plateau culture in three time periods. These included the presumably aboriginal, but really the traditional period, the farming period, and the present time. At least two people from all tribes on the Colville Reservation were interviewed, and all age grades from age 19 to 99 were interviewed. The total sample numbered 45 individuals. The elders were asked about their traditional patterns, which they had learned from their elders. They were also asked about conditions during their youth when they were farming, but still following their traditional annual round. Younger people were asked about gender status in the context of the cash economy and employment. Only the nature of gender equality in the traditional culture will be covered in this section, and the later periods will be covered in the pertinent sections below.

The Economic Sphere

For the traditional culture, the economic sphere described by Colville Reservation consultants corresponded very well to that described by Verne Ray in his *Sanpoil and Nespelem* (1932), probably because the elderly consultants that were interviewed were young people in the 1920's when Ray did his fieldwork. The purpose of Ackerman's research was to uncover unreported cultural elements that pertained particularly to gender equality. These included the fact that the diet was made up of half protein and half plant foods in consultants' perceptions even though the vegetal part was probably more in many areas. Both men and women agreed that vegetal foods obtained by the women were as important as protein foods that the men procured. In the theoretical literature on gender status, it has been postulated that meat was of paramount importance in all foraging cultures, consequently giving men more status than women (Friedl 1975:22). Apparently, this was not true in the Plateau.

Fishing was not a completely male activity, though it appears to be so in other Plateau ethnographies. It was discovered that women gathered and fashioned the thongs holding the fishing weirs together, an obviously

important function. The source of these thongs was a female secret and a tabu for the men to know. Thus, the men were unable to build a weir without women's labor (Ackerman 1982:45).

The ethnographies tell us that most women stayed away from the salmon weirs, because of the danger to the salmon run if women stepped in the water (Post 1938:17). This was undoubtedly a menstrual tabu. During fieldwork, however, it was discovered that female shamans with Salmon Power were sometimes invited to approach the weir and pray for the salmon's return, if the run temporarily failed (Ackerman 1982:45).

Menstrual tabus did not indicate low status in this culture, since they were part of a complex that included tabus on men's behavior. For instance, men were required to keep away from earth ovens while roots were baking, so the roots would not spoil. This tabu was similar to that of women avoiding fishing weirs and hunters' weapons. The tabu complex required separation of each gender from the tools and work of the other gender, to avoid the failure of each gender's economic tasks (Ackerman 1982:51-52).

If menstrual taboos do not equal inferiority in all cultures (Buckley and Gottlieb 1988:14), what function did they serve in Plateau culture? My opinion is that Plateau women were secluded during their menses because their presence would upset the ritual needed to make the society work. To make the salmon run, women were excluded from the weirs. They could not gamble with men because gambling was seen not as a matter of chance but rather as a contest of each person's spiritual power. According to consultants, a menstruating woman would always beat a man in a gambling match, because his spirit could not work. Thus, menstruation was a spiritual "wild card," unpredictable and uncontrollable. It was a threat to the smooth operation of other kinds of ritual, especially in delicate situations like the salmon run. Even a male mourning the recent death of his wife or child, or whose wife was expecting their first child was excluded from the salmon weir. He was in a dangerous spiritual state which might upset the workings of nature. The menstrual tabu, then was part of a group of prohibitions, not confined to women, which protected the spiritual powers so necessary in the Plateau social system (Ackerman 1995:93-97).

A few men were adept at female activities, a talent given them by a guardian spirit, just as women had important roles in fishing. Some men were granted the talent to pick and dry berries skillfully or to mix fresh berries with roots so that they dried properly; both exacting tasks usually done by women. Thus, gender lines were crossed without prejudice. One of the foremost beaders of powwow regalia in the Plateau today is a male. Several men bead clothing and are honored and respected by both genders for their skill (Ackerman 1993:36).

Women could be given hunting power by a guardian spirit. They did not necessarily hunt, but would know through visions where the animals were. They told the hunting leaders who always took the information seriously. After the kill, she was the one who distributed the meat (Ackerman 1993:36).

Sexual abstinence was practiced by both genders before and during their most important economic tasks. The men abstained before and during hunting and fishing; women before and during the gathering of roots and certain berries. Both genders took a sweat bath for five days before their subsistence activity. A consultant said that this resulted in no man smells on a woman when she went digging, and no woman smells on a man when he was hunting or fishing. Thus, you have a ritual isolation of male and female activities. If these rules were not followed, all economic quests would fail (Ackerman 1993:36).

Children too had tabus to follow. If a girl did not avoid touching men's weapons, his guardian spirit would fail, but she herself would grow up to be a lazy and indolent woman. Boys were taught to avoid women's tools (baskets and digging sticks) or he could never shoot straight. After adulthood, damage was not so serious, as it could be undone by a shaman (Ackerman 1993:36-37).

The pattern of these prohibitions was balanced. Each tabu placed on one gender was balanced by a corresponding tabu on the other. The system had the effect of carefully defining the characteristics of male and female and compelling individuals to take their place in the gender system through the observance of tabus (Ackerman 1993:37).

Despite the system, gender was flexible in the Plateau, as testified by the occasional crossing of gender tasks. Also, the existence of berdaches of both sexes shows the flexibility of gender identity itself (Ackerman 1993:37). Berdaches take on the clothing and roles of the opposite sex. The complementarity of the tabus points to the complementary but equal status of the genders.

Meat was not routinely shared between a hunter and other men in Plateau culture. One theory is that sharing among men allows a man to accrue political power (Friedl 1975:22). In Plateau culture, however, the meat after a kill was distributed to women, and men did not obtain any particular political power because they shared meat. In the Plateau, prestige and political power was a reward to *good providers*. That is, anyone who excelled at hunting, fishing, or gathering food had prestige, and their political opinions were sought during assemblies. Both girls and boys were honored in a ceremony when they completed an economic task on their own for the first time, thus acknowledging the presence of a new provider for the group (Ackerman 1982:49-50).

Women owned everything in the house except the man's clothes, weapons, and horses. All consultants agreed that women's work was as significant as men's work, and both were highly valued. This was symbolized by the significance that was placed on food. Roots and berries collected by the women were as highly valued as meat and fish provided by the men (Ackerman 1982:52).

All work was autonomous, women's included. No one told an adult what to do or when to do it. Men and women both traded goods on an equal basis and had the autonomy to travel at will. All these factors indicate that Plateau men and women were equal in the economic sphere (Ackerman 1982:55).

The Domestic Sphere

No institutionalization of power or dominance was traditionally present in a married couple's relationship. While there was polygyny, a man with plural wives, and no polyandry, a woman with plural husbands, women often used their right of divorce and left a polygynous marriage if they wished. Men and women had equal access to divorce with no consequent economic deprivation, as women were self-supporting and could maintain whole families by themselves. After the first marriage, (parents arranged the marriages of their children the first time), all adults selected subsequent marriage partners autonomously. Adding to their autonomy, women had the means to control family size through certain native plants. Berdaches of either sex were accepted by their communities, and even honored. Equality seemed to exist in the domestic sphere too (Ackerman 1982:55-65).

The Political Sphere

People of either gender with superior economic skills had equal political influence within the community. Only men filled the office of chief in most tribes, indicating some male dominance in this sphere. Their wives, however, were head advice giver, a function that was apparently institutionalized, for in later times, a man was not chosen as chief because his wife was not considered suitable by the assembly. Assemblies were made up of both genders and both had an equal right to speak (Ackerman 1982:65-68).

In some tribes now living on the Colville Reservation, there were women known as *sku-malt* who had all the judicial and advisory functions of a chief. She was well respected. Not much was remembered about these women. An oral history concerned a female Chelan chief who lived about six generations ago (Ackerman 1982:69-72).

An important function of the chief's widow or daughter was that she had the right to nominate the chief's successor after his death. In some tribes, she became temporary chief during the mourning period or sometimes until her son attained his majority (Ackerman 1982:73). The assembly could confirm her nomination, or choose another person to be chief if they wished. A married couple's votes in assembly did not need to coincide on this or any other matter (Ackerman 1982:74).

The Religious Sphere

Shamans and sorcerers came in both genders. All girls and boys were sent on vision quests, and both acquired guardian spirits in equal numbers. The healers were not differentiated by gender and were equal in power. The women did not have to wait until menopause to practice. Women became shamans when young or not at all. One contemporary woman starting healing when she was about nineteen, and had one child at the time.

With the evidence above, gender equality appeared to occur in traditional times in the Plateau in all spheres of culture.

Assessment - The research on gender equality has been accepted by Plateau scholars and has aroused interest among other professionals, including historians. People on the Colville Reservation also accept this work, as several Colville individuals reviewed it before publication, and agreed to its accuracy.

Chapter 3

TRADITIONAL TRIBAL CULTURES

This chapter contains descriptions of the traditional culture of each of the eleven tribes that live today on the Colville Indian Reservation. These tribes are: the Colville, Lakes, Sanpoil-Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, which includes a few Northern Okanogan, Columbia, Wenatchi, Entiat, Chelan, Methow, Palus, and the Chief Joseph band of the Nez Perce. Enrollment authorities on the reservation confirm the above list as correct. The tribes' aboriginal territories are indicated in Figure 4. A different list of tribes constituting the Colville Reservation is offered by another scholar. This catalog includes the Colville, Chelan, Entiat, Methow, Okanogan, San Poil (spelled incorrectly), Lake (usually spelled Lakes), Nespelem, Nez Perce, Palouse (acceptable variant spelling), Moses, Sinkiuse, and Wenatchee (usually spelled differently) (Walker 1994:132), totaling 13 names in all. The Sanpoil and Nespelem are considered one group by most anthropologists and reservation attorneys, and the term, "Sinkiuse," is the native name for the Moses-Columbia tribe.

Members of other tribes have married into the reservation, such as the Yakama, (the tribe's preferred spelling, which appears on the 1855 treaty), Paiute, Warm Springs, Plains, etc., but the official confederated tribes include only those on the first list above. The Lakes, Colville, Sanpoil-Nespelem, and Southern Okanogan acknowledge cultural bonds among them, but insist they are separate political and cultural groups or tribes. The Columbia, Wenatchi, Entiat, and Chelan made up the Columbia Confederacy, at least in the nineteenth century, and perhaps before. This confederacy apparently operated only in times of war, and each of the tribes had its own political arrangements and culture. The Methow are closely allied to this group and the Southern Okanogan, but in historical times were not part of the Confederacy, though they may have been so once. The Palus and the Nez Perce are of Sahaptin stock. The Nez Perce were placed on the Colville Reservation against the wishes of most of the other tribes and their own. The culture of each of these groups is described below. There will be no consistent description of the same subjects for each tribe, because the information is not available to the same degree for each group.

The native name is given in parentheses for each tribe discussed, but as there is no standard orthography that is accepted by all Plateau scholars, I have used the native name as the authors describing the culture have rendered it.

The tribes will be described in order from east to west; that is, the tribes surrounding the present-day Coulee Dam National Recreation Area will be described first, and then the description of the tribes further west and south will follow.

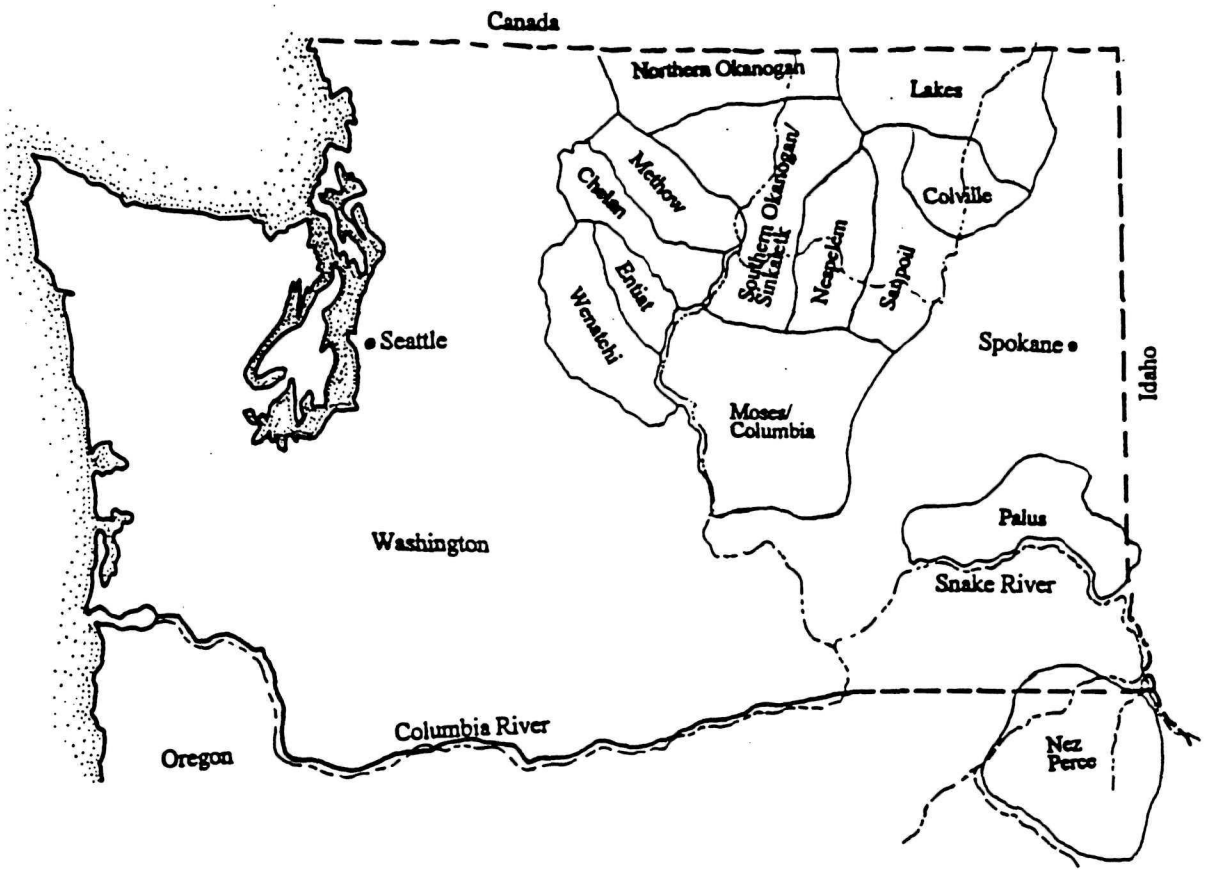


Fig. 4. Aboriginal Territories of tribes now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation

THE COLVILLE (SXOIELPI)

David H. Chance - "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District"
People of the Falls

The Colville tribe or the Sxoielpi originally lived at Kettle Falls on the Columbia River. They came by their English name when the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Colvile at Kettle Falls, naming the fort after Andrew W. Colvile of London, a board member of the Hudson's Bay Company. The other "l" was added when an American military fort was established there in 1859. Eventually, the Sxoielpi became known as the Colville Indians (Chance 1973:10).

The Columbia in its natural state had the richest migratory fish resource in the world, and Kettle Falls was the second-most productive fishery along the river (Anastasio 1972:154). This resource was lost completely when the already damaged fish runs were blocked by the building of Grand Coulee Dam, 100 miles downriver from the Falls. The Falls have been submerged by Lake Roosevelt since 1941, except when the waters were lowered to allow an enlargement of the dam. (Chance does not say when.) The Falls area was a source of quartzite, and provided the greatest stone tool quarry in the Pacific Northwest. Lake Roosevelt occupies the bed of the glacial Lake Columbia, as it existed about 11,000 years ago. Little brush and few trees were found around the falls aboriginally (Chance 1986:1-3).

Locations

Kettle Falls was visited by over 1000 Indians during the salmon runs. At other times of the year, the Colville went root-digging or hunting. In 1811, David Thompson of the North West Company of Montreal, a fur trading company, was the first outsider to describe the Colville. He wrote that the Falls served as a rendezvous "for news, trade, and settling disputes, in which these villagers acted as arbitrators as they never join any war party" (Chance 1986:6).

The Sxoielpi or Colville consisted of at least three bands: the Sxoielpi proper, the Sneelameen, and perhaps a Kettle River band. The Sxoielpi proper were centered at Kettle Falls. The Sneelameen were on Thompson's Rapids (now submerged and called Rickey Rapids) eight miles downstream from Kettle Falls. The third lived (noted by Cox in 1814) in the Kettle River Valley (Chance 1973). Teit (1930) estimates that the Colville once numbered about 2500 people. Chance (1973:13) notes that winter settlements consisted of no more than four families in two houses, but larger groups were known.

John Work, a Hudson's Bay Company employee, thought that all Plateau Indian cultures were the same; any differences between them arising from a "difference of situation." Chance disagrees (1973:13), and says this difference of situation led to substantial differences in culture. Probably both observations are correct, depending on one's viewpoint. The Indian cultures resembled each other strongly, for good reasons like intermarriage and trade, but there were slight variations in the resources available to them, thus leading to slight differences in culture. One might think of the differences between Ohio and California. They are of the same polity and same culture, but slight variations occur due to the resources available in each area, and the local differences in history.

Around 1830, Colville society was understood by Hudson's Bay Company personnel as being divided into two; a northern and a southern group, with the Falls belonging to the northern group. The latter was uncertainly identified with the Kettle River Valley. As for the lower Colville Valley, Colvilles certainly lived there. Chance speculates on a third group, where possibly the Kettle Falls Salmon Chief wintered. This is known today as Goodwin or Ward, two miles east of the town of Kettle Falls. The Colville name for this was Tseris, which means Kingfisher (Chance 1986:46).

Political Organization

A chief of the Colvilles, called the *Illimi'hum*, probably had his winter quarters at Klihius near the mouth of Pingston Creek, a little north of where Fort Colvile was eventually established. Chance speculates that each band

must have been made up of 30-50 people in the winter. There were probably about twenty Colville bands before epidemics reduced the population (Chance 1986:46).

There was no central authority over all the Sxoielpi. Each band was headed by its own chief. People worked cooperatively, without direction, which apparently dismayed the Hudson' Bay Company personnel who perceived that they had less trouble with groups like the Flathead with more centralized authority (Chance 1973:15-16).

Chance believes that the Plateau tribes may have been peaceful before the horse, but not after. He seems to equate raiding with war, which in my opinion, is incorrect, as explained above. The two kinds of hostilities are different in intent. In war, land is the object; in raiding, booty is the object. The Colville Indians used canoes frequently, as the country was too rugged for horses in many places. Food was regularly stored for the winter (Chance 1973:16-17).

Social Organization

Data on marriage rules and kin obligations were not recorded for the Colville. Fr. Joseph Joset observed that provisions and dwellings were the private property of married women. He noted that early in a marriage, a man's kill went to his mother-in-law. Chance comments that women's ownership occurred because residence was uxorilocal, that is, a married couple settled with or near the woman's relatives. It was uxorilocal, Chance believes, because knowledge of root grounds was dependent on knowledge of territory even more than hunting. With residence among her own relatives, the woman's chances of keeping control over foods and other property was better, and he infers that such a pattern of residence was the rule (Chance 1973:22). Chance is incorrect on this point, as ownership in this case had nothing to do with rules of residence. Plateau residence was generally ambilocal; that is, a married couple could choose to live with his family or hers as circumstances warranted, and she still owned the house and food. Chance also toys with Work's idea that brides were bought, and then concludes that the status of women was not at all far from being equal to that of men (Chance 1973:22). Women were not "bought" anywhere on the Plateau. Gifts were exchanged, giving Europeans the idea of purchase.

Chance (1973:23) speculates that Colville intermarriage with other groups may have been a function of depopulation or the fur trade, but concludes that it may have been an indigenous pattern after all. Since no Plateau group marries relatives of any known degree, intermarriage with other groups was often a necessity and had nothing to do with depopulation or the fur trade. Teit (1930:215) notes that the Colville intermarried with all neighboring tribes, especially the Lakes and Kalispel, but also with the Okanogan, Sanpoil, Spokan, and others further away. Later, they intermarried with the Iroquois and the French.

Subsistence

The Colville's neighbors to the north were the Sinaiksti or Sinjaxtee or Lakes. The Sanpoil lived to the southwest, the Okanogan to the west, and the Colville were found in the Columbia Valley, the Kettle River Valley, and Curlew Lake. To the east and southeast were speakers of the Flathead language: Spokan, Kalispel, Flathead, and the Chewelah who spoke a version of Kalispel. These were among the people who came to Kettle Falls to fish and trade. The Kalispel came in large numbers since they had no fishery of their own. Thus, the fishery was the center for a large area, a culture center where dances, gambling, and trading went on and where one could get news from all over the area. Most visitors came in August when traveling was easiest. Much of the fish catch was already dried, but salmon were still running in abundance through the Falls. Teit (1930:356-357) notes that the Colville, along with the Okanogan, were the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the horse.

Dorothy I. D. Kennedy - *Utilization of Fish by the Colville Okanagan Indian People*

Salmon Ceremony

Fishing actually began in late June. The very important Salmon Ceremony, which preceded all fishing, coincided with the summer solstice. Chance (1986:35) finds this correspondence significant, but no consultant has mentioned this correlation during my fieldwork, nor does it appear in a Colville elder's detailed testimony regarding fishing at the Falls. Among the details that Martin Louie, the Colville elder, mentioned was that a male and female

salmon had to be caught for the Salmon Ceremony. It was the Salmon Chief's guardian spirit that made the two fish of opposite sex enter the trap (Kennedy 1975).

While the fish were being captured, two young women in buckskin and face paint cleaned the stone kettles in which the fish were to be boiled. Two men carried the fish and laid them out with their heads pointing east. The young women then butchered the fish, cut them into steaks, and stoneboiled them in the rock kettles. The entrails and the fish were wrapped separately in Douglas fir boughs. The Salmon Chief then prayed with arms outstretched to the sun, offering the first salmon to the "great chief" (Kennedy 1975).

Thereafter, the Salmon Chief distributed morsels of the salmon first to the village leaders, and the rest of the fish to the other people. One of the young women served only the men, and the other, only the women. Afterwards, the viscera and bones were thrown into the river (Kennedy 1975).

Children, widows, and widowers were not allowed near the traps to insure that the run continued. Menstruating women were not allowed to associate with fishermen, walk near the trap, or eat fresh salmon. Parents of a first child were forbidden to eat fresh salmon for the first ten days of the child's life (Kennedy 1975). These tabus fit into the general pattern of tabus in Plateau culture.

Assessment - This account of the Salmon Ceremony differs somewhat from similar ceremonies in other Plateau cultures. The differences include the fact that young women were allowed to butcher the first fish and then distribute them to both genders. In other parts of the Plateau, only men were allowed to butcher and taste the first salmon. Another novel feature is that one each of the male and female salmon was necessary for the ceremony. These novel aspects of the ceremony may have been unique to the Colville.

David H. Chance - "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District," *People of the Falls*

When the river flow was at the right depth, the Salmon Chief directed the placing of J-shaped baskets. When leaping up the Falls, the fish struck the top of the "J" and then fell into the basket. This method of fishing was very productive when conditions were right. Spearing was another form of capturing fish, done from rock ledges or from wooden platforms wedged into the rocks. The fishermen used detachable spearheads, since spearing was dangerous work, and a man could get pulled into the falls. The Salmon Chief managed the rhythm of fishing, making sure each man had a turn (Chance 1986:35).

As the river subsided through the summer, more baskets were installed. By August and September, sites near the center of the falls were used, and had to be approached by canoe. Fr. Pierre Jean DeSmet noted in the 1840's that 200 salmon weighing from six to forty pounds each were caught in the basket traps alone in a few hours. Additional fish were captured through spearing. It was common to catch 3000 salmon per day. The fish were then distributed to the women for drying. Chance (1986:38-41) estimates that on the average, over a million pounds of salmon were caught per year at the Falls. A family would need about 300 fish a year (two tons). This resource made up half their diet. Salmon were wind dried by preference, and smoked when the wind was not blowing (Chance 1986:38-41).

The fish from the baskets were divided at sunset among the people at the Falls. It was noted that about 1000 people attended the Falls at the height of the fishing season. Only about 150 people lived at the Falls during other seasons (Wilkes 1845:375). Throughout the entire fishing season, three to five thousand people were present (Chance 1986:42).

Personnel of the Wilkes Expedition noted that the Indians at Kettle Falls pounded fish into powder, and this substance lasted three years without putrefying. They confirmed DeSmet's observation that women were in charge of the lodge and food stores, and consent was needed for anyone else to use the latter (Wilkes 1845:375).

Salmon, camas, and huckleberries became available at the same time of year. The main camas grounds were fifty miles east of Kettle Falls where the women dug in May and June. Toward the end of June, they started back to the Falls so they could butcher and dry the fish for winter storage. Deer, the third important resource, was hunted by groups in the fall. By mid-December, everyone was back in their winter villages next to the river (Chance 1986:43-44).

During the fishing season, most of these groups converged on Kettle Falls to form a village called Takumakst--"The Fishery." The village probably contained about fifty houses, which were sheds made with planks, unusual in the Plateau, and these planks were covered with mats. Paul Kane, the artist, noted that the flooring was made of sticks raised three to four feet above the ground, with the space below left open. This kind of structure created a cool shady place in which to hang salmon for drying. The Kalispel also used this kind of house (Chance 1986:48).

Chance, following Walker, sees fishing as providing 50% of subsistence. Salmon was probably more important for the Colville Indians than other groups. Gathering was extremely important for all groups. Chance notes that there really were no band or tribal boundaries except at points along watercourses. He argues following Walker that no ethnic group had the *right* to exclude others from taking fish, game, or other resources (Chance 1973:14). The opposite viewpoint has been argued by Ackerman (1994), as described above.

A revisionist view is expressed by Chance in his earlier work on the Colville (1973:21) in regards to the fishery at Kettle Falls. He believes that the fishery at the Falls was not unusually productive and consequently the entire population of the Colville numbered only about 1000. He does not believe that salmon were taken in great numbers there, and he is surprised that he has found nothing in the literature to contradict that. Chance is not persuasive on this point. All other sources point to the great productivity of Kettle Falls and the large numbers of people it attracted.

Though the literature in general says that salmon would have been distributed equally to all comers, Chance (1973:18) finds this difficult to believe because it would have deprived the Colville of their major stock in trade. To the contrary, my research shows that raw resources had little value in the Plateau economic system. When labor was invested in these resources by butchering, drying, etc., then these items had real value and were traded.

One estimate says that the annual yield of fish at the Falls around 1841 was 600,000 pounds. This was computed from Wilkes' 1845 statement, that as many as 900 salmon might be taken in 24 hours from the main basket. Other estimates were higher. Chance figures that 3/4 of the catch was needed to sustain the Colville, even with other kinds of food available. So he does not see much of a salmon surplus in historic times even though the population was much lower than it was before 1780, that is, before epidemics took their toll (Chance 1973:20-21).

Chance makes a series of statements that contradict all other sources. He states that salmon harvests were far from dependable; they varied from year to year. In 1830, John Work noted that there were enough fish to maintain the people during the fishing season only, and Hudson's Bay Company men were relying instead on horse meat. In certain years, some of the Colville starved to death and others ate horses. Vegetal foods were not adequate to feed people. Food scarcity at Kettle Falls for Company servants was often a problem (Chance 1973:21).

Chance notes that the summer of 1830 was uncommonly abundant with fish, yet the following winter and spring the Colville still were short of food. Work mentions that the scarcity did not arise from the want of resources, but was occasioned by the "indolence" and "improvidence" of the Indians (Chance 1973:21-22).

Assessment - The accounts of starvation may have arisen for at least two reasons, in my opinion. First, Hudson's Bay Company men were not a reliable source of information due to cultural differences, and they simply did not interpret some situations correctly. For instance, Work's comments about "indolence" points to chronic illness. If very many Colvilles were ill from the epidemics known to be plaguing the Plateau at this time, manpower would have been severely reduced. Sick and dying people cannot work. Second, the Company hoped to be able to support not only themselves, but all their other posts in the Northwest through the fishery. To support all those extra people required manpower, and the Colville Indians probably rationally wondered why they should labor to support them. To do so might have thrown doubt on their ownership of the site.

Chance is to be commended for pulling together all the historical materials on the Colville Indians, which no one had done before him. The problems arise in some of his interpretations of the data. His major error, in my view, lies in underestimating the salmon runs at Kettle Falls. His next important error is in misunderstanding why the Colville Indians were starving--not indolence, or even lack of resources (using Work as a source). Instead, illness and death were the cause of reduced subsistence activities.

The Kettle Falls Fishery

Further evidence to support the view that salmon were plentiful at Kettle Falls comes from a recent account of fishing there as provided by Mourning Dove (1888-1936) of the Colville tribe. She testified that large quantities of salmon were captured, even when the runs were decreasing from canneries at the mouth of the Columbia. When she was a girl, her family went to Kettle Falls for the fishing. When they arrived, people were already spearing king salmon, one of the five runs of salmon reaching Kettle Falls. Her parents' camp was close to the Colville on the west, next to their Okanogan relatives. The west side was called Lachin (woven kettle or bucket) because of the depressions made by the whirlpools there. The different tribes camped in specific areas, and the Colville hosts saw that no visitor ever left without a full load of salmon. The Colville camped on both sides of the Falls to oversee the fishing. The east side encampment included people from the Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alene, and Flathead tribes, while on the west side the Okanogan, Sanpoil, Squant (Omaks and maybe Nespelem), and Wenatchi camped (Mourning Dove 1990:99-100). (See Appendix 1 for various locations at the Kettle Falls Fishery, and Fig. 5 for a historical view of the Falls.)

From camp, there was a thirty foot drop to the river, where many men were spearing. Large log scaffolds were used over the river where men stood to spear or net fish trying to ascend the falls. Fish were distributed from the common traps at noon and dusk by the Salmon Chief (Mourning Dove 1990:100-101). In the evening, people entertained themselves with stick games (gambling), trading, and visiting (Mourning Dove 1990:102).

A Description of a Hunt

Mourning Dove's entire family, including her two baby sisters, went hunting with her father. Ten packhorses were used to carry meat and their goods. They joined a hunting camp with about ten lodges. Some Spokan and Kalispel were in the hunting group; they had been invited by some of the Colville participants (Mourning Dove 1990:115).

One elderly Spokan couple was invited by her family to share their tipi and raw meat supply. The man was too old to hunt actively, but he and his wife could cure meat (Mourning Dove 1990:116). During the hunting, Mourning Dove's mother never slept in her father's bed. "His bedding was considered sacred then, and we were forbidden to play on or around it" (Mourning Dove 1990:117). The deer meat was brought in through the rear of the tent and placed on boughs. This was done to avoid the area where women came in through the front door. The avoidance, which was a menstrual tabu, contributed to continued hunting success (Mourning Dove 1990:117). This was a common custom at least among the Southern Okanogan, Methow, and others.

A young Spokan woman was married into the group, and was pregnant with her first child. She had different tabus from the Colville, and caused a great deal of anxiety among them. Much of what she did was believed to cause bad luck. Further, the couple shared the same bed, and the wife wandered freely around the camp. When the hunters failed, they privately blamed this couple (Mourning Dove 1990:118).

Deer heads and kidneys were never cooked or eaten until the hunt was finished. The Colville strung the deer heads and kidneys on high tree limbs. They could be eaten only by men and very old women. Only adults could eat bone marrow. The elderly Spokan woman had different customs. She skinned a deer head inside the tipi, which was a breach of a Colville tabu. Mourning Dove's mother cleaned up the area and offered a prayer in apology (Mourning Dove 1990:117). It is notable that the cultural differences between the two tribes were of a religious nature, details of which vary from one group to the next.

Mourning Dove's family moved camp several times over 35 to 40 miles. As hunters filled their packs, they left the group to go to their winter quarters. It was not unusual to run out of food by February, however. Her parents always gave food to the poor and needy, and neighbors dropped by who needed to be fed. Her mother then began to ration food for the family. Everyone went hungry, especially the parents. Her father was unsuccessful hunting. When he finally got a deer, they shared that with everyone in the community (Mourning Dove 1990:118-119, 121).

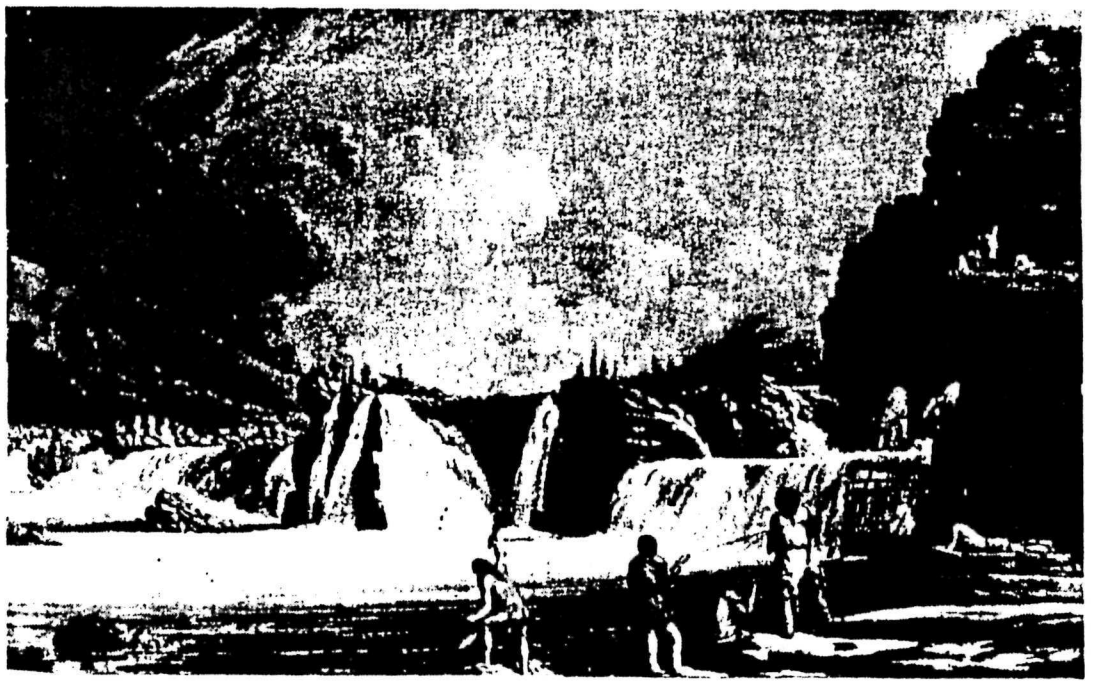


Fig. 5
The lower falls, as painted by Paul Kane in oils after his visit of 1847. Three J-shaped basket traps are visible. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.
Chance (1986)

Domestic Arrangements

Mourning Dove records in her autobiography that one day an old woman passed by her parents' house, walking and crying, because she had no family. She was "adopted" by Mourning Dove's mother and family. This woman became the grandmother of the house, which was fortunate, as the children's grandmother lived elsewhere, and the "take-in" was a wonderful teacher for the children (Mourning Dove 1990:14-15). This kind of incident would have been rare in aboriginal times, as almost everyone had family to get assistance from in hard times. This was around the turn of the century, however, and the culture had become dysfunctional in some ways. The "taking-in," however, must be an aboriginal trait. Today, people still "take-in" abandoned children and others.

When Mourning Dove was twelve, she was given the name of a neighbor who had died, since no one else took her name. Some years later, she met a woman shaman for whom she helped carry firewood. This pleased the shaman who rewarded her with her name. Mourning Dove carried her name for many years. Many Okanogan, to whom Mourning Dove's family were related, still used it when they saw her (Mourning Dove 1990:16-17). This suggests that the shaman was an Okanogan. These naming practices are still used today on the Colville Reservation.

The left side of the tipi was the area where her parents sat and slept. The right side of the tipi was for children. Everyone slept with their feet toward the fire in the center. The food, some wood, cooking utensils, and water pails were stored just inside the doorway on both sides. The rear section of the tipi was covered with the family's best robes and reserved for visitors. Women visitors who came to call would often refuse this place of honor, but men never did. They leaned against rawhide parfleches stacked along the back of the tipi, which were covered with the robes. The parfleches were used to store clothing, preserved foods, etc. (Mourning Dove 1990:17-18).

Mourning Dove noted that women did not seem to be afraid of grizzly bears and cougars when they were alone gathering. Her family often went to Okanogan country for bitterroot near the Okanogan River (Mourning Dove 1990:19).

When traveling, the men went first to watch for game and protect others from bears. They were followed by the pack horses, and then the women and children. Mourning Dove believed that this is the origin of the custom of an Indian man walking a few steps in advance of a woman (Mourning Dove 1990:19-20). I also noted this custom in 1979 (Ackerman 1978-1995).

Mourning Dove's parents almost always left the Colville winter village at Kettle Falls to visit the Upper (Northern, I presume) Okanogan country in other parts of the year. Dog salmon were caught in September and Colville people always joined the Okanogan in catching this salmon. It took a week for the fish to dry this time of year. Sometimes they had to resort to smoking the salmon in this season. Mourning Dove's family left for home only after they had enough dried salmon to load up the packhorses. They took more than they needed for the family, as they always fed visiting relatives and visitors. All supplies were taken home to the winter settlement in Colville country (Mourning Dove 1990:20-21)

Her family usually stayed at Kelly Hill, but one year they decided to stay at Kettle Falls for their winter quarters, which was already well populated by people coming from all over. She described the building of a tipi and how the beds were made. The food was placed on scaffolds (Mourning Dove 1990:21-22).

Life Cycle

Girls were required to do chores constantly to train them for adulthood during their puberty isolation (Mourning Dove 1990:42). After isolation was over, a girl returned to camp and was given a "virgin cape" to wear. The virgin cape indicated a girl's unmarried status, and she always wore it in public. Some of these capes went to the knee, others went to the ankle and were used when traveling. Mourning Dove noted that the daughter of a chief usually wore a cape of sheep wool with black bars woven into it, about ten inches long. These bars showed her membership in the chiefly class, and each bar indicated a chief in her ancestry (Mourning Dove 1990: 42-46, 49).

Miller (in Mourning Dove 1990: 204) notes this is the first time this trait has appeared in print, but he takes the word "virgin" too seriously. I am sure that this concept was used due to Christian influence, as my data show that the cape was meant to wrap the girl and her lover together. It was given in a public ceremony, signifying that

the girl was ready for love affairs. Further, the cape was hereditary, and handed down in a family line (Ackerman 1978-1995).

A woman learned how to care for a family in earnest after her marriage. She had been trained all along, but not in cooking. Her mother-in-law traditionally trained her in this skill. If the mother-in-law were deceased, the young couple lived with an older female relative who could teach the younger woman. The younger woman might find her mother-in-law burdensome, but her husband never defended his wife, or he could be criticized. Most mothers-in-law were kind, however (Mourning Dove 1990:60).

Tabus were followed during a woman's first pregnancy. A child was not named right after birth, but after the mother and child left the menstrual hut, ten days after birth. An older person, usually a relative, gave the baby a name from those that belonged in the family (ancestral name). After a child grew up, he/she was given another name that referred to a war honor or other success. The child was nursed until the mother became pregnant again, sometimes for six years (Mourning Dove 1990:70 flw.).

People were buried by family and tribe. Even though people moved constantly, they recognized their place of origin, which was the site of their family cemetery (Mourning Dove 1990:211).

Trade

The Colville traded with coastal people and people within the Plateau (Mourning Dove 1990:64). People also went east to hunt bison because the robes made of their hides were greatly prized. The skins lasted a long time, and were used for bags, war cases, knife cases, quivers, parfleches, and most important, for body armor vests and shields. Paints were used to decorate them with family-tree symbols or events from tribal history (Mourning Dove 1990:146).

Religion

At age six or seven both boys and girls were required to begin their spiritual training and look for a guardian spirit. Mourning Dove was sent out at first on short errands to get water at night. This was a procedure used with all children. As children grew older, they were sent farther away and given some token that might attract spirits. The child was told never to run away from any animal form that chose to speak to him or her. When the spirit appeared, it sang a song for the child to memorize (Mourning Dove 1990:35-36).

After the spirit quest, the child returned home. The parents knew if he/she had had a vision because the child was in a dreamy, hazy mood, and so was not questioned by elders. Mourning Dove spent ten days in the mountains, seeking visions. She had not been previously successful, but her family hoped she would become a healer or shaman (Mourning Dove 1990:36).

The Colville religion is poorly known, according to Chance (1973:24), but included guardian spirits like the rest of the Plateau. One guardian spirit was Graveyard, useful in gambling. Bluejay was another guardian spirit, also described by Verne Ray for the Sanpoil. Chance blames acculturation for the existence of sorcery, magic, and native medicine, but these are undoubtedly all indigenous cultural elements. "Magic" was in a real sense spirituality in the Plateau. The guardian spirit could enable its human partner to heal, perform positive tasks like calling the salmon upriver, or perform hostile acts against others including murder. These concepts are so interwoven with Plateau culture that they could not be due to acculturation.

Chance (1986:55) describes the vision quest for power in terms that suggest a quality like mana, in my opinion. Mana in the Polynesian religion is a supernatural, *impersonal* force that inhabits some objects and some people (Ember and Ember 1993:415). It can be roughly equated with "luck," like a lucky rock. Chance says that power was inherent in the world and its objects, and the Plateau guardian spirit represented that power, and was presumably a conduit of it. Chance does not offer enough data to make a judgment on this suggestion, but it is a thought-provoking proposal.

Mourning Dove (1990:123 flw.) describes a Winter Dance or religious ceremony that very much follows the Plateau pattern. She noted that the dancing went on for two to three nights and then new people were initiated into the knowledge of their guardian spirits. These initiates had collected robes, clothing, and ponies for a year before the giveaway at the Winter Dance. The last two nights of the dance were set aside for curing the ill. The shamans did this by brushing the spirits off the ill person.

A trip between Kelly Hill where Mourning Dove's family lived and Northport, twenty-five miles away, took them one day to travel by horseback. They traveled there to attend a Winter Dance. The people had built a lodge that accommodated 100 people. They danced only after the evening meal. A medicine pole, about eight feet long, was suspended from the roof in the center of the lodge (Mourning Dove 1990:131 flw.).

There is little doubt that the Colville religion was quite similar to Plateau religion in general. Martin Louie, a contemporary well-respected Colville elder, relates in one of his tales, "How the Sweathouse was Made," how Coyote made the first sweathouse. The first four poles were erected for the four directions, the next four for the four seasons, four more poles for the four foods (bitterroots, service berries, salmon, and meat), then four more poles for the four colors; yellow for the east, white for the north, black for the west, and green for the south. Then four more poles for the four winds, another four for the four nations (he cites America, Europe, China, and Japan); finally, the four moons: the new moon, first quarter, full moon, last quarter. Then Coyote cut one stick for the bottom of the sweathouse and put it "clear around." This signified the world and the major things of the earth which are earth, water, sun, and air. All these elements make up the Sweatlodge (Wright 1991:164-165). The Sweatlodge is *the* important religious institution in the Plateau, and the ideology is shared among Plateau tribes.

An important aspect of Plateau religion is shamanism. An interesting observation by Cox was made as early as 1814, when he visited a small tribe consisting of about fifteen families, halfway between Spokane House and Chaudiere Falls (Kettle Falls). The chief of this place wore a woman's hairstyle, but had a beard and male voice. He was regarded with awe by both genders who looked on him as more than human. This personage was of a calm and rather stern demeanor. He was always attended everywhere by two to three children. The latter caught his horses, collected provisions, made fires and cooked his meals. In turn, the chief arranged their marriages and helped to set up their households. Afterwards, he selected from "their largest and poorest families a fresh set of juvenile domestics." The parents were happy with the arrangement. The Europeans found him wise and dignified. The chief commented on changes of weather, and his opinion was deemed oracular, and he was seldom mistaken in his predictions. This person was obviously a shaman as well as a berdache. His dwelling had dried foods, and in times of scarcity, he shared foods liberally among the tribe as chiefs are supposed to do (Cox 1957:190).

Assessment - Mourning Dove's autobiography is an excellent resource on Colville Indian culture because it is an insider's view, and deals with subjects not ordinarily found in ethnographies. It was published after Chance's two works on the group, so he did not have access to it. Her valuable information includes the observation that salmon appeared to be plentiful for everyone at Kettle Falls in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The culture that Mourning Dove describes is firmly in the Plateau pattern. Cox's and Louie's observations on Plateau religion are unique in the literature, but fit into what is already known.

Linguistic and Ethnic Affiliations of the Colville

The Sanpoil, Lakes and Colville tribes spoke dialects of the Okanogan-Colville language, a member of the Interior Salish division of the Salishan Language Family. The collective Native name for this language is *nsilxtsin* or "people's speech or language." Because only a very few people speak the native languages today, differences between the Sanpoil, Lakes, and Colville languages have largely disappeared. The only significant dialect differences still remaining are with the Okanogan continuum: the Northern and Southern Okanogan, Similkameen Okanogan, and Methow. That is, the two language groups differ more from each other, but are similar within each group. The two groups are similar enough to be called the Okanogan-Colville language. Bouchard and Kennedy estimate that only about 100 people speak any of these dialects fluently today; almost all are elders plus a few middle-aged people. They estimate that the languages will disappear completely within two generations. (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984).

Village Maps and Other Locations

The aboriginal territory of the Colville is shown in Figure 4. Villages of the Colville Indians and other locations important to them are provided on maps beginning with Figure 6, after the narrative of Lakes and Sanpoil-Nespelem cultures. The series of maps delineates the entire Lake Roosevelt bed, with Colville, Lakes, Sanpoil, and Nespelem villages intermixed in many areas. There are no boundaries among the tribes except at the water's edge. Consequently, the maps are presented as a unit.

THE LAKES (SINJAXTEE) INDIANS

Location

The Lakes Indians originally lived around Arrow Lakes in British Columbia (see Fig. 4). Teit (1930:214-125) believed that the Lakes and Colville were originally one people and the Lakes were the offshoot of the Colville. The Lakes were first noted by Thompson in 1811 and Ross Cox in 1814 (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:118). John Work counted 138 Lakes people in 1829. He noted that they inhabited the Columbia from the Athabasca portage to the vicinity of modern Northport, Washington. Spier said that their lands were mostly in Canada along the Columbia River and Arrow Lakes from near Revelstoke south to the border. They had eight main villages on the Columbia in Washington State, which went as far south as Marcus, their southern boundary (Spier 1974:11-12). Samuel Parker reported that the Lakes numbered 500 in 1837. This is a notable discrepancy and Bouchard and Kennedy (1984:118) doubt Parker's report. On the other hand, Work's estimate seems very low and the low count could have been a result of epidemics.

Because of the Lakes' unique habitat, tribal organization developed among them. Ray speculates that their feeling of tribal unity grew out of their habitat, which consists of a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers. This allowed for intensive social intercourse and social cooperation. A large dominant village was located near the site of Marcus (Ray 1939:12). Ray believes that the line dividing the Lakes and Colville was at Kettle Falls. Whether they occupied the banks of the Columbia north of Kettle Falls only in the post-contact period or not is open to question, according to Bouchard and Kennedy (1984). The Lakes themselves say that anything north of Kettle Falls was their territory (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:119-120). Swanton (1979:43) notes that they were located on both sides of the Columbia River from Kettle Falls to the Canadian line, and their territory included the valley of Kettle River, the Kootenay River from its mouth to the first falls, and the region of the Arrow Lakes, British Columbia.

There has been little scholarly work published on Lakes culture. Ray (1939:24) was able to say that the Lakes had a female chief who was highly respected, but nothing has reached print regarding this woman except that remark. The only source for the Lakes known to me is by Wynecoop and Clark (1985), a book which is privately printed, and generally unavailable. The document is 101 pages long, nicely printed and designed.

Nancy Perkins Wynecoop and N. Wynecoop Clark -
In the Stream: An Indian Story

The book consists of the personal memories and the ancestral traditions of Wynecoop's grandmother, Able-One, who was born circa 1815. Her family's winter campground was around Kettle Falls, or as the Indians called it, the Growling Waters (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:4, 2).

Social Organization

There were separate entrances for men and women in a Lakes longhouse. Firepits were placed in the center. All sat with their feet to the fire, leaning on logs covered with fir boughs. Grass was piled over the boughs to form a cushion. The long winter evenings were spent in sewing and weaving by the women, and the making of weapons and tools by the men. Storytelling was common in the winter (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:2-4).

Disease struck their people in 1815. Wynecoop thought it was probably diphtheria. Her grandmother had three brothers and a sister buried in the sand bank of the Columbia River opposite Marcus as it stood before the building of Grand Coulee Dam. There were hundreds of children of the Colville tribe buried there as well, killed by the epidemic. The cemetery was moved when the dam was built (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:3).

The training of boys was done secretly by men "in their own quarters." As soon as a boy could walk alone, he drew away from his mother to be absorbed into manhood (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:4). This kind of training would not be found in most Plateau societies, but the Lakes apparently had unique cultural traits due to their relative geographic isolation.

Able-One told her granddaughter, Wynecoop, about some of the Lakes women's customs in the past. The women sang a Song of Fruitage which said, "This is the wish of our womanhood. Let the bough bend with fruit and the ground heave up with roots." "Let our bark baskets overflow and supplies flow through our hands." Then a dance followed. The purpose of the song and ritual was to encourage nature: it was an invitation for growth. Each woman held a pine cone high as a symbol of fruitage (presumably she means fertility), and a piece of bark to represent baskets for filling. The chief's wife went to where her root digger was stored in a rawhide case (the storage of root diggers in a case is new information), met the dancers and held the root digger high into the air. This signified a wish for plenty of camas and roots (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:5).

The women dancers went from camp to camp (presumably Able-One meant from lodge to lodge) until every woman and girl had joined the circle around the encampment. The dancing started about 10 AM and lasted until the sun set. Then they had the one meal of the day (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:6).

The next morning, the women gathered in the central opening where the men had built a bonfire. The men served them food as a sign of cooperation. Only those who had been cleansed by the sweatbath were allowed to come near the sacred food. The salmon trout which had been caught and cooked were placed by the men before the women, who helped themselves to the fish. Every part was eaten and the bones carefully placed on plates of bark. Then the bark, bones, and roasting spits were carried to the fires to be burned. The women withdrew while the men burned every token of the day's worship (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:6). It is uncertain from this account if they were celebrating the First Fruits or Roots Ceremony, or the Salmon Ceremony. The two ceremonies might have been confused in Able-One's mind. Nevertheless, the Lakes seems to be a little unusual in either case, as this is unique information in the literature.

By noon, the fish traps were being tended by the men who carried the captured fish to the women. The latter cleaned the fish and threw the remains back into the water as food for the living fish. (Many tribes will not do this.) The cleaned meat was packed into grass bags for carrying to their Columbia River camps (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:6).

Winter lodges were built at Trees-in-the-Water, a point just opposite Marcus as it stood before the Dam was built. In passing, Able-One mentioned a men's campfire (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:9). Gender separation appeared to be well-marked in Lakes culture.

Able-One was four years old when there was an incident with a bear, and the bear was thereafter considered to be her guardian spirit (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:11-12).

Able-One described the fishing and mentioned that as with all other important tasks, the men went through regular purification and strict isolation before embarking on their work. No women were allowed to touch or go near the fishtrap while the salmon ran. To overcome Able-One's fear of water, her mother asked her husband, the chief, to let the child sleep on a swing platform for one night over the fishing site to overcome her fear of water. The chief said, "Go make yourselves clean and ask the fish not to forsake us." In other words, Able-One's mother had to go through the sweatlodge purification plus sexual abstinence as preparation for a religious situation. Purification was performed, the child spent the night suspended over the water, and overcame her fear. The fish continued to run (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:13-15).

A comment regarding Able-One's uncle was made by her mother, which places the Lakes firmly into general Plateau culture. The uncle would sometimes leave his family for months "without support." (The comment reflects a post-contact period.) "We have become related to many tribes through your uncle, for there are many reports of his children." She complained that the sons that should have strengthened their own tribe (after the diphtheria epidemic) were instead strengthening the tribes of others. His name was appropriately, Lodges-in-Many-Lands (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:18). As noted above, many young men followed this pattern, usually without disruptive consequences, but at a time when population numbers were decreasing, the availability of labor and the creation of the next generation were matters for anxiety.

The authors mention the "lower Columbians," which probably means the Colville tribe around Kettle Falls. The emblem of a man of this group was Wolf, while the emblem of the "upper Columbians," probably the Lakes, was the Rocky Mountain Goat. The Goat tribe is also mentioned. The rabbit and eagle are also referred to in the Goat tribe, but the Goat is the main emblem. (These references to tribal totems are unique in Plateau literature,

except for Ackerman's 1994 article.) A pole stood in the center of the lodge, topped by a goat skull with clusters of goat hoofs intermingled with goat hair, eagle feathers, and rabbit skins (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:19, 21).

When it was time for a girl to marry, her mother made a proposal of marriage to the boy's mother, carrying gifts with her typical of those that a woman would provide for her family. At one particular marriage ceremony, the girl was from the Goat tribe and the boy from the Wolf (Colville) tribe. What is particularly interesting is that the young man was destined to become the chief of the "Goat" (Lakes) tribe because the then chief's sons had died (probably diphtheria) and the bridegroom was marrying the chief's niece (his daughter was too young to marry, and a niece stands in the daughter relationship to a man.) This is not unusual, as several examples in which a man becomes chief of his wife's group is known. The young couple could choose to live with either his tribe or hers, usually. Hers offered the chiefly inheritance in time. Formally, the bridegroom declared himself a member of her tribe at the wedding ceremony (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:19-21, 23).

The narrative refers to an aunt who had "the task of teaching all of our past history" including the telling of myths, which was viewed as a kind of history (Wynecoop and Clark 1985:25). Such a "family historian" is noted in the modern day at least for the Moses-Columbia and the Coeur d'Alene (Ackerman 1994), and he or she also preserves knowledge regarding the ancestors.

There is a suggestion of separate winter dwellings for men and women in Wynecoop's narrative, but she does not make it clear. Bouchard and Kennedy (1984:117) refer to William Elmendorf's unpublished field notes on the Lakes that indicate separate entrances for men and women into the lodge. Elmendorf added that a woman could be killed for lifting the men's doormat, which seems a bizarre threat in the context of overall Plateau culture. Elmendorf also noted that women had their own private lodge surrounded by a pole palisade placed in an isolated part of camp. Here, women stayed during their menses, children were born, unmarried girls were secluded, and elderly women (widows?) lived with their young female relatives. Menstrual lodges in the Plateau fit into this description except for the elderly women, and perhaps the unmarried girls. Certainly, during her first menses, a girl was secluded, but Wynecoop and Clark's implication is that they were there all the time. If so, Lakes culture is an interesting variant of the Plateau pattern, but we have already seen that the Lakes segregated the sexes more than other Plateau cultures.

Assessment

Wynecoop and Clark's narrative definitely describes a Plateau group, but one that is a notable variation from the general descriptions of other Plateau cultures originating in later times. Perhaps each tribe or band was more isolated in the early 1800's than later, so each developed their own slightly different culture that blended more with each other after intertribal contact became more common. It is unlikely that the horse made that much difference culturally; certainly the Lakes did not use horses as they could not ride them in their terrain. Perhaps the narrative could be interpreted as something of a fantasy that an old woman misremembered, but enough rings true so that the rest certainly needs serious consideration. There are definitely hints of some of Lakes uniqueness in other groups. A Methow consultant said that his group used to have a sacred animal. He could barely remember that it was Mourning Dove. The Yakama animal was Grizzly Bear. So the Lakes narrative in that respect is not so strange. It may only be describing an older phase of the culture. The sexual segregation is stronger than recorded in other ethnographies, but sexual segregation does occur elsewhere, especially ritually. Even today, an elderly Okanogan woman washes the clothes of male and female members of her family separately. Able-One's narrative is also reminiscent of Kennedy's (1975) description of Colville fishing, which included some strange aspects of the Salmon Ceremony including "virgins" or at least, abstinent females. The argument for accepting all of Wynecoop's "family history" as reality is persuasive.

Linguistic and Ethnic Affiliations of the Lakes

The Lakes were ethnically most similar to Colville Indian culture, as they were probably an offshoot of the Colville, as noted above. See this heading under the Colville for a discussion of the Lakes language.

Village Map

The aboriginal territory of the Lakes is shown on Figure 4. Maps of the villages of the Lakes people will be presented after the next section.

THE SANPOIL AND NESPELEM

Verne F. Ray - *The Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington.*

The Sanpoil and Nespelem were described by Verne F. Ray in his 1932 monograph, *The Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington*. This monograph has served as the basic example of a Plateau culture in the anthropological literature, and because of this, the monograph will be reported in some detail. Ray himself believes that along with a few other Plateau cultures, the Sanpoil and Nespelem are typical of an older strata of Plateau culture (Ray 1932:10). Ray treats the two groups of people as one, as they are closely intermarried and they share the same culture and language.

These two groups, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, never became parties to treaties with the United States; they were "non-treaty" Indians. They were mostly ignored by the government, and lived unnoticed until 1872. In that year, the Colville Indian Reservation was created by Executive Orders of April 9, 1872, and July 2, 1872. Since no treaty was ever made with these groups, the United States simply took possession of their country, except for portions set aside for their occupancy. The Sanpoil and Nespelem became an unwilling part of the reservation (Ray 1932:3).

Ray's study was begun in 1928, 56 years after the Sanpoil and Nespelem became part of the reservation. Ray made several following visits for the monograph, the last in 1930. He obtained most of his information from John Tom, Bob Covington, and William Burke. John Tom never learned English, and Bob Covington translated for him. Ray named three others who also contributed information, including Jim James, the famous Sanpoil chief (Ray 1932:3).

Location

Originally, the names Sanpoil and Nespelem were applicable only to two settlements among many other groups that occupied a certain portion of the Columbia River. Government agents and traders extended those names erroneously to others in the vicinity. Sometimes Sanpoil included the Nespelem, sometimes not. The people themselves did not adopt these names. They still use the old village group name, consisting of the village name plus prefix and suffix (Ray 1932:9). Their former territory extended up the Sanpoil River near the vicinity of Republic. Along the Columbia River, the western boundary between the Sanpoil and Nespelem was at Grand Coulee. The northeastern boundary extended along the Kettle River south to Hunters and included the mouth of the Spokane River (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:41).

Though politically autonomous, all villages from the Nespelem River to Hunters were culturally and linguistically identical, and they formed social, not political units. These villages had closer ties with each other than with the Colville or Southern Okanogan. The Southern Okanogan were affiliated with each other to the exclusion of up-river villages. The Colville probably had true tribal organization in that they had a group name (Ray 1932:9).

The Sanpoil and Nespelem are separated by the Sanpoil Mountains along the Ferry County - Okanogan County boundary line. Important ceremonies were held in both areas. Ray notes that the use of "Sanpoil" in his book includes Nespelem unless otherwise noted (Ray 1932:9).

Geographically, the region consists of mostly treeless deserts with a great range of temperature. The hills have trees where hunting was done mostly in the fall. The permanent settlements were on the Columbia in the winter, since the climate is milder near the water and driftwood was available (Ray 1932:12).

Since all villages were located along the Columbia River, the boundary points on the river were well delineated, much more so than for the rest of the territory. The non-river territory was used for hunting and root gathering. The area recognized as belonging to the Sanpoil was about 1600 square miles. It included eighty-five miles of the Columbia and both sides of the river between Miles and Hunters (Ray 1932:13). (For map of Sanpoil and Nespelem territory, see Fig. 4, for village locations, see Figs. 6-17).

Most of the old villages have been abandoned, but Ray obtained the locations of the traditional villages from his informants who knew about them first-hand. Village #15 (Ray 1932:17-18) is the village that gives its name to the entire people known as the Sanpoil. It was located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. The area was very favorable for salmon fishing. Other ethnic groups utilized the Sanpoil fishing site, and the numbers of people swelled to about 400 during the summer. In the winter, the population dwindled to approximately 79-100.

There were a series of camps that recognized a headman rather than a chief. Some camps were occupied only in winter, or only in summer (Ray 1932:18). The largest winter settlement of the Sanpoil (#16), about 300 people, was located at Whitestone. In the summer, about fifty people remained to fish, while the rest moved to #15 for the fishing (Ray 1932:18).

The population was decimated by epidemics. The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 killed 1/3 to 1/2 of the population. Smallpox struck again in 1846 and 1852-53. Measles appeared in 1847. Further population decrease occurred through venereal disease and the use of liquor. Mooney's estimate of Sanpoil population of 800 is too low in Ray's judgment. He estimates that they numbered about 1300. The people of the area often went to Kettle Falls or the Spokane River to fish during the summer, making dependable estimates difficult. Ray estimates that the aboriginal population numbered between 1600-1700. Between 1860-1890 the death rate was very high, but by 1932, their numbers became stable. (Ray 1932:21-24).

Language

The Sanpoil and Nespelem spoke a dialect of Interior Salish. All neighboring dialects were intelligible to them except Columbia and Spokane, though these languages were known by many individuals (Ray 1932:9).

Pattern of Life

Ray says that the dominant cultural trends were pacifism and the equality of men. Pacifism was believed in so strongly that raiding parties went unavenged. After one raid, some men pursued the offenders, but the chief dissuaded them from retaliation. Keeping peace between peoples was a widespread ideal in the Plateau, due to their economic interdependence (Anastasio 1972). Ray notes that the ideal of peace was even more important within the group than outside it. The aggressive man was shunned. One of the chief's main duties was to keep peace within the community (Ray 1932:25).

Such an attitude was necessary when ten to twenty people lived together under one roof. Quarrels within such groups arose only infrequently. If a person became miffed, he could move elsewhere; otherwise, he kept quiet. For instance, if a man lost his wife to his brother and decided not to take revenge, he was commended for his restraint (Ray 1932:25).

There were no class distinctions among the Sanpoil, and no slavery in this group, although the latter occurred occasionally elsewhere in the Plateau. Any man was eligible to become chief. Every adult citizen, man and woman, was a member of the general assembly. Wealth was rare, and when it occurred, it did not endow that person with superior status. Prestige came from achievement, which could be attained in a variety of ways. Salmon and meat catches were evenly divided. Salmon taken with a spear, however, belonged to the individual spearman. All of economic life was organized around the principle of equality and sharing. Stealing was almost unheard of (Ray 1932:25-26).

There was equality also in the quest for supernatural power. Every person could win access to power through personal effort. Pacifism was a principle foreign to the Plains, and equality was foreign to the Northwest Coast peoples. On this basis, Ray denied that the Plateau was merely a cultural mix of Northwest Coast and Plains traits, as was generally believed before Ray did his work on the Plateau (Ray 1932:26-27).

The Yearly Cycle

Underground houses were deserted at the first sign of spring and people went to nearby temporary camps around March to seek fresh food. The men gathered shell fish and hunted fowl and rabbits, while the women dug a few early roots (Ray 1932:27).

In early April, people went to the root digging grounds on the plains south of the Columbia River. They dismantled the winter mat houses and cached them. Village members did not move as one group but in family groups (Ray 1932:27).

The First Roots Ceremony, during which the first roots were ceremonially eaten, was held in early spring. Thereafter, the women could dig roots at will, and became extremely busy doing so. The men were somewhat less occupied at this time. They hunted rabbits and antelope, but also spent much time at camp gambling and gossiping. Fishing season was their busy time (Ray 1932:27).

Fishing began about May 1 in this area with the capture of sturgeon and small fish. Then trout and salmon came upstream. Most people stayed at the fishing grounds nearest their village, but some preferred to go further afield. The largest traps were set at the mouth of the Sanpoil River, the mouth of the Spokane River, and Kettle Falls. These drew people from all over the area from several ethnic groups. A First Salmon Ceremony was necessary, which lasted for five days. Thereafter, fishing activity was intense and lasted until August. Salmon was distributed to everyone. Visitors arrived and left, and gambling was rampant. Women cooked and dried salmon and gathered berries when they could (Ray 1932:28).

In the fall, people broke up fishing camps and went into the mountains for hunting and for gathering more roots. Some people went to other fishing grounds to get silver and dog salmon, using canoes or seines. The fall salmon had to be smoked, as the sun was no longer hot enough to dry the fish (Ray 1932:28).

Winter villages were reoccupied around October. Dried foods, which they lived on for most of the winter, were placed in storage. During this period, women made baskets, mats, and clothing. Men occasionally hunted, as the hunt provided the only fresh food during this period. The midwinter dances were held and might last for two months in various villages. That is, first one village would have a dance, then another, and people would attend as many as they could in their vicinity (Ray 1932:28).

The Daily Round

The day began before sunrise. The old woman of the house lit the fires, then wakened the children and had them run to bathe in the river. The children plunged into the water two or three times, and then ran back to the fires. While the children were drying off, the female elder harangued the children as to the ideals of good behavior. The younger women then arose to begin their day, and the men wakened more leisurely (Ray 1932:29).

The younger women went out to gather, while the children played. The older women did a few household chores, while the men went to their sweat lodges or fishing platforms. Women returned about 10 AM and made a meal; salmon and berries was usual. It seemed they ate altogether during Ray's visits, though another account notes that the men ate first (Ackerman 1982). The evening meal was served at dusk (Ray 1932:29).

Houses and Household

There were three kinds of residences: the winter mat house, the semi-subterranean lodge, and the summer mat lodge. Additionally, there was a mat hut used when traveling, a menstrual lodge, and a sweat lodge. In post-contact times, the canvas covered tipi replaced the mat hut for summer use. The semi-subterranean lodge is the older housing type and was falling into disuse at time of contact (Ray 1932:31). The winter mat lodge was always about sixteen feet wide, but varied in length. It could house two to eight families (Ray 1932:32).

If a death in the family occurred in the winter, all parts of the house were burned except the mats. Every winter the house was taken apart anyway, but the poles were cached. The poles were not used again for a house, though the mats were reused. For rebuilding a winter house, a new location was sought, perhaps in the same general vicinity, very likely on a clean site without the debris that collected around a dwelling. Mats were reused in temporary huts too. At the fishing grounds, the summer mat houses were rectangular flat-roofed structures. It housed several families, all related (Ray 1932:33-34).

Household Articles

The women made coiled baskets from cedar roots. These served as water carriers and containers, cooking utensils, cups, and hats. Cedar was scarce in Sanpoil country. They had to travel to the present-day Republic area to

get it (Ray 1932:35). Indian hemp and similar materials were used to make soft sided bags. Hemp grows up to five feet tall in damp ground, and was twisted into fiber (Ray 1932:36). Mats were made of this material too (Ray 1932:38-39).

Some pottery was made of sun-hardened clay, and covered with fish-skin for carrying water. The Sanpoil were the only Plateau people who made this kind of artifact. Metal buckets replaced these objects in post-contact times. Clay was also used for making the head of dolls, but never used for making pipes. Only stone was used for pipes (Ray 1932: 39-40).

Mortars for grinding vegetal matter were made of wood or rawhide, seldom stone (Ray 1932:41). Pestles were made of stone, sometimes wood, and were long and slender, 6-16 inches long. Wooden dishes and spoons were manufactured. The dishes were communal and everyone helped himself with a spoon. Short pointed sticks were used as forks and flint knives were used for cutting tough food. Clam shells were used for spoons. Mats served as dishes for dry food. Members of a family did not have individual spoons, but passed one around (Ray 1932:42).

Stone hammers, drills and knives, bone wedges, and wooden mauls were once used. They used fire drills, which were rolled between the hands. A "slow match" enabled one to carry a fire around for two to three days. At a village, fires were almost never allowed to go completely out. Camp fires were banked with root wood so it would smolder till morning (Ray 1932:42-43).

Needles were made from fragments of the legbone of a deer. Sewing bags were made of buckskin. Rope was a very important item as mats and soft-sided bags were formed from the rope or twine (Ray 1932: 44).

Clothing and Personal Decoration

The Sanpoil said that they had three modes of dress in the past. The first traditional garments were woven from bast fibers, which are pounded woody plant fibers. These were replaced by untailored buckskin. This second period ended within the lifetime of the parents of Ray's consultants. The most recent period was characterized by tailored buckskin of the Plains type, the tradition probably coming in with the horse (Ray 1932:45-47).

In the summer, the aboriginal dress for men (the first kind remembered) was the breechcloth, and not even that when traveling alone or in the company of men only. There were no foot coverings. Women wore a poncho-like garment and breechcloths or aprons and nothing else. The winter dress of both sexes was the poncho, woven of the inner bark of the western clematis, Indian hemp, or other similar materials (Ray 1932:45). Fur robes were used in the winter. When the Plains clothing type was adopted, more sexual differentiation was expressed in dress. Twined basketry hats were used, but were not common among the Sanpoil and Nespelem. They were more popular in other tribes. Children wore no clothing whatever until near the age of puberty (Ray 1932:47-48).

Scallops or fringes at the bottom of a shirt indicated that the wearer was a healer of a particular disease. The cut of the fringe indicated what type of healing power the person possessed. Some women healed problems of menstruation: this was symbolized by a wide band of red painted around the bottom of the skirt, indicating that the wearer was "standing in her own blood that deep" (Ray 1932:49).

The symbol of a shaman consisted of red bands around the arms or body of the shirt or dress. Such persons also wore spangles of red feathers, or porcupine quills. When feathers and quills were combined, the shaman was indicated to be very powerful (Ray 1932:49).

Holes all over the shirt indicated that the owner was immune to injury from arrows or bullets. A string of hemp or a buckskin thong around the forehead meant the person was to become a shaman. If a young man wore his forelocks tied erect, he announced that he had fishing power (Ray 1932: 50-51).

Facial painting was done for decorative, ceremonial, and practical purposes. It was done for winter ceremonials, and before a shaman treated a patient. Facial paint was also done to escape or avoid illness, or withstand the cold. Some designs were dictated by a guardian spirit, and some were repeated more than others. Red was the most utilized color. Shamans did not paint designs. Instead, they painted the face and neck solidly in red, though one variation consisted of half red and half yellow. The backs of hands were painted, but not the body. Both sexes used the same designs (Ray 1932:51-52).

There were many ways to dress hair (Ray 1932:52-54). Sunflower roots were macerated for shampoos. Children washed their hair everyday, adults a little less often. Children bathed in cold water to build up endurance, while adults used the sweat lodge to get clean for ceremonial purposes. Adults remained inside a sweat lodge only for five to eight minutes and then plunged into cold water. They repeated the process for an hour or so (Ray 1932:55).

Subsistence

Fishing

Ray says that salmon and steelhead trout were the main articles of subsistence. As noted above, several authors contradict Ray and state that vegetal foods were the most important articles of subsistence, followed by fish. Some fish were eaten as fresh food, but the greater part was dried and stored for the winter. No other river in the world has been as productive of salmon as the Columbia. Of the five species of salmon once inhabiting the Columbia, four reached Sanpoil country. These were the chinook or king salmon, the silver or white salmon, the humpback or pink salmon and the dog or chum salmon. The sockeye salmon did not often make it past the mouth of the Okanogan River (Ray 1932:57).

These fish were present from May to November in the middle Columbia. Some were found even later, but were not edible. Steelhead trout ran from early March to July. They varied from ten to fifteen pounds in weight, and from two feet to thirty inches in length. Following them were the Chinook, which ran from May to July. The Chinook averaged twenty-two pounds, but occasionally a single fish weighed 100 pounds. The silver and dog salmon both came in the latter part of August or early September and ran through November. They weighed only about six pounds. Other fish utilized included sturgeon, eel, whitefish, suckers, chub, and trout. Some shellfish were used. Intensive fishing began around May 1 in the area (Ray 1932:57-58).

It was necessary to have a rapids for spear fishing. Spear fishing was profitable only where the fish were forced into narrow passages, as in rapids. Weirs were built to further restrict their choice. Channels were excavated while the water was low so that the fish had to run in the channels. The bottom of the channel was filled with white quartz rocks so the fish could be more readily seen by the spearmen (Ray 1932:58-59).

The actual spearing of fish was done from a staging, which was triangular in shape, and built from the bank to the inshore side of the channel (Ray 1932:59). In smaller streams, spearing was done from the bank or by wading into the water. Platforms were required only on the Columbia and at certain points on the Spokane and Okanogan rivers. A fishing station was common property. Only one man at a time used the platform, but every man present was entitled to a turn until he had at least one fish. A man could spear only one-half hour at a time because of the strain on the eyes from the sun reflecting on water (Ray 1932:60).

Trap fishing was more productive. In Sanpoil territory, the principal traps were near the mouth of the Sanpoil River, and below the falls of the Nespelem River. Traps in the smaller streams also were very productive. Only a single trap was usually used, but the Sanpoil and Nespelem rivers could accommodate two or even three traps. Many Sanpoil went to Kettle Falls because of its productivity. A large trap was also placed by the Spokan Indians near the mouth of the Spokane River, and many Sanpoil went there to fish. There were privately owned traps in small streams. Some dipnetting was done as well (Ray 1932:66-67).

The Salmon Chief

The Salmon Chief was in charge of all activities having to do with communal traps. He kept the chief of the group informed concerning the activities but did not answer to him: he was completely independent. He was usually a shaman with Salmon Power, though not always. The Salmon Chief tended to be a hereditary office, according to Ray, but since it was necessary to have the correct guardian spirit, the assembly might choose someone not in the same hereditary line (Ray 1932:69-70).

The Salmon Chief decided when to construct the weir-trap and appointed those who were to do the work. He selected the site and the materials and helped build it. He supervised the First Salmon Ceremony, and it was his responsibility to make sure no salmon were taken before the ceremony was complete. After that, he distributed the fish, and appointed those who were to empty the trap. These men removed the fish from the trap, four to five at a

time, strung them on a willow pole and carried them to the distributing grounds where the women were waiting (Ray 1932:70).

All fish were distributed equally among those present. It did not matter if one were a stranger, visitor, or resident. Fish were given to the women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the distribution (Ray 1932:70).

If the number of fish taken were small, the Salmon Chief notified everyone to stay away. He then went to the trap and prayed all night to his spirit to increase the number of fish. This usually worked (Ray 1932:70).

Women had to observe tabus during this time. No woman could take water from a stream in which the trap was located. She could not visit the trap or walk on the trails leading to it. This was a menstrual tabu. It was up to the Salmon Chief to repair the problem if a tabu was broken (Ray 1932:70). As noted above, men had to follow certain tabus too.

The First Salmon Ceremony

The first few salmon were captured and treated in a ritual manner. The fish were roasted at first, never boiled. The backbone and back of the head were removed, and placed somewhere safe, as in a tree. This procedure ensured the run. For the five days of the First Salmon Ceremony, only the appointed men could eat the salmon. After the first five days, salmon were distributed to everyone at the fishing site. At this time the salmon could be boiled, but the bones could not be stepped on or over, a tabu which is reminiscent of the menstrual tabu. This also ensured the salmon run. (Note the variations of this ceremony among the Colville and Lakes). Salmon were always placed on sunflower leaves (Ray 1932:71-74).

The women dried the salmon catch on drying racks. They also dried other varieties of fish, but not in as large a quantity as salmon. The stored fish were placed in hemp bags, sewn shut, and stored on elevated platforms or in storage houses back in the winter villages (Ray 1932:75).

Hunting

Deer were the most important game and were hunted from November to March. They constituted a fresh food to supplement the dried foods in the winter. Elk were also hunted, but they were few in numbers. Some hunting occurred in the spring. The people got rabbits, marmots, fowl, and other small game. Between summer and fall fishing season, when women were picking berries, the men were hunting antelope or smaller game. There was almost no hunting in the summer as fishing was too important (Ray 1932:77).

Deer hunting was usually done in groups. They did not have to go far to hunt, as game was once plentiful. Buffalo Ridge above Lake Annum (Buffalo Lake) and the Coyote Creek hills in the northern part of Sanpoil territory were often used to hunt. In sineka'lt and Colville territories, hunting went on in the Huckleberry Mountains. The Sanpoil and Nespelem often hunted in those territories with their hosts. Ray says hunting provided the same amount of food as roots and berries, but as noted above, several scholars dispute this proportion (Ray 1932:77).

Good hunting leaders usually organized a hunting party, though anyone could do so. The good leaders were more successful, as they had the proper guardian spirit for it, so people joined their parties. Ten days of sweating by the hunters were needed before any hunting trip, and they also had to observe sexual continence. It was most important for the hunt leader to follow the rules. Ray notes that the sweat bath promoted the cleanliness needed to disguise the human scent (Ray 1932:77-78).

Women regularly went along on hunting trips lasting longer than one day so they could keep the camp, and help with the hunting. They made up one-third of the party. They set up small huts near the mouth of the draw or canyon where the men planned to hunt the next day. The leader directed the other men as to where to stand. He sent two to three hunters up the hill on either side of the valley where they would spread out to guard the upper end of the valley. Then the rest of the hunters spread out in the bottom of the valley and advanced. They were to find the deer and drive them to the head of the draw towards the other men who would kill the game. The women prevented the deer from escaping the valley in their direction. Success depended on the spirit power of the leader. If they found no deer, he sought advice from his guardian spirit in a dream (Ray 1932:78).

Deer were also hunted by driving them into water where they could be easily killed. Dogs were used for chasing them into the water or over a cliff (Ray 1932:81).

Brown and grizzly bear were hunted by individuals, both for their flesh and hides. The fur was used for robes and bedding. The bears were killed while they ate berries, or they were smoked out of their dens, and then killed with bow and arrows. Grizzly bear hunting was not undertaken by the average man, but if one had the right guardian spirit (grizzly bear, field mouse, mountain squirrel, or gopher; friends of the grizzly), it was feasible. If by chance the hunter was injured, he was certain to recover (Ray 1932:82-83).

Buffalo hunting was minor among the Sanpoil. They went to the Plains with the Spokan, who were always friendly, and both tribes were on peaceful terms with the Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, and Kalispel; all of whom spoke related dialects. Only the buffalo hides were brought back to the Plateau (Ray 1932:85).

Usually one to two weeks were needed for a hunting expedition, including the butchering and drying of the meat. A deer was skinned and butchered at the site of the kill or at the hunting camp. A strong man could carry a full grown deer. Young deer were rarely killed except under extreme need. If the distance to camp was very long, the deer was butchered and skinned, the pieces wrapped in the skin, and carried that way (Ray 1932:91).

A deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. It was pushed in through the back of the lodge, and placed on fir boughs. This prevented a woman from walking over the blood of a deer, who would be insulted if she stepped over any part of the blood or meat. If this happened, no deer would allow itself to be taken by hunters in the future (Ray 1932:91).

Vegetal Foods

Ray calls vegetal foods a valuable supplement to meat and fish, the latter holding first place in the diet. Actually, vegetal foods provided up to one-half or more of the diet in several studies (Ackerman 1971, 1982; Anastasio 1972; Hunn 1981). Camas was the most important root. "A simple ceremony," according to Ray, accompanied the gathering of the first fruits and first roots of the season. At this season of the year, the village group was split into several smaller groups, and so accounts for the lack of elaboration in the rites. The ceremony was repeated with the ripening of each important fruit or root (Ray 1932:97). In the 1990s, this rite is more elaborate, as the community is not dispersed into the countryside. Guests from outside the immediate community and from other reservations attend.

Ray says that the chief or "an old man" "designated" several women to gather the food and arrange the feast. The food was carried to the camp and laid out on tule mats. The chief made a speech, each person said a few words, and then the feast followed. Only the designated food was eaten--other kinds of food were not provided. It was obligatory to steam the roots the first two days; otherwise, the harvest would be slight (Ray 1932:97). In the present, many kinds of food are provided for the ceremony, but the honored foods take precedence. Further, men do not designate the women who gather the food and arrange the feast. These women have already been chosen by the community and hold the office for life: they are gathering leaders similar in function to the Salmon Chief.

The Sanpoil digging grounds, consisting of over a million acres, are located in their territory south of the Columbia River. It is a vast treeless desert, never used for permanent camps, but everyone moved there for digging camas in early April. Families stayed thirty to forty days, which was enough to get a year's supply. Groups of four to five families traveled together. A woman could dig about one-half acre a day, and get a bushel every day. The products of their labor were not pooled, but kept for their immediate family. Ray says each female group recognized an older woman as their leader who chose the fields everyday (Ray 1932:97-98). Again, this is different from contemporary information. Consultants today say that once the Root Ceremony is held, women dig roots independently. No older woman led a group.

Bitterroot was the second most important root. The digging stick was used to dig all kinds of roots (Ray 1932:98). Other tools for the digging task included small coiled baskets or bark baskets that were carried on the belt to hold the produce. Then the baskets were emptied into a larger bag. Digging went on into late May. Once the roots were transported to storage places near the winter quarters, with everyone's assistance, the party traveled to the fishing grounds. Roots were scarce near the fishing grounds and on the north side of the river, and the bitterroot there was not very good (Ray 1932:98-99).

Food Preparation

Food was boiled, roasted in pits, steamed, and parched, that is, dried over a fire. Meat and fish were boiled or roasted in an open fire. Boiling was more common, particularly for dried foods. Sunflower seeds were the most important seeds, and were parched (Ray 1932:106-107).

Food was boiled by placing hot rocks in baskets full of water. Wooden tongs were used to transfer round cobbles from fire to basket. Berries or roots were added to dried fish to make a stew (Ray 1932:106-107).

Famines

Famines were not common. The supply of fish was more than adequate, so the failure of hunting parties was not a disaster. The supply of roots was steady, though berries were less available. Carelessness was responsible for acute shortages of food more than natural conditions. Those well-stocked with food shared with others (Ray 1932:107).

Two severe famines were recalled by the Sanpoil. A fall of volcanic dust in the latter part of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century caused a famine. The second famine was the result of a severe earthquake in 1873. All economic pursuits were suspended during these events, and people turned to dancing (praying). When winter came, not enough food had been stored, and people starved. The ash storm was said to have had an especially bad effect on the people because they were too distraught to collect foods (Ray 1932:108).

Social Organization

The basic political unit for the Sanpoil and Nespelem was the village. There was no tribal organization, according to Ray in this monograph, and people were identified by the village from which they came. No term existed in the native language for large political units, but there was a name for the dialectic division. Bonds between Sanpoil villages were social and linguistic. They had common interests and customs, but no political bonds. Theoretically, every village was autonomous. A very small village, however, was often affiliated with the nearest large settlement, expressed by attendance at assemblies and by soliciting the advice of the chief. The very small village named a headman to represent it at the meetings of the larger community. The decisions of the larger village, however, were not binding on the smaller one (Ray 1932:109).

Village composition was fluid. An individual was not bound to any particular village. He could change his residence anytime, selecting as his new home "any village of the group." Families lived in one location for a few years, and then might move to another settlement. A certain proportion of Sanpoil remained in their villages throughout life, but the sedentary group was always in the minority (Ray 1932:109). (See Ackerman 1994 above for rules of affiliation to new communities.)

Residence equaled citizenship. There were always newcomers, and they participated in the politics. They were even eligible to hold office, but they had to be married, defining them as an adult. Young men customarily traveled to other villages between puberty and marriage and temporarily resided there. These individuals had no citizenship privileges. Young women did not travel, but once married, they often moved to other villages with their husbands. The result was that the young men would often marry young women encountered in their travels. The constant intermixture created a feeling of unity among the independent villages. Ray says that one can discern a single people among all the Sanpoil and Nespelem villages if political divisions are ignored (Ray 1932:109-110).

There was no concept of real property. Various villages used the same hunting and berrying grounds in common. The areas were definitely bounded but no effort was made to keep outsiders from making use of the areas (Ray 1932:110).

Chieftainship was hereditary in principle. The order of succession was son, brother, brother's son, etc., but there was no priority over which son: the most suitable was elected by the assembly. The normal successor or the one selected could reject the office. If no one in the hereditary line were available, another person was chosen at large. A chief could also move from his village, so a new chief had to be found to replace him, thus breaking the genealogical line. A chief retained his position until death or voluntary retirement (Ray 1932:110).

The qualities needed in a chief included honesty, sound judgment, even temperament, and being skillful in arbitration. A chief was not wealthy. Informal gifts were made to him by members of the village, because the chief gave out more than he received. Women were not eligible for chieftainship among the Sanpoil as they were among the Lakes and the Southern Okanogan. A chief's family was not given special privileges, but was highly respected (Ray 1932:110-111).

A sub-chief was supposedly chosen by the assembly, but was actually nominated by the chief, and his selection was confirmed by the assembly. Sometimes the sub-chieftainship also followed a hereditary line (Ray 1932:111).

The chief was leader, counselor, and judge. He directed the movements of his people, looked after the general welfare, arbitrated disputes, presided over the assembly, and rendered verdicts in criminal cases. Arbitration of disputes and the judging of criminals were his most important functions. One of his main duties was to preserve tranquillity. To settle disputes, the chief often gave away his own property to soothe feelings. The chief sometimes sought the advice of the sub-chief (Ray 1932:111).

Another official was the spokesman. He stood beside the chief and repeated what the chief said to the audience, while the chief spoke in a low monotone. There were also messengers who were sent to announce meetings, spread news, and carry the messages of the chiefs (Ray 1932:111).

The badge of office for a chief was a headdress with two long buckskin pendants covered with eagle feathers. There were no war chiefs in Sanpoil society. There was a Salmon Chief as described above, but he was more a spiritual than a secular leader (Ray 1932:111).

All adult members of the village, male and female, belonged to the assembly. All had equal rights to speak and vote. The chief called meetings of the assembly, and he referred important matters to the people for decisions. Such matters included war, major group movements, and elections (Ray 1932:112).

The assembly met at the chief's house indoors and met for two to three days. Young unmarried people could listen but not vote. The chief presented the problem, invited certain people to speak, and after that any assembly member could speak. If a decision were necessary, a vote followed. Voting was by acclamation. Meals were served after a decision was reached (Ray 1932:112).

A chief tried a person accused of a crime. Witnesses were heard, evidence examined, the accused was heard, and the chief made a decision. Punishment consisted of a payment of goods or corporal punishment administered by an official lasher, appointed by the chief. Lashing as a punishment was likely the result of white influence (Ray 1932:112-113).

In cases of adultery or witchcraft, action was often taken by the injured person before the chief could act. Matters could be settled by payments. In case of murder, the chief always investigated, unless the two families settled it by payment. The murderer often fled until his relatives could negotiate a settlement. Payment for murder was substantial: several horses, buckskin, and two to three canoes. All relatives of the murderer had to help with the payment. Six murders took place in the lifetime of one consultant, who commented that murders were infrequent before liquor became available (Ray 1932:113).

Stealing, assault, improper sexual relations, and abortion (the last contrary to Ackerman's 1982 information) was punished by lashing.

Warfare was almost unknown to the Sanpoil. No major conflict was recalled by consultants. They were subject to an occasional raid from distant peoples. The main offenders were the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene, and Nez Perce. Raids were made when men were absent, usually during the fall hunting season. Revenge parties were seldom organized and then against the wishes of the chief (Ray 1932:114).

Kinship and Names

A child received its first name before becoming a year old. This name was only the first of a series. Names were of two kinds: ancestral or family names; and names conferred by guardian spirits. It was not uncommon for a person to use two names at the same time, one of each type. Shamans always had two names, using the spirit name

for professional use. Of course, spirit names were not acquired until after initiation at a winter dance. The family name was taken a few years after the death of its original possessor (Ray 1932:113-114).

When an ancestral name was conferred on a child by an elderly relative, guests were present. The deceased was eulogized and advice given to the child. A feast followed and the child was addressed by the new name from that time forward (Ray 1932:114). Ray does not mention a giveaway, which always accompanies a new name today.

Trade and Travel

The Sanpoil took little part in trade, according to Ray. He comments that they may have had little that was unique to offer. They did go to Kettle Falls, and traded tanned buckskins and dried roots for parfleches and buffalo robes (Ray 1932:115). Despite what Ray says, I knew a Nespelem woman who in about 1985 had trading partners and enthusiastically recounted her trades with other people. Perhaps the difference in time accounts for the different perceptions.

At the mouth of the Okanogan River, there was a fair amount of trade. Small parties of Sanpoil also traveled to the mouth of the Wenatchee River for a few weeks for the trading, fishing, and gambling. They obtained clam shell beads, dentalia, and other items there. The Dalles was not directly important to the Sanpoil, and few went there. They did go to buffalo country after advent of the horse and stole horses when they could, like other tribes (Ray 1932:115-117).

The Sanpoil probably obtained horses around 1840 from the Nez Perce. The horses were used for travel around their own territory mostly. The saddle and bridle were diffused with the horse, along with the Plains tipi and the travois. Men usually rode bareback, but sometimes used a pillow or a saddle of rawhide (Ray 1932: 117-118.)

Long distance travel was once done with canoes. The Sanpoil used the Columbia River far into Canada. Little portaging was necessary on the Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kettle, and Spokane rivers. Travel between fishing grounds inspired much traffic as did attending ceremonies in other areas. There were two types of canoes. One was the shovel nose canoe, and the other type had a sharp bow and stern. Rafts were also used for short trips (Ray 1932:118-119). Snowshoes were used for traveling in winter. Burdens were carried with the use of a packstrap or tumpline, which is a strap placed around the forehead and attached to a burden supported on the back (Ray 1932:120-122).

The Cycle of Life

Birth and Infancy

For a first child, expectant parents had a number of tabus to follow. A first-time mother often returned to her mother's house for help during the pregnancy and delivery. The husband stayed with his own people until shortly before birth. The expectant mother was required to take physical exercise, such as swimming, walking, running, and horseback riding. She wakened at sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the day. These measures were designed to increase her strength (Ray 1932:124).

The expectant parents were careful of incurring ill-will from others, especially shamans, for fear they would do magic to harm the unborn baby. There were specific food tabus for both parents. They could not eat speckled trout or the child would cry a great deal. Eating rabbit would give the child weak legs. There were other tabus in this vein (Ray 1932:125).

Shamans could identify the sex of the baby by looking at the woman's back. Barren women often sought out a shaman at one of the winter dances. He/she seated the client before the center pole, and divined why she was childless and whether or not she would have children (Ray 1932:125).

When labor started, the mother went to the menstrual hut with an "old woman," probably her mother or grandmother. Professional mid-wives were unknown (in later times, several women were known as midwives on the Colville Reservation). "The woman who assisted" received no compensation for her services. The mother held on to two stakes driven into the ground during her labor. The baby was delivered on a mat placed below the mother. After delivery, the baby was immersed in cool water which started the child's breathing and cleaned it at the same

time. It was massaged and then wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur. Flattening of the head was never done (Ray 1932:125-126).

The mother was given herbs to prevent excessive bleeding, a possibility that they very much feared. The placenta was buried. The new mother rested for a day, and then took care of the child (Ray 1932:126).

A pregnant woman occasionally went off alone to bear her child. It gave the woman an opportunity to return with a dead baby if she did not want it. She was supposedly severely lashed if found out (Catholic influence was strong in Ray's day), though it was an acceptable thing traditionally. One of Ray's informants noted that such methods of controlling family size happened occasionally (Ray 1932:126).

A shaman or healer was called at childbirth only if difficulties arose. Any shaman would do, but there were shaman specialists in childbirth. He did not touch the patient, but tried to find the cause of the difficulty. If the woman had a miscarriage, the fetus was buried at once (Ray 1932:1126).

Tabus on both parents were observed after childbirth. The mother kept apart from her husband for a month after delivery. Children were nursed two years on the average. A child born out of wedlock was adopted out if the mother did not care to keep it. It usually was kept by the maternal family. Diapers consisted of pieces of buckskin lined with grass. A baby's colic and colds were treated with herbs. No unusual treatment for twins was prescribed (Ray 1932:127).

A cradle board was made only after birth. The baby at first was wrapped in a skin until the board was finished. Between ten days and a month old, the baby was put on the board, which was the same for a boy or a girl (the decorations were different [Ackerman 1978-1995]). When the child began to walk, the board was not used except when traveling or when it wished to sleep (Ray 1932:128).

Childhood

Parents seldom named their own offspring: the first name was not often retained anyway. Ray says that the first name was that of a recently deceased relative (Ackerman [1994] says that came some years later, and Ray said so too, above). Children who cried a great deal were told they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These carnivores located children by their crying (Ray 1932:131).

Corporal punishment was never inflicted by parents. This was done by a whipman in a formal way. If one child in a group misbehaved, the whole group was punished. The children had to lie face down on a blanket, and were given a few blows with a sage brush or willow whip. The whipman then visited all other nearby houses and repeated this treatment. Fighting between children was discouraged. Silence was required, even when playing (Ray 1932:131).

Children ate with their parents sitting by their mother, unless guests were present, and then they ate later. Children were made to bathe in cold water and to run uphill afterwards to build up their strength. They were required to do all tasks they were capable of. Girls did not make baskets until near adolescence, but watched their mother or grandmother and learned by this method (Ray 1932:132-133).

Elders harangued the young with advice, instruction, customs, mores, and traditions of the people. They were told stories during long winter evenings, particularly when it was hard to sleep from the cold. It was an important time for intensive enculturation (Ray 1932:133).

The first game and first fish caught by a boy was followed by a feast. The first roots and first fruits gathered by a girl was also followed by a feast. The feast was not elaborate but it included the child's food. He/she did not eat, as they were the "providers" of the food. Elders spoke to the child, urging hard work so success could be achieved as an adult (Ray 1932:133).

Puberty

A girl was isolated for ten days at puberty, but this was not necessarily coincidental with her first menses. (This seems difficult to accept, because today's female elders do not mention this when discussing the issue.) During this time, she lived in a small hut away from the main settlement. She wore her oldest clothes and her hair

was arranged in a special manner. She was required to run around the hills during the night because she was not supposed to see anyone at this time. During the day, she was secluded in her hut. Meals were brought to her by female relatives. She did no work (sometimes she made tiny baskets and other items for practice - [Ackerman 1995]). At the end of her isolation, she bathed and put on her best clothes and wore adult attire thereafter (Ray 1932:133-134).

During isolation, the girl often received a guardian spirit. This may have been in addition to others she had acquired, or it could have been her only spirit (Ray 1932:134).

A boy was made to exercise by swimming and running at puberty, but there was no real ceremony. If the boy did not have a spirit, he was sent out more often as puberty approached. No one obtained a spirit after puberty (Ray 1932:134).

With each return of the menses, a woman secluded herself. She passed the time in weaving and sewing. She was cared for by a female relative, as the luck of a man would be harmed by the presence of a menstruating woman. She bathed afterwards, and returned home (Ray 1932:134).

There were many remedies known to counteract the deleterious effect of a menstruating woman, so Ray thought that women did not always isolate themselves (Ray 1932:135). The cause may perhaps be due to the fact that the menstrual period can come on suddenly and cause contamination before the woman is aware of it. This kind of occurrence may explain the necessity for the shamanic remedies for menstrual contamination.

Marriage

Love affairs were frowned upon for the young (this is obviously Christian influence). As Ray (1932:135) himself notes, a "considerable amount of true courtship" occurred. This included clandestine meetings, and young men playing songs on the flageolet used specifically in love making.

Love magic was used by those seeking a second mate. The makeup of one love magic is detailed in Ray (1932:136). He says unmarried girls were carefully watched. Some families went so far as never allowing a girl to leave the family house unless accompanied by an older woman and only when necessary. No one but her family was to see her. She did not dig roots or pick berries. Ray's consultant claimed that such a girl was more respected. Ray notes this could not have been a usual practice. The amount of travel, the changes of residence, and visiting would inhibit such a procedure (Ray 1932:136-137).

Boys married around the age of eighteen, and girls between puberty and twenty. Couples could be of considerably different ages. Infant betrothals occurred, but rarely. They were informal agreements between friends, which could be broken by either party. Ray says that unions between people of different dialects seldom occurred, for few persons were bilingual (Ray 1932:137-138). This last custom must have been an effect of restriction to reservations, in my opinion. Ray believes that intermarriage between tribes occurred as a result of the presence of whites. This is incorrect; in fact, just the opposite was true. Traditionally, people married across ethnic and dialectical lines. The information shows that, in Ray's time, more marriages took place among Sanpoil settlements (Ray 1932:138).

Blood relatives were not allowed to marry, even as far as third cousins. First marriages were arranged by parents. The boy's side instigated a marriage proposal; the girl's side was not supposed to (see the opposite in the Lakes account above and Ackerman 1982). Sometimes the consent of the young couple was solicited, sometimes not. Usually, the boy's mother visited the girl's mother. If they agreed, the two fathers consulted, and decided on certain presents. No bartering was involved; it was a reciprocal exchange of presents and an expression of good will. Parents had the final say to a match (Ray 1932:139).

Ray's account of marriage is incorrect in several details. He says that the chief officiated at a marriage ceremony in which he admonished the young couple to take marriage seriously, etc. This has to be an effect of acculturation; an attempt by the Sanpoil to adapt white patterns to their culture. Formerly, the two families made an agreement and had a wedding trade. To return to Ray's account: a feast followed the chief's sermon to the young couple. The society was patrilocal (the young couple living with the groom's family), for matrilocality (the young couple living with the bride's family) would have been disgraceful. This remark too is incorrect, though the Nez Perce used to say the same thing when I was on that reservation in 1965, even though matrilocality was observed on

both the Nez Perce and Colville Reservations. Again, white influence in favor of patrilocality is likely here. Then Ray says that two to three days after the wedding, the groom's parents took gifts to the bride's parents, which included foods such as camas, salmon, and other staples given by the groom's side to the bride's side. This is really surprising as camas is a female product, and the groom's side does not give it to the bride's side. To continue Ray's account, about a month later the groom's parents again visited the bride's parents with gifts. Again an exchange of gifts was made (Ray 1932:140-141). This account is different from my information. The marriage trade goes as follows: the groom's side takes gifts that a man provides to marriage such as meat, fish, rawhide, etc. At that time, the bride's side exchanges gifts that a woman would provide her family such as camas, dried berries, baskets, mats, prepared skins, clothing, etc. Then a few months later perhaps (time is needed to prepare new goods), the bride's side visits the groom's family and a similar exchange takes place. This establishes the two families as affinals or in-laws, and this relationship may continue even if the marriage does not.

Another form of marriage, according to Ray 1932:141-142), is the "common law" marriage recognized after the birth of a child. Mature individuals whose parents were dead and who had been previously married did not go through the marriage exchange. They merely informed the chief that they were now married. Ray also mentions winter dances in which the shaman made matches, and the couple was considered immediately married. Other early observers also noted this form of marriage. Another method of marriage was "under the tent" marriages, where the boy crawled into the tent and into the bed of the girl. If she were quiet, he would be found the next morning by her relatives and they would be married. Ray says the parents could drive him away, but later information notes that this was not done. Elopement was another form of marriage. One consultant told Ray that brides were purchased outright seventy to eighty years before. Ray (1932:142) speculated without coming to a conclusion that this was a past custom and might be an example of the breakdown of social practice due to white influence. What probably happened was that whites thought the preliminary exchange of horses between fathers was a purchase of the bride. This of course confirmed Euro-American prejudice about the immoral practices of other peoples.

Polygyny, in which a man is married to several women, existed. Good hunters, chiefs, and shamans had plural wives. Physical beauty in men was greatly admired, and they could accumulate wives because of it. A man did not have to support all his wives; he could have several in different locations and take turns visiting them. An able bodied woman could take care of herself and her children's economic needs easily. There was much separation and remarriage. One of Ray's consultants could name no man who had not had at least two wives during his lifetime (Ray 1932:143). Apparently, Ray did not ask the women, but the score would have been similar.

The levirate, the marriage of a widow to her deceased husband's brother, and the sororate, the marriage of a widower to his deceased wife's sister, were both practiced, but were not obligatory, according to Ray (1932:144). This is in contradiction to the testimony of contemporary Colville Reservation consultants who note that children would have been torn from their natal households without the custom. With it, the children remained in their household, and a deceased parent was replaced by a surrogate.

In case of adultery, a man could be killed by the husband, and relatives could not retaliate. The woman could be beaten by her husband but he usually refrained. He might take his wife back or turn her out (Ray 1932:145).

When an illegitimate child was born, the mother could be lashed if she did not reveal the name of the father. He was lashed too and had to marry the girl if her parents consented. The child itself was not ostracized (Ray 1932:146). Again, this account is incorrect for traditional times, though it may have happened in the early 1930's when Ray did his studies. Traditionally, people were not punished for having illegitimate children, which is a European concept anyway. "Illegitimate" children were merely adopted by the grandparents, whose right it was to raise the oldest grandchild anyway, legitimate or not. The young mother bore no stigma, and married in due course, and not usually the father of the child.

Ray says prostitution was common, which is incorrect for traditional times. Then he says these women received no payment for their services (Ray 1932:146), which seems contradictory. All the commentary in this vein is a result of Christian and white influence. Ray's consultants probably believed these comments, or they may simply have been following a "party line."

Incest myths involved brother-sister and father-daughter combinations, and both kinds of homosexuality occurred in real life. Informants denied that such incidents happened except among young people. Ray does not discuss berdaches, a custom in which a person takes on the clothing and roles of the opposite sex. Ray notes that

sometimes suicide occurred over love. A forced marriage might result in suicide, though more often, the girl ran away at the first opportunity. Since she was now an adult, having been married, she did as she pleased. Male suicide was not as common as female suicide, though the picture is murky (Ray 1932:146-149).

Death - A corpse was not allowed to stay in the house. A body was wrapped in deerhide and left in the woods or put in a tree. A lonesome spirit would make someone ill, so burial took place as soon as possible, though other accounts note a three day wait. All cemeteries were in rocky places, talus slopes, or sand banks. A shaman presided over every funeral. He rid the grave of the presence of spirits by brushing rosebush branches over the corpse and the hole for the grave. The thorns of the rose were thought to prick the invading sprits and therefore drive them away. Then the shaman stepped aside, and the person's keepsakes, fetishes and ornaments were placed in the grave with him. The body was quickly covered so spirits could not re-enter. A flat rock was placed on the corpse, followed by smaller rocks, gravel, or sand. Grave markers consisted of two or three small split cedar sticks (Ray 1932:149-151).

After burial, the mourners went to the house of the dead person for a feast and the distribution of property. If the house that the person died in was temporary, it was burned. Sometimes the whole settlement moved. The chief mourners and those who had touched the body went through sweating and bathing for about a week (Ray 1932:152-153).

A man did not hunt or fish for a year after his wife's death. All the game would leave the country if he did. He mourned for two years. When the relatives of the deceased felt that mourning had gone on long enough, they visited the deceased's spouse, and provided him or her with new clothes, signaling remarriage and the return to a normal life (Ray 1932:153).

Diversions

Gambling was a feature of Sanpoil culture, and the clever and successful gambler was respected. He was gregarious and popular and enjoyed a good reputation. He was characteristically a traveler; probably an agent of culture exchange. The gambler was quite wealthy, certainly more than the chief and about the same as a shaman. He usually had more than one wife; as being a gambler attracted women. His success was due to the power of his guardian spirit. If his spirit deserted him, he would lose. If he contested with someone with a more powerful spirit, he would again lose (Ray 1932:155).

The most important game was the stick game or lehal. It was played only between people of different villages or groups at any time of the year. During the winter ceremonial season and the fishing season, the greatest number of games were played, since these times were when people were together. Women also played this game, but separately from men. Women also played a dice game. There were games of dexterity, played indoors in the winter by both sexes (Ray 1932:155, 159, 161). There were athletic games, engaged in by both sexes (Ray 1932:164 flw.), and of course, children's games (Ray 1932:166).

All men smoked kinnikinnick. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic healing and assembly meetings (Ray 1932:167-168).

Concepts of the Supernatural

Ray's (1932:169 flw.) discussion of supernatural beings is somewhat incoherent. There was a concept of ghosts, which were dead souls who did not make a speedy trip to the land of the dead, but lingered near people.

Another kind of spirit was the guardian spirit. Every animal known could function as a guardian spirit to human beings. Certain ones assumed that function more than others, however. Natural phenomena also appeared as spirits occasionally. These included whirlwinds, clouds, and lightning. The most powerful abilities were given by grizzly bear, wolf, badger, skunk, flying squirrel, packrat, spider, chicken snake, hawk, and eagle. Some of these powers could be possessed by wicked shamans and included some of the above plus rattlesnake and weasel (Ray 1932:172 flw.).

The guardian spirit always had an animal or other form, but appeared to the initiate in human form. Only after receiving powers and good luck did the initiate see the animal form and realize what kind of power he had been endowed with. When a person died, his spirit became a spirit-ghost. Sometimes such a spirit sought out the child of his former owner, offering to become his/her guardian spirit (Ray 1932:175 flw.).

The Creator Deity was Sweat Lodge. He created animals and spirits and perhaps human beings. He was benevolent and people could sweat and pray to him (Ray 1932:179).

Both sexes could become shamans, but men outnumbered women, according to Ray. A person with, for instance, rattlesnake power could cure himself of snake bite, even if not a shaman. There were two kinds of illnesses: natural and unnatural. For natural illnesses, like colds, injuries, and tuberculosis, people used herbs and roots for a cure, and did not have to be a shaman (Ray 1932:200). The unnatural illnesses were treated by a shaman. These illnesses resulted from the acts of men or spirits. There were five kinds of these illnesses:

1. injuries inflicted by animate beings other than men, such as bears, and snakes, but caused indirectly by the spirits of these beings,
2. diffuse internal sickness included fevers and contagious diseases, which were cured by pulling out objects from the patient,
3. mind illness acquired through shamanistic action. It was activated by pulling out part of the victim's body into that of the shaman,
4. spirit illness, as in the guardian spirit illness. Also one's spirit could be lost by being stolen by a shaman, or being buried with a corpse,
5. magical poisoning - a practice of lay women only. They obtained a piece of the victim's hair or clothing, added ingredients to it, and the mixture was thrown on a refuse heap or put in the victim's food. The victim withered away or got sores over the body. Shamans were often powerless to effect a cure (Ray 1932:200 flw.).

A shaman never volunteered his/her services. Messengers were sent to him/her to request them. Details of curing are recorded on pages 204-207, with anecdotes following.

People used many natural medicines extracted from plants found in the environment. They were common knowledge to everyone and included contraceptives and abortifacients (Ray 1932:215). A list of some of the medicinal plants are found on pages 217-222.

Guardian Spirit Quest - Every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit while only 20-30 percent of girls did (Ackerman [1982] found that 100% of Sanpoil girls sought spirits in the past). A series of quests for power began early. Boys began as young as age eight. The vigil lasted only one night for the Sanpoil. Usually the young had to be cajoled into the quest. An older relative set the time and decided the place where the child was to go, and tutored the child as to what to expect. The child might be told to go to a certain mountain, build a fire, sit between a certain arrangement of rocks and go through the motions of playing a stickgame. The child might be reluctant, but no choice was given him/her (Ray 1932:182).

The supplicant wore few clothes, even in winter. The child deposited an object that the elder had given him/her at the designated site. The supplicant was supposed to stay awake, and at dawn, he/she returned home. If the quest was successful, everyone knew it by the child's behavior. There was a change in manner, and sometimes illness. If the child failed in the quest, he/she was sent out again later on another spirit quest (Ray 1932:183).

A successful quest involved a vision of a human being. The child and the spirit had a conversation in which the spirit revealed its true identity, giving the child a particular talent and general good fortune. Powers given might include a gambling talent, hunting, fishing, warrior, gathering, or basket making skill. The spirit gave the child a song. If the child was to become a shaman, he or she was given stronger powers (Ray 1932:183).

The child forgot his/her vision experience until recalled at a winter ceremony when he/she was aged 25 to 30 (Ackerman [1982] found that the person was as young as 18 or 19). When the spirit intended to make itself known, the person fell into "spirit sickness." A feeling of lonesomeness and despair came to him/her which only the shaman could relieve. At that time, his/her talents were known to the person and to the community, and the shaman was able to define the spirit of the young person, according to his/her talents during the Winter Dance (Ray 1932:186).

The spirit was removed by the shaman during the Winter Dance, so he could hear the nature of the spirit. Then he returned the spirit to the neophyte and he sang the spirit song. The patient took up his/her spirit song and began to recover from the illness. The neophyte sang the new song for about three days thereafter. The patient was

obliged to sponsor a dance in the winter, so the shaman used his power to hold off the spirit until that season (Ray 1932:187).

Winter Dance

Winter Dances lasted for two months around the time of the winter solstice. Ceremonies were held at this time, usually sponsored by a shaman or an initiate. Each dance lasted two to three nights, and each village tried to have their dances sequentially so people could attend all or most of them. Groups traveled from one dance to the next. Children did not attend these ceremonies. Dances were held inside a large residence. A small fir tree was cut, and limbs and bark were removed about eight feet from the base. The base was sharpened and left outside the door (Ray 1932:189-190).

Events began after sunset. Women and men seated themselves in separate groups. When everyone was ready, the tree was brought in and placed in the middle of the room. Those with Bluejay and Owl spirits guarded the dance, and made sure everyone followed the rules (no eating, no leaving the dance once started) (Ray 1932:190-191). Neophytes were initiated through dancing. Details on the Winter Dance are found on page 191 flw.

Assessment

Despite this monograph's high standing in the Plateau literature, a number of errors are included in the social data due to the context in which Ray was doing his fieldwork. The people had been confined to the reservation within then living memory, missionaries and government agents largely controlled their lives, as will be narrated below, and the desire to appear "progressive" must have inspired some of the Indians to give not exactly false information, but information that would make them look acceptable to an outsider. This even happens today very occasionally with a few elders, who were taught to feel defensive about their culture when they were young. Nevertheless, Ray's work is commendable, because he recognized the uniqueness of the Plateau Culture Area, and defined it. Aside from the few errors of fact referred to above, most of his descriptions of the culture were correct.

R. Bouchard and D. Kennedy - *Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State*

Village Maps and Other Locations

Most of the cartographic information that follows is taken from Bouchard and Kennedy, 1984. They obtained their information from consultants who, they say, are probably the last generation to know the land because they lived the foraging life in their youth. Their memories were not perfect, however. Sometimes, it was difficult for consultants to recognize some sites because of the flooding by Grand Coulee Dam (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:8-10).

The data were obtained by traveling with the consultants by boat and car on and around Lake Roosevelt. Bouchard and Kennedy (1984:10) intended to describe all of the sites identified, but this was not practical, though they described most of them. They placed the identified locations on U. S. National Ocean Survey charts for FDR Lake, number 18551, 4th ed. (1975) for the northern part of the lake, and number 18553, 4th ed. (1975) for the southern part.

The consultants were reticent to give information in the presence of other consultants. This was in respect to those who might disagree, and there was a certain amount of self-doubt as well (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:11). Further, distinctions between temporary camps and permanent winter villages were lost, as the allotments made in the early twentieth century obscured these distinctions. Tact had to be used in eliciting information when data from one consultant was checked with another (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:13). Private interviews and the checking of data with informants after they were recorded elicited the location of other sites and corrected faulty information. The consultants often commented that they remembered only a fraction of what preceding generations knew (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:16). Further, the east side of the Columbia was not as well remembered as the west side, because people were moved to the west side to reside on the reduced reservation. Consequently, sites for the east side were remembered in fewer numbers, whereas it must have been more heavily occupied at one time because the land there is richer (Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:19).

Assessment:

Overall, this appears to be a good piece of work, done with care. I checked the place names recorded by Bouchard and Kennedy with those provided by Verne Ray on the Sanpoil villages and camps, and found the place names to correspond. Ray's information, however, while scantier in the sense that he did not ask for geographic features other than dwelling locations, is more dependable as the data were elicited two generations earlier than Bouchard and Kennedy's. Still, Bouchard and Kennedy's 1984 work is a valuable document for this purpose.

Maps of the cultural sites of the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lakes tribes around the present-day Lake Roosevelt, based on Bouchard and Kennedy (1984), are presented in Figures 6 to 28. As noted before, the maps are presented as a unit because the village sites of the three groups were often intermingled.

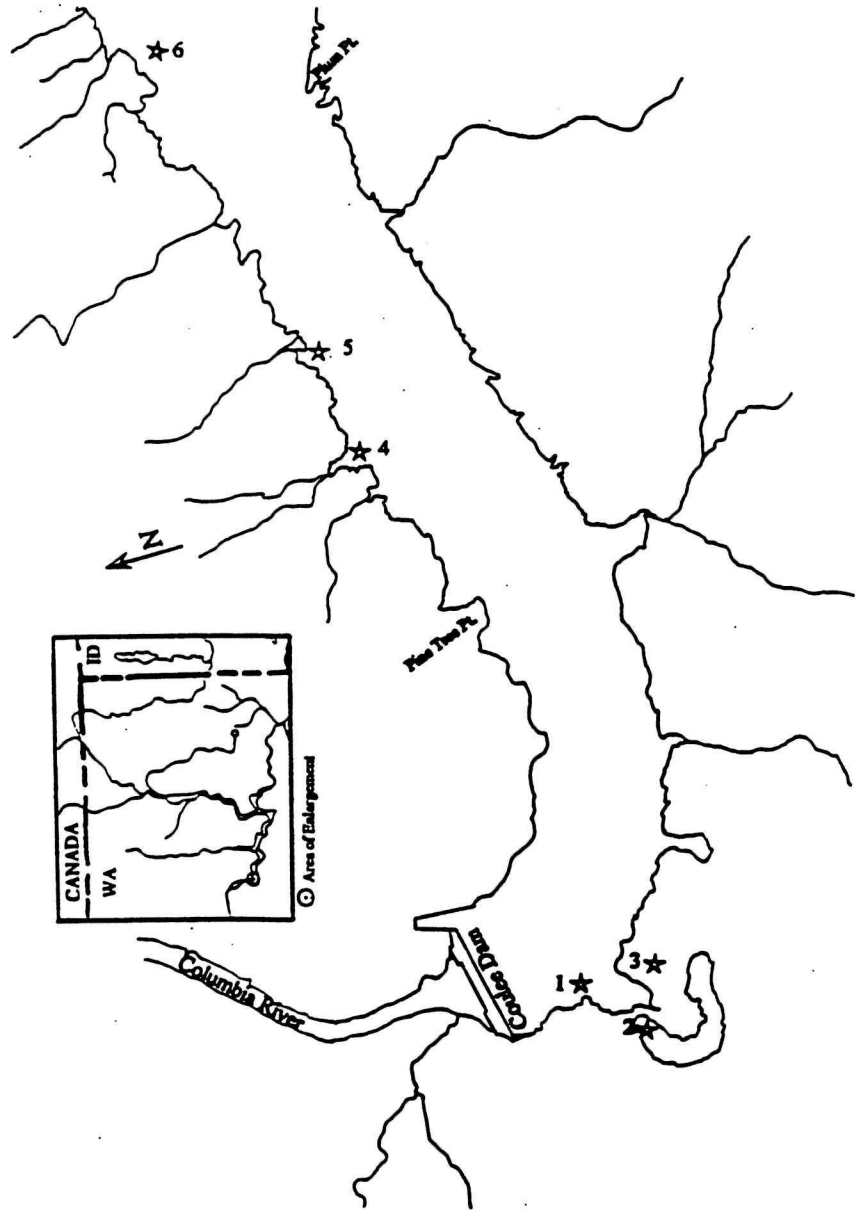


Fig. 6. Place Names 1 to 6 - Sanpoil territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:132-139.)

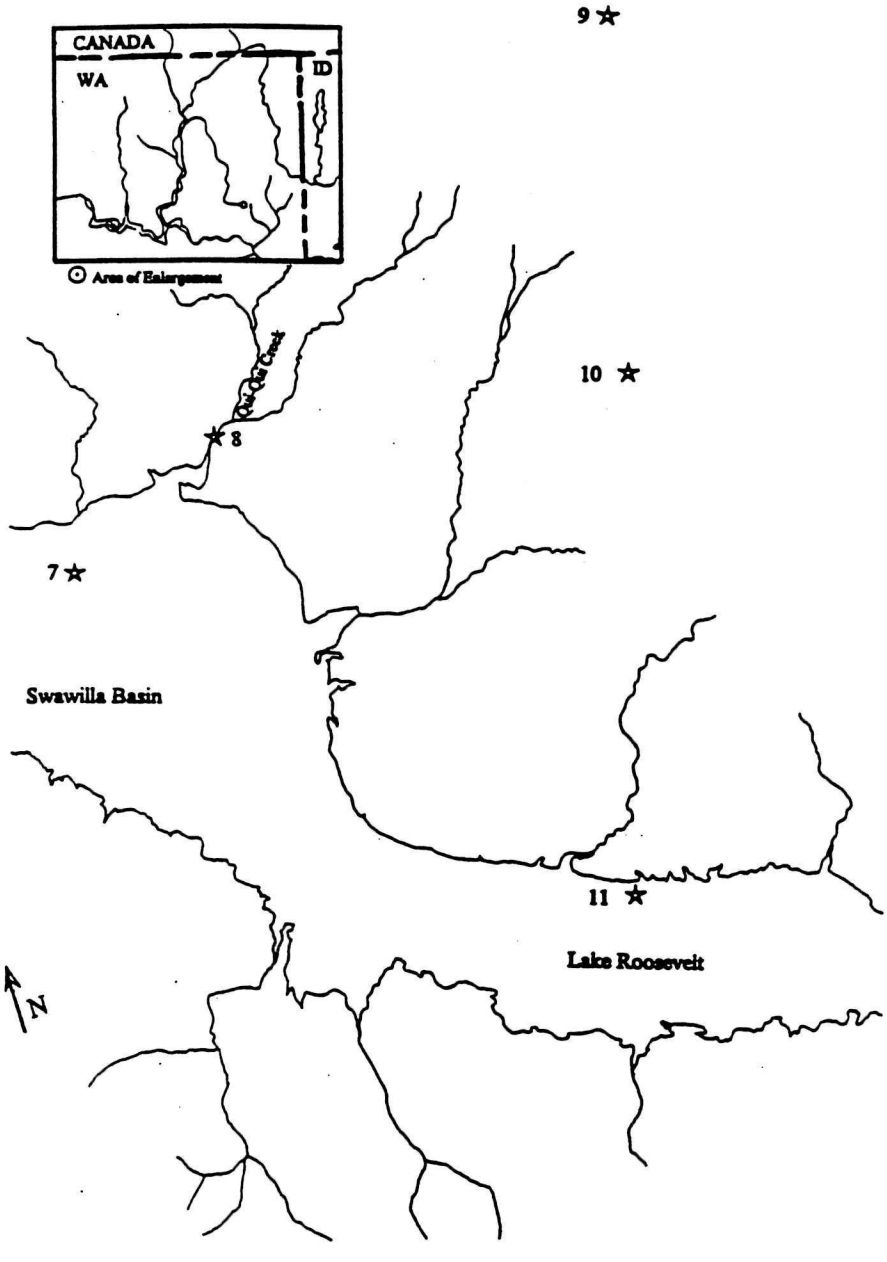
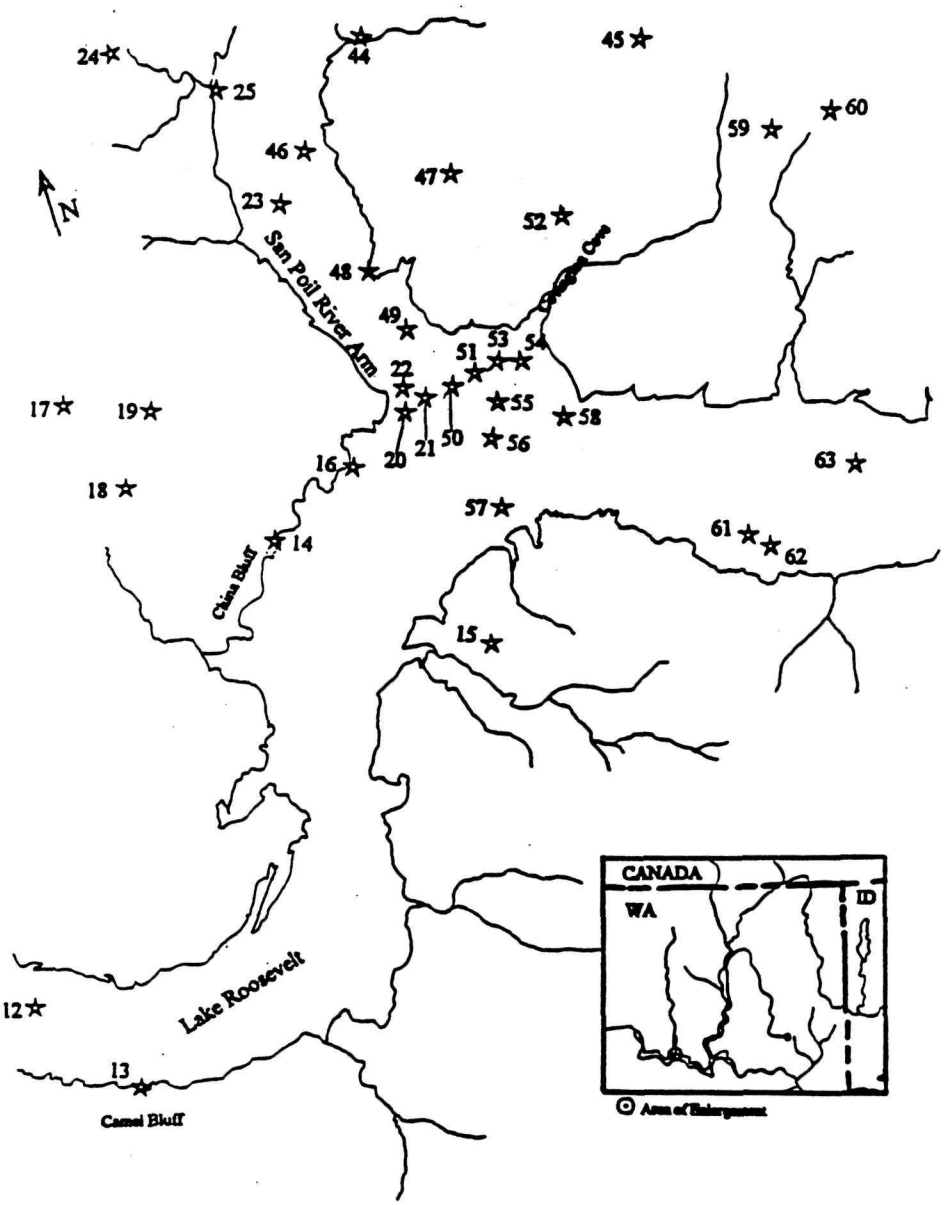


Fig. 7. Place Names 7 to 11 - Sanpoil territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:140-142.)


N
San Poil River Arm
Lake Roosevelt
Chief Joseph Cove
Chief Joseph Cove
Chief Joseph Cove

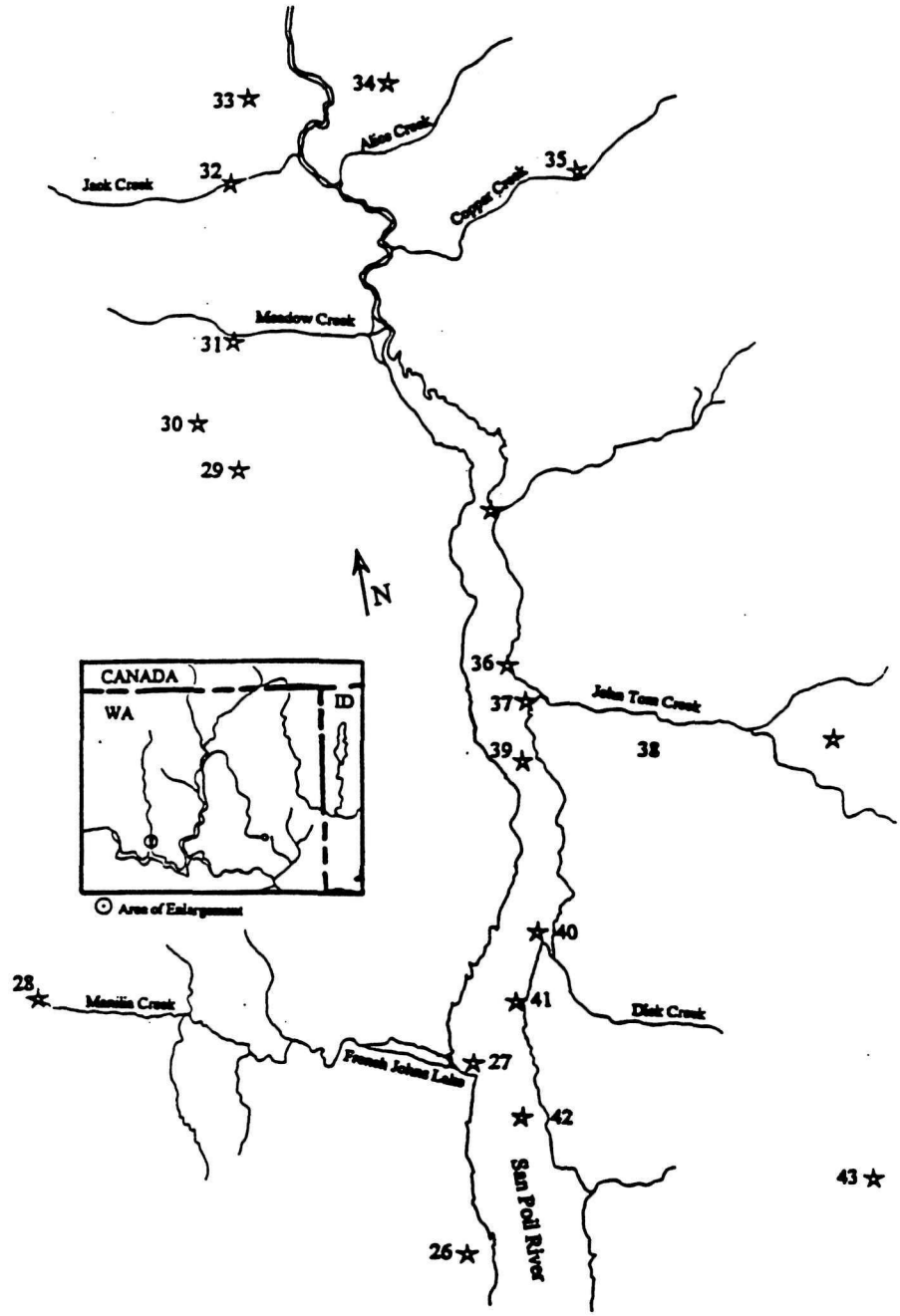


Fig. 9. Place Names 26 to 43 - Sanpoil territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:150-157.)

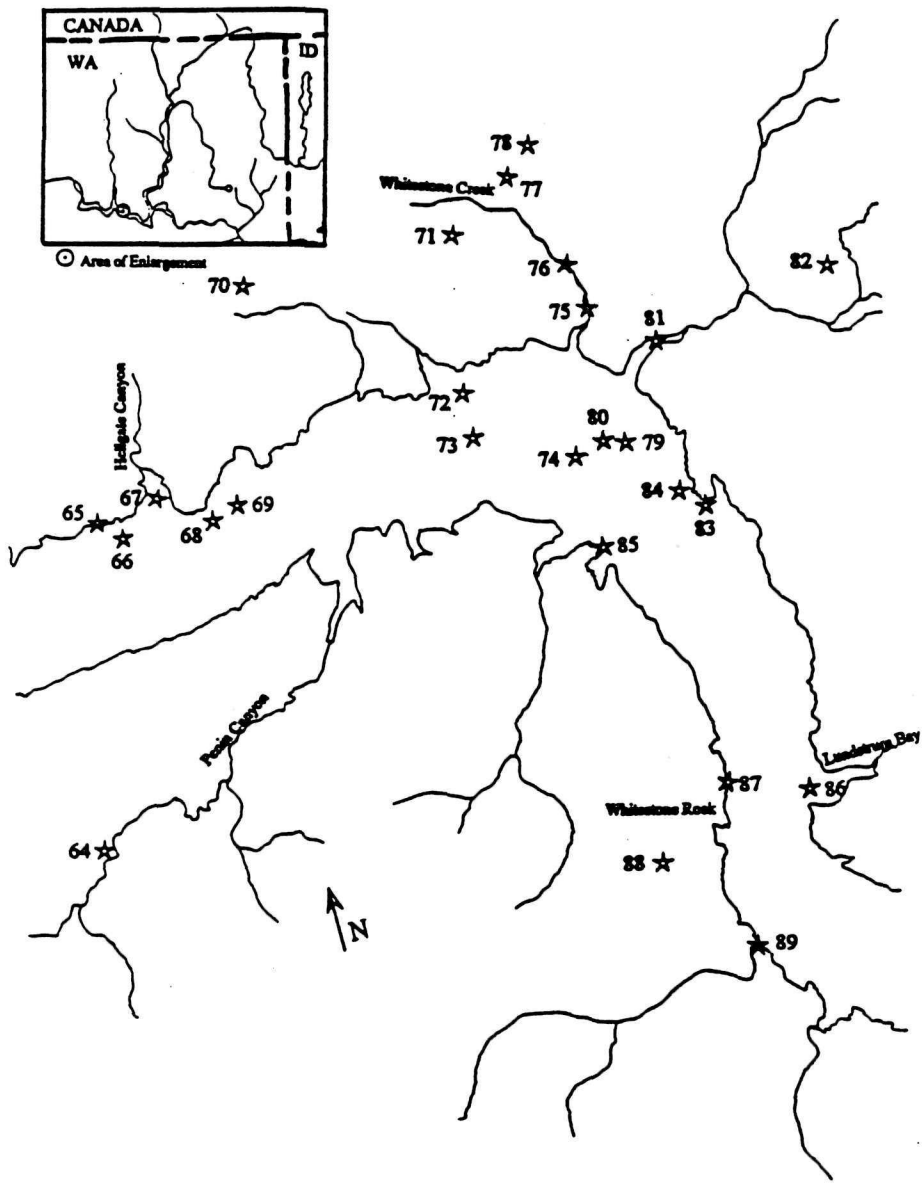


Fig. 10. Place Names 64 to 89 - Sanpoil territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:165-184.)

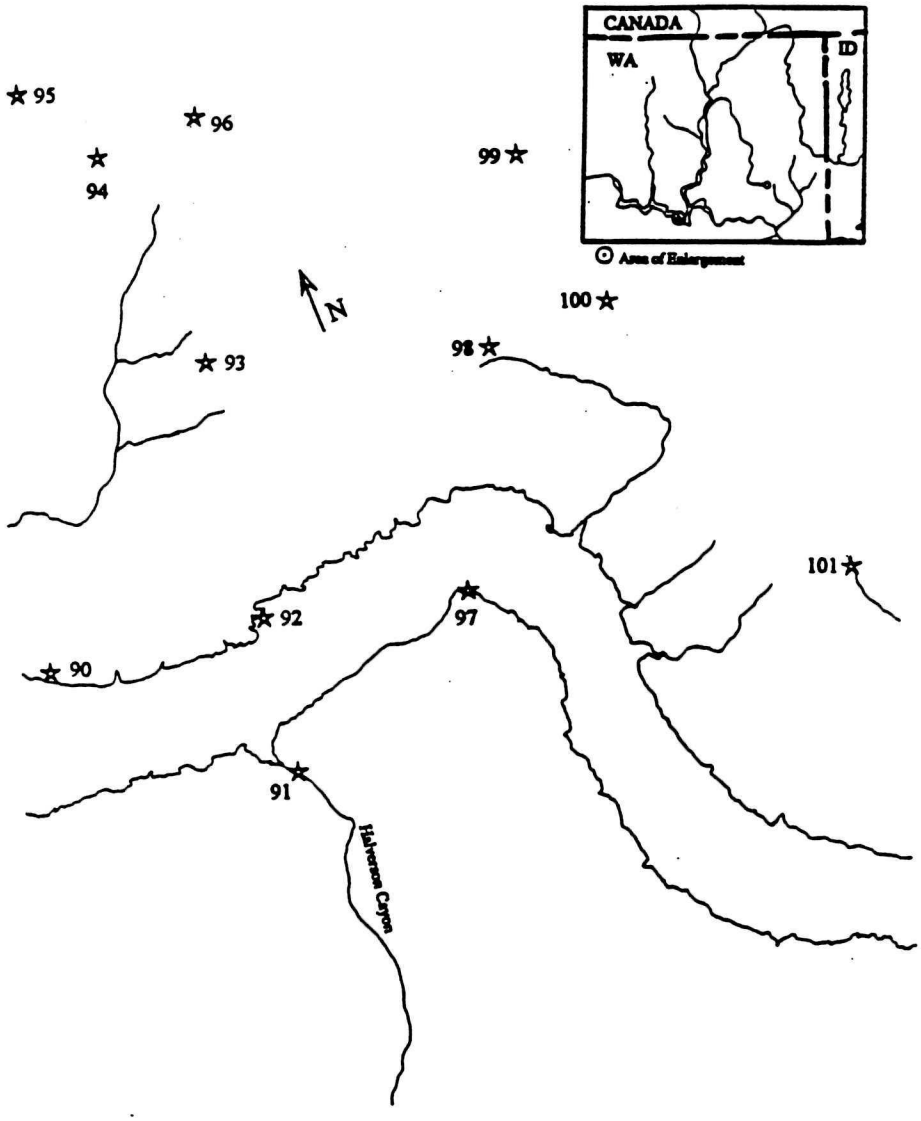


Fig. 11. Place Names 90 to 101 - Sanpoil territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:184-189.)

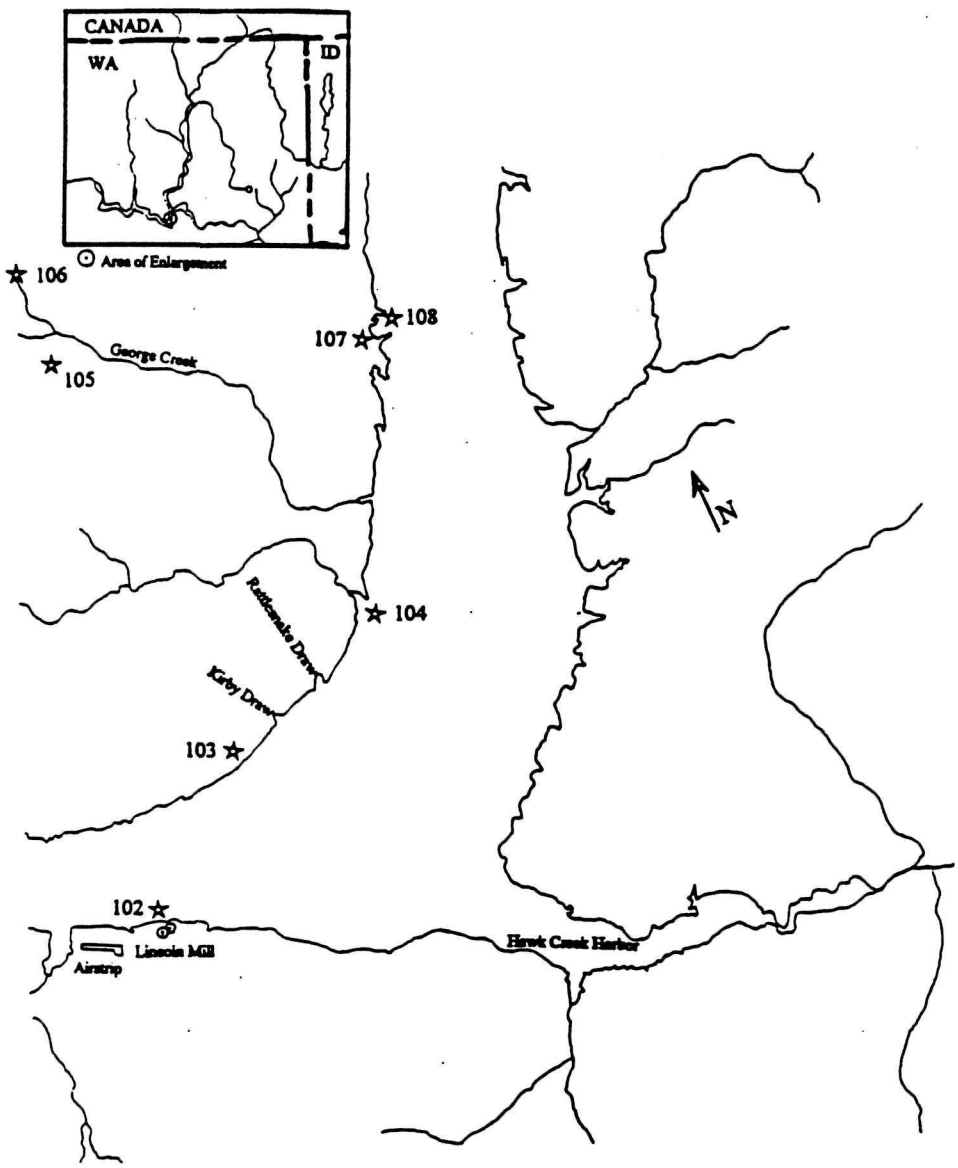


Fig. 12. Place Names 102 to 108 - Sanpoil territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:189-192.)

Site 102 was formerly Peach and Hawk Creek, moved to Lincoln (west) after flooding.

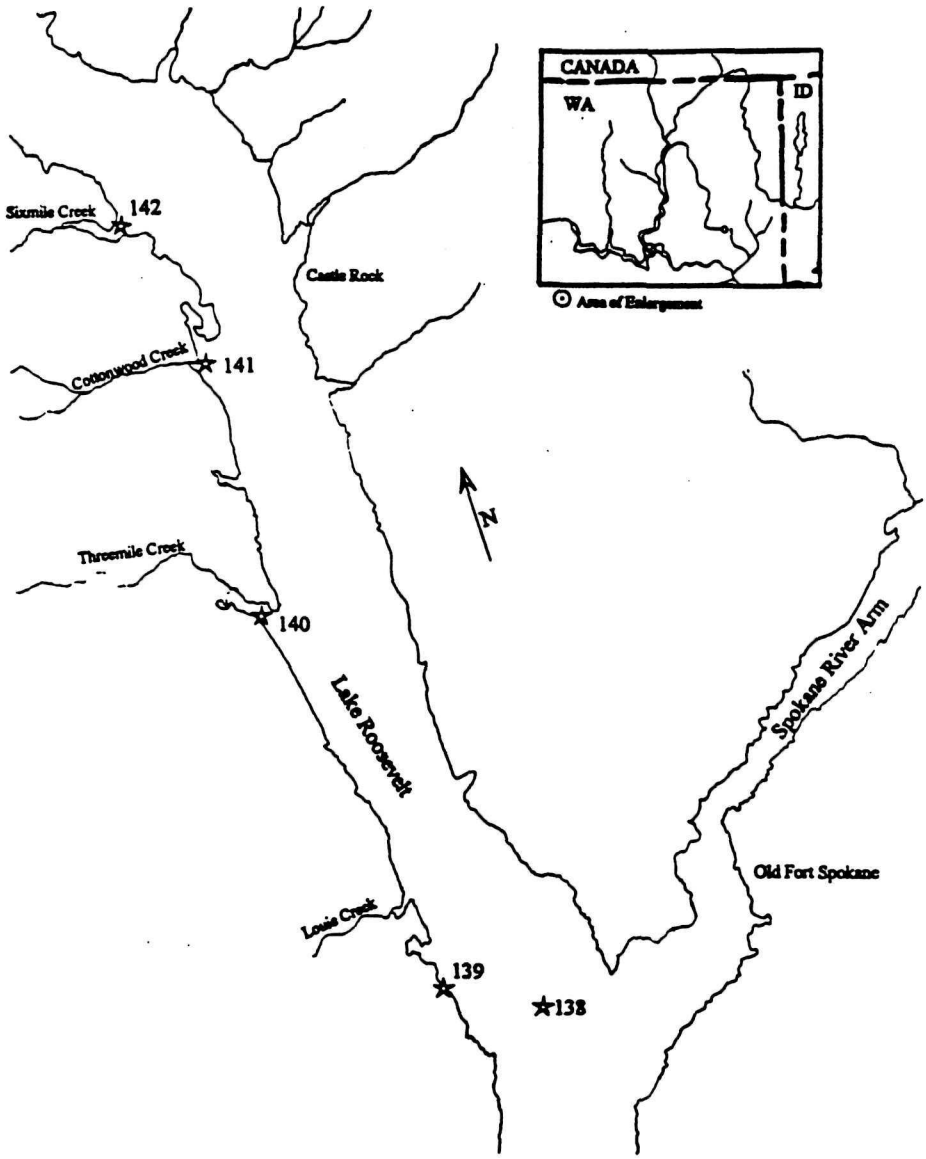


Fig. 13. Place Names 138 to 142 - Sanpoil and Colville overlapping territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:220-225.)

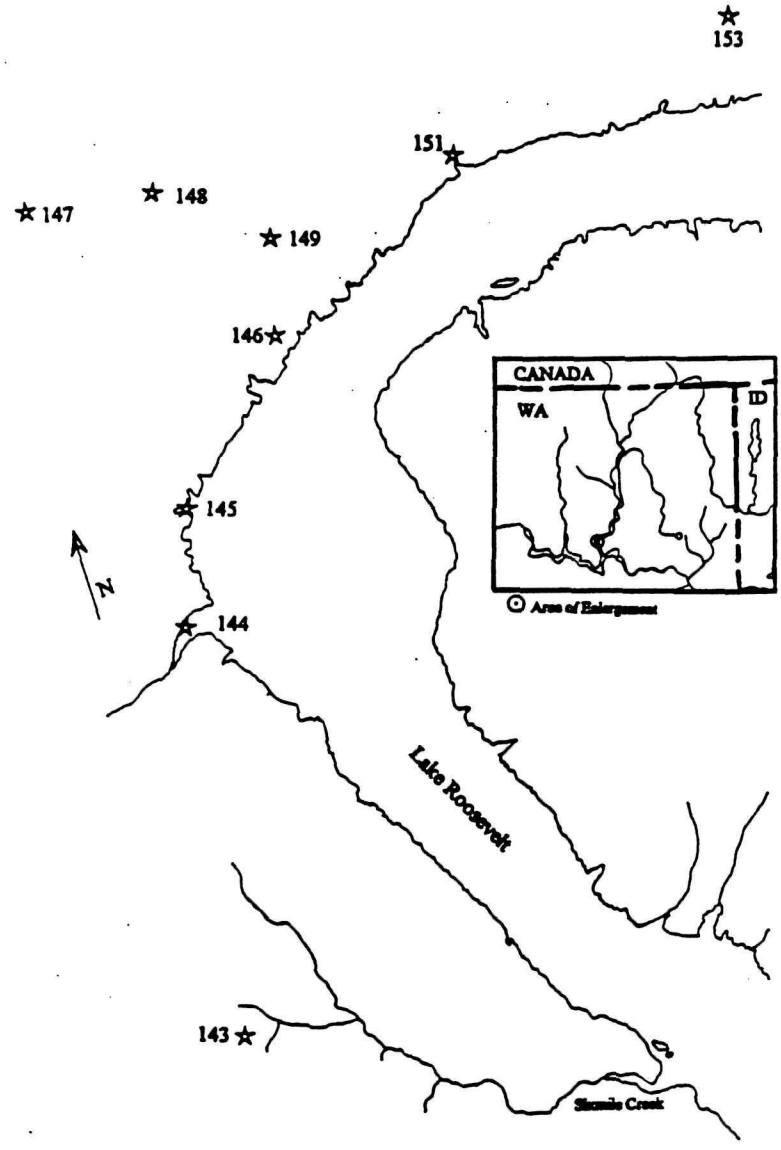


Fig. 14. Place Names 143 to 149, 151, 153 - Sanpoil and Colville overlapping territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:225-233.)

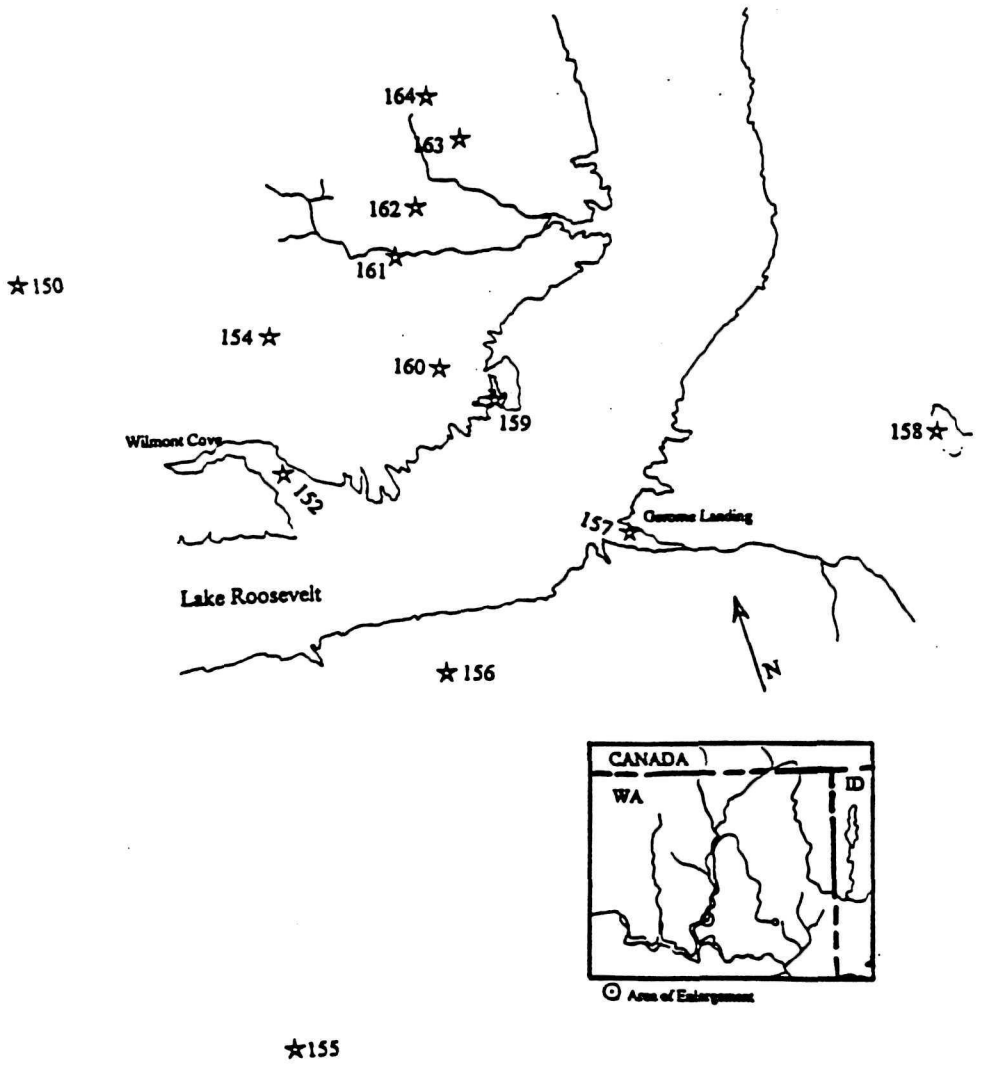


Fig. 15. Place Names 150, 152, 154-164 - Sanpoil and Colville overlapping territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:228-236.)

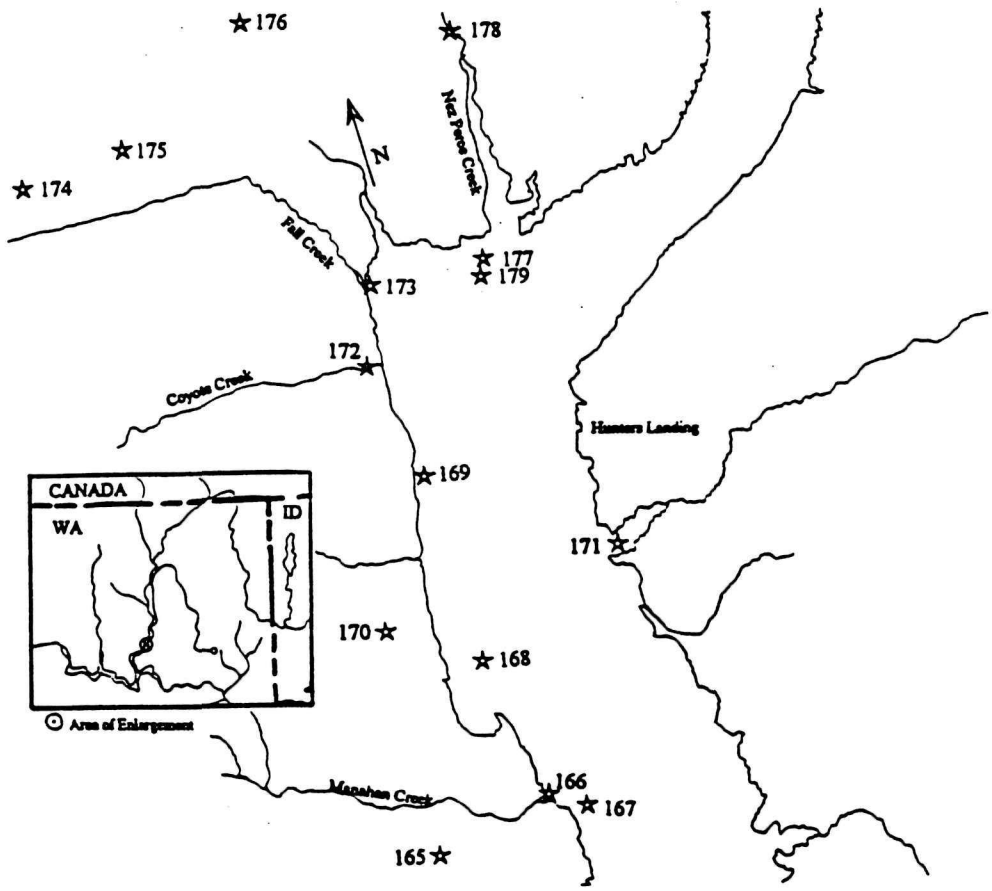


Fig. 16. Place Names 165 to 179 - Sanpoil and Colville overlapping territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:239-250.)

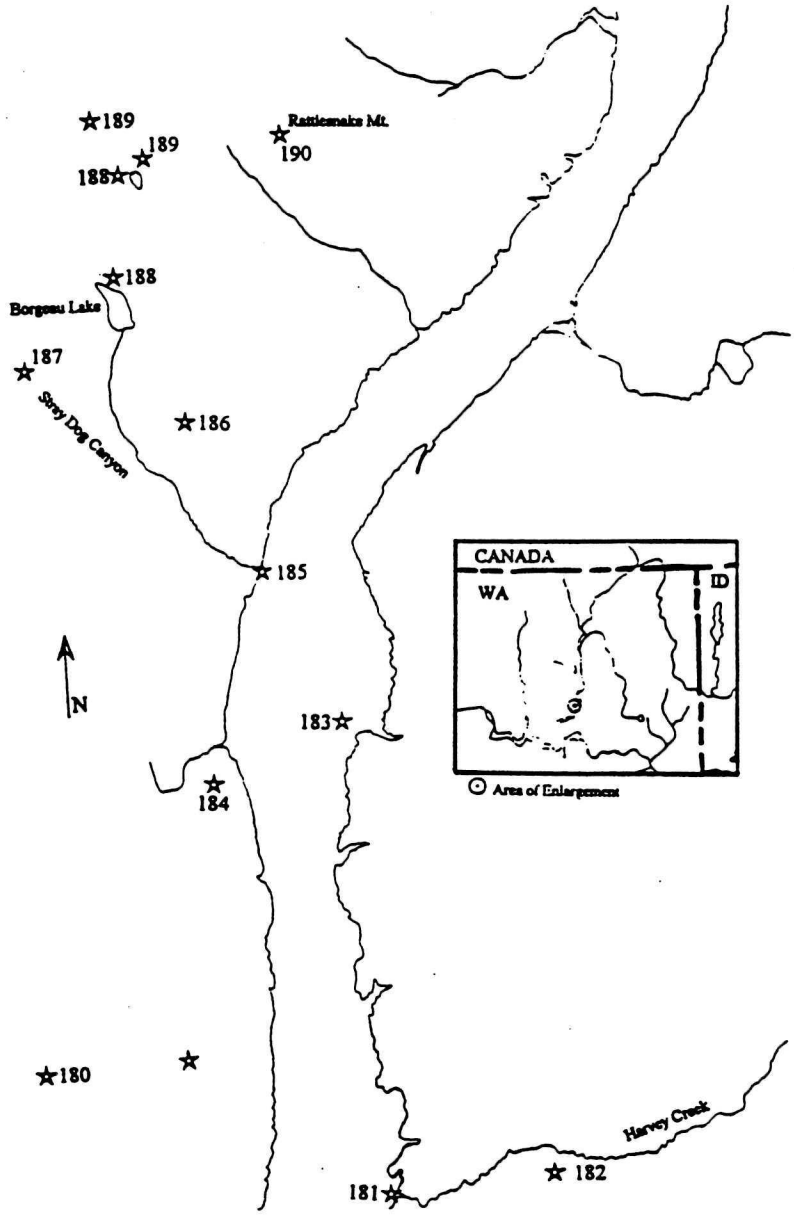


Fig. 17. Place Names 180 to 181 - Sanpoil and Colville overlapping territory, 182 to190 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:250-251, 253-258.)

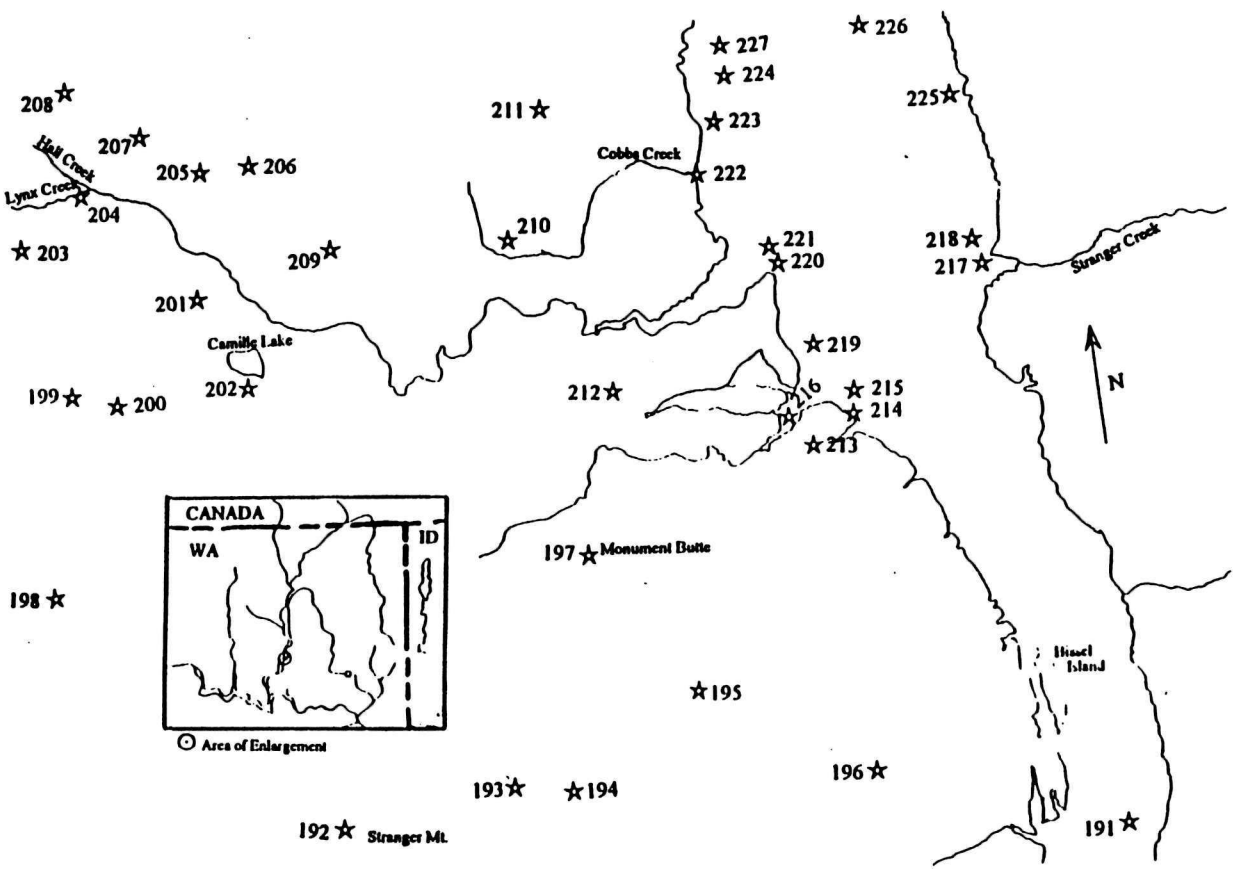


Fig. 18. Place Names 191 to 227 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt
(for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:258-279.)

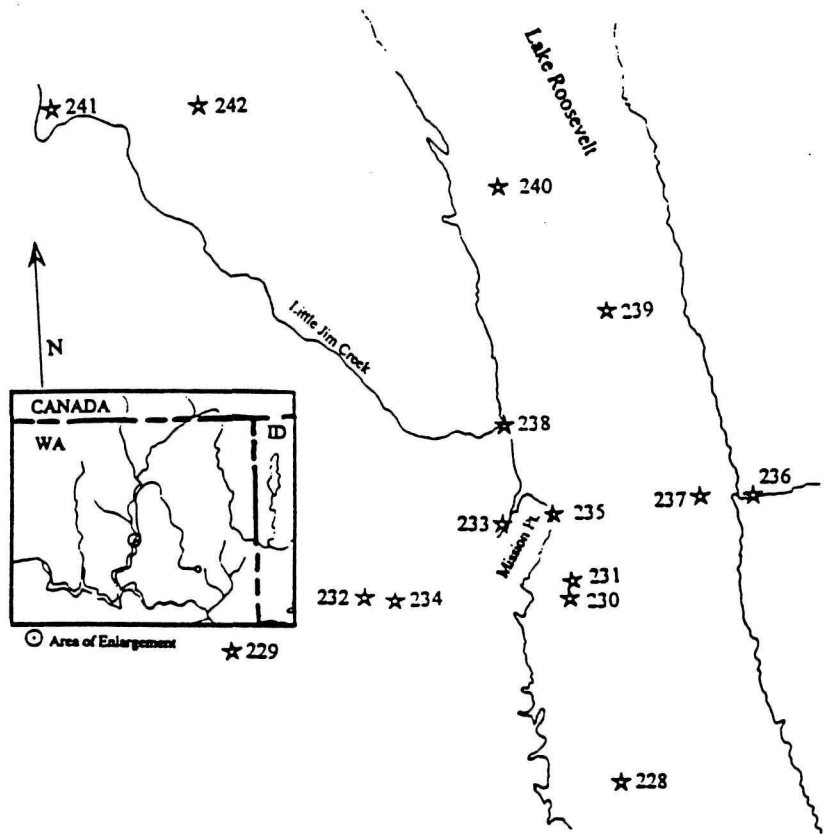


Fig. 19.. Place Names 228 to 242 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:279-286.)

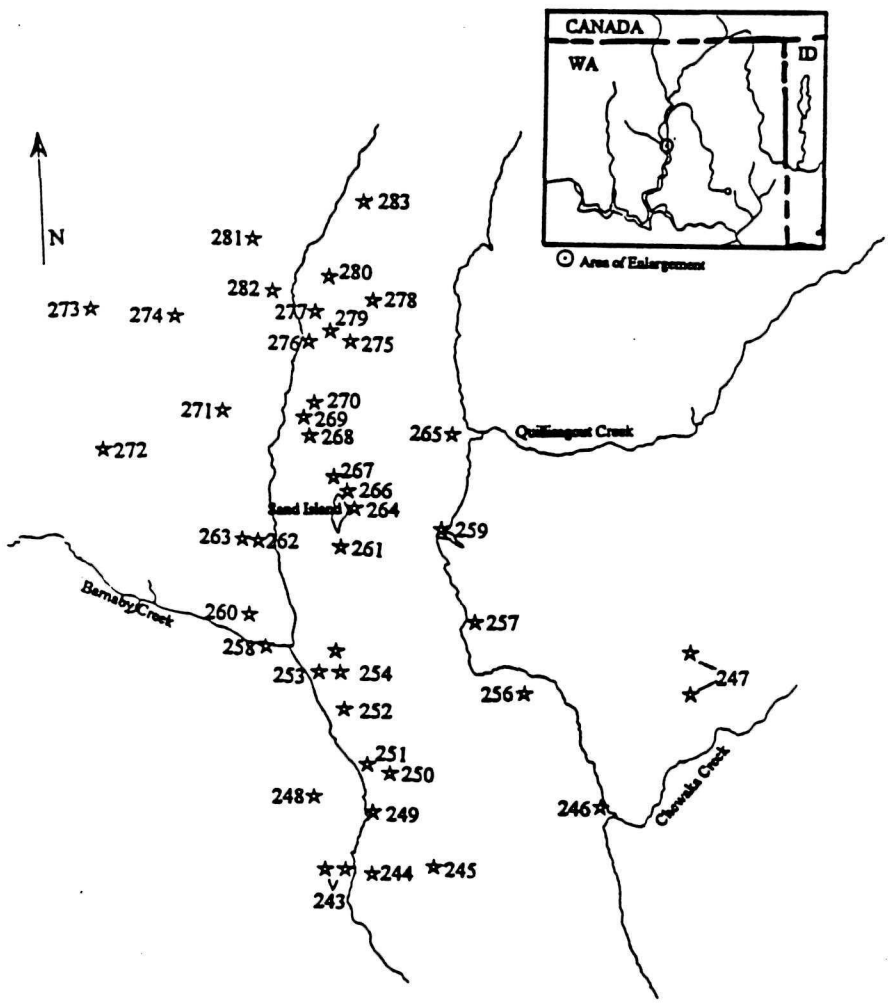


Fig. 20. Place Names 243 to 283 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:288-307.)

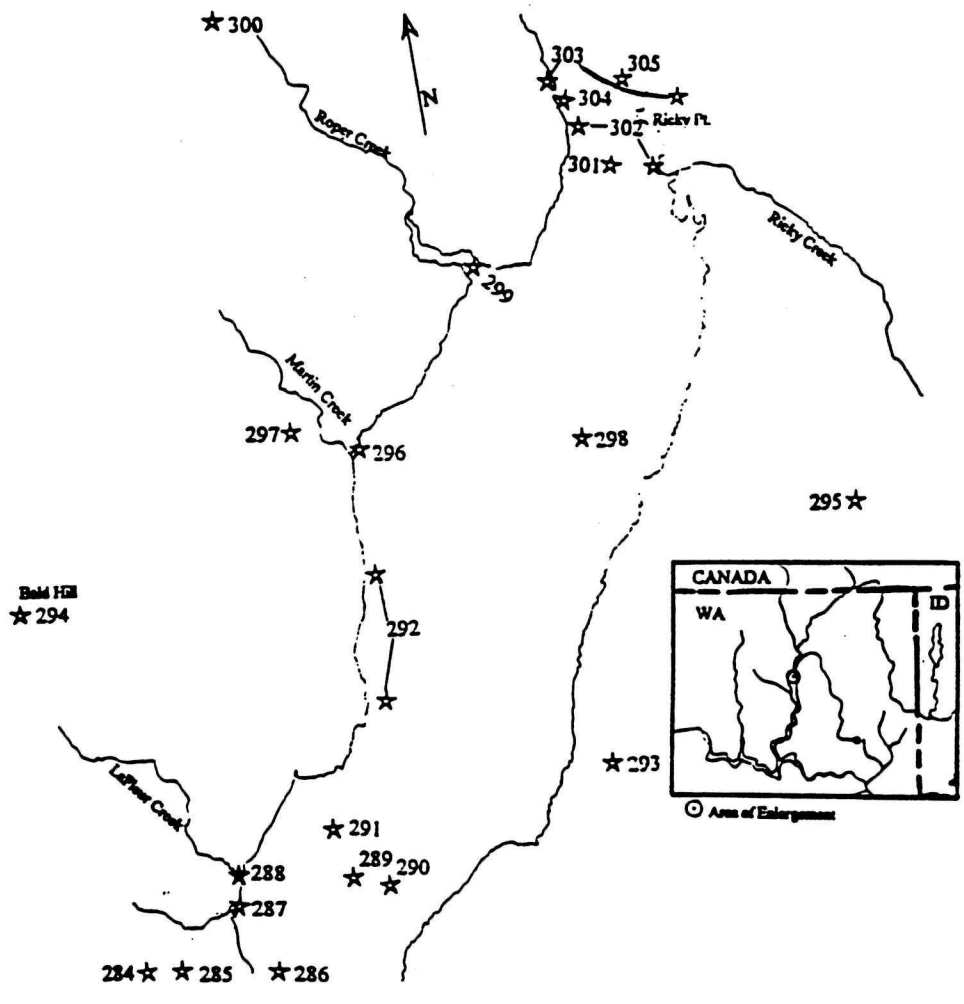


Fig. 21. Place Names 284 to 305 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:307-317.)

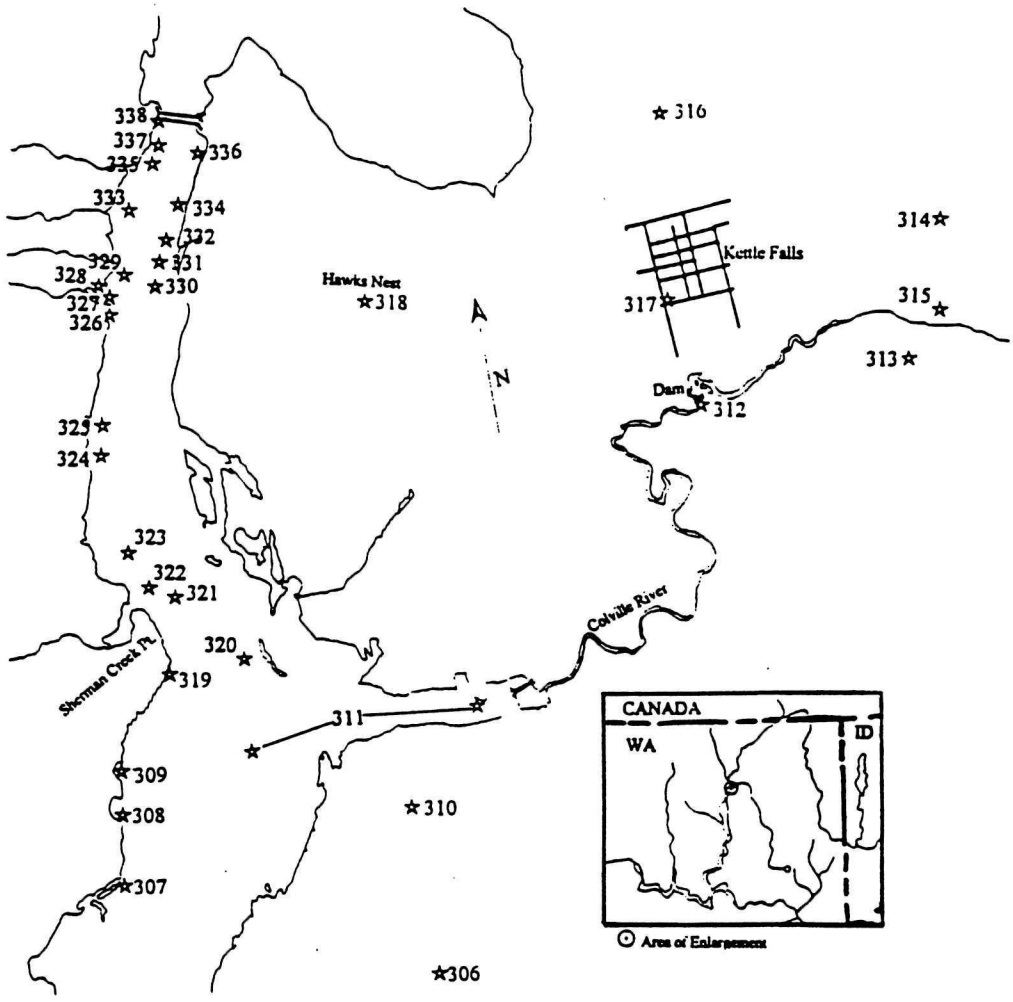


Fig. 22. Place Names 306 to 338 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:317-339.)

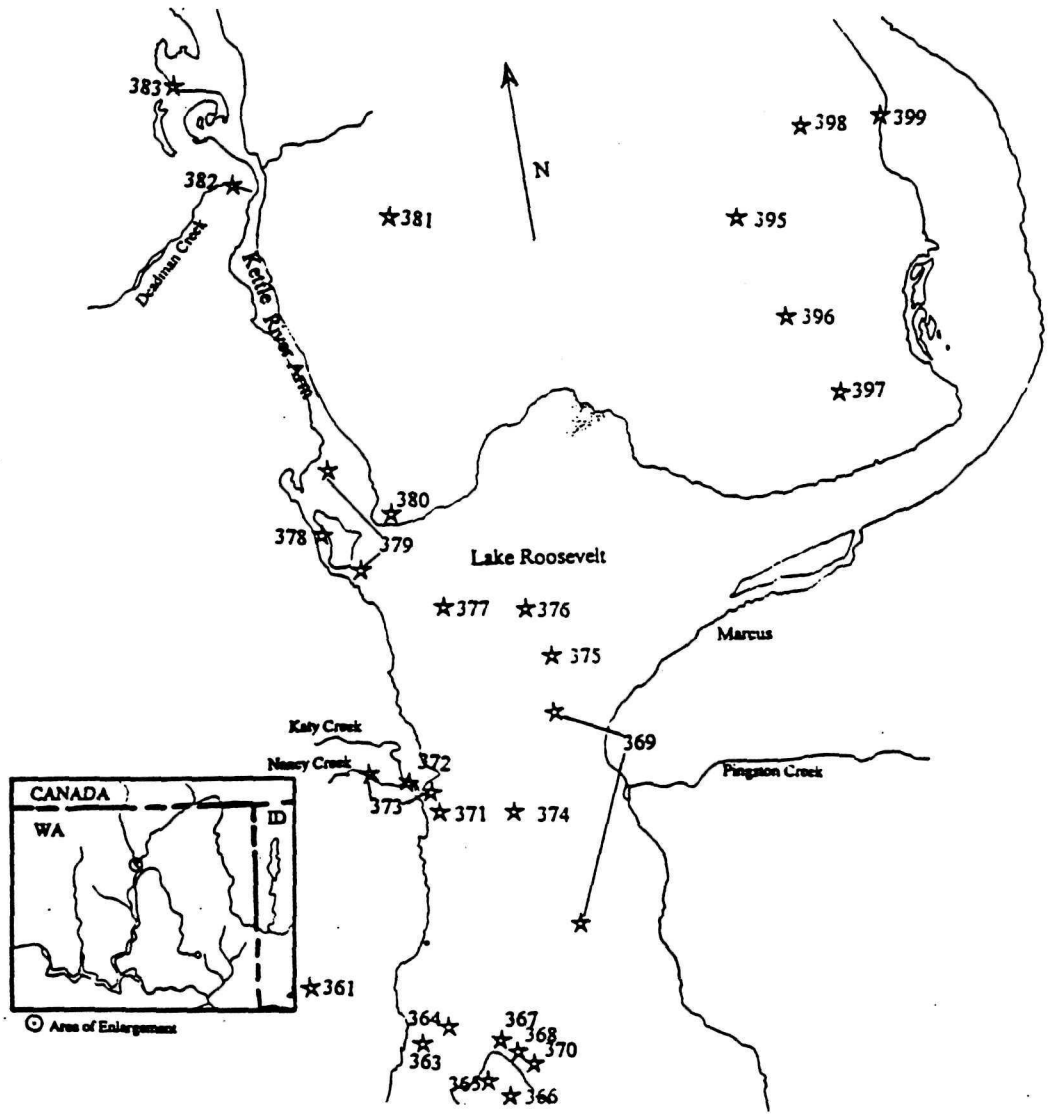


Fig. 23. Place Names 361, 363 to 383, 395 to 399 - Colville territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:367-394, 399-401.)

Colville and Lakes overlapping territory, sites 361, 363-374
Lakes territory only, sites 375, 383, 395, 399.

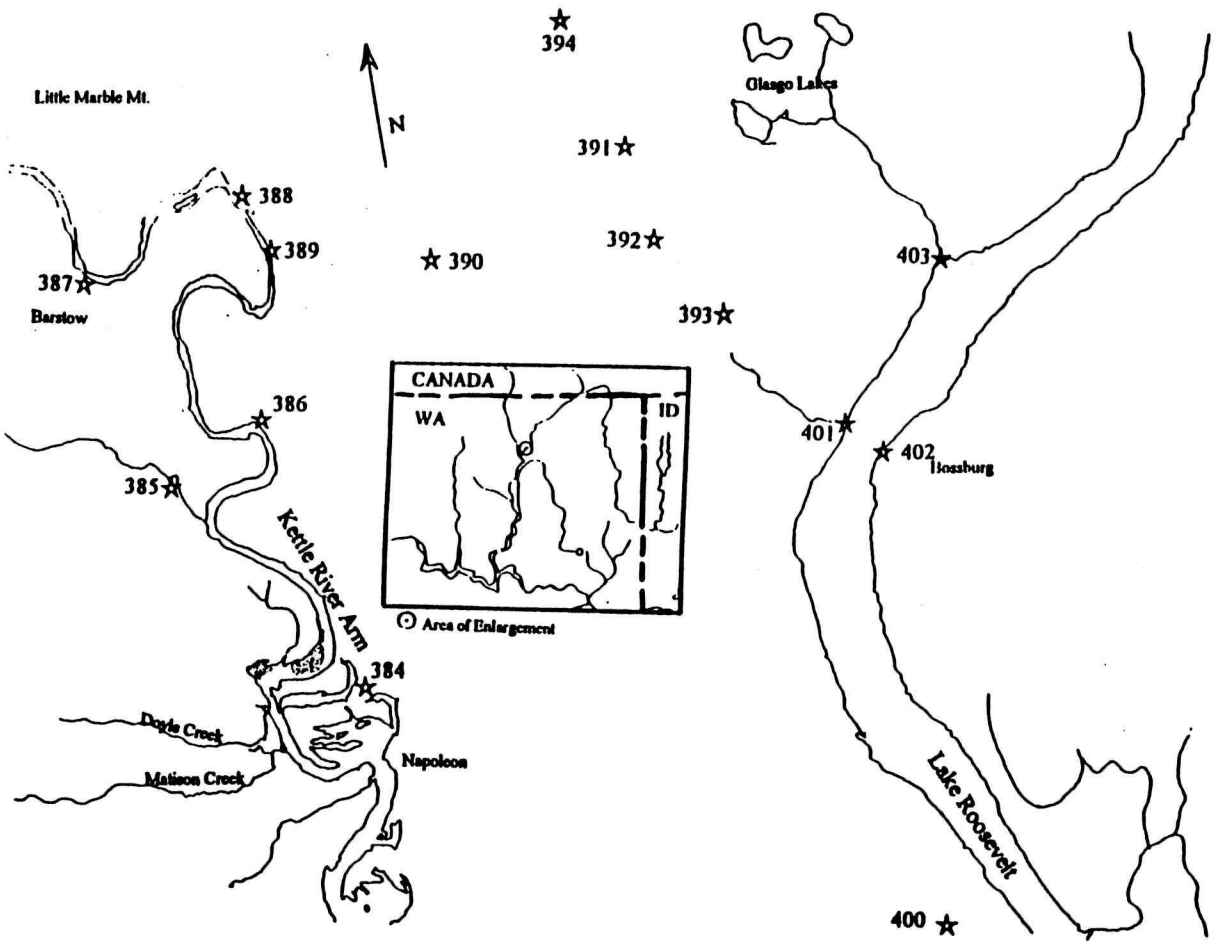


Fig. 24. Place Names 384 to 394, 401 to 403 - Lakes territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:395-398, 401-403.)

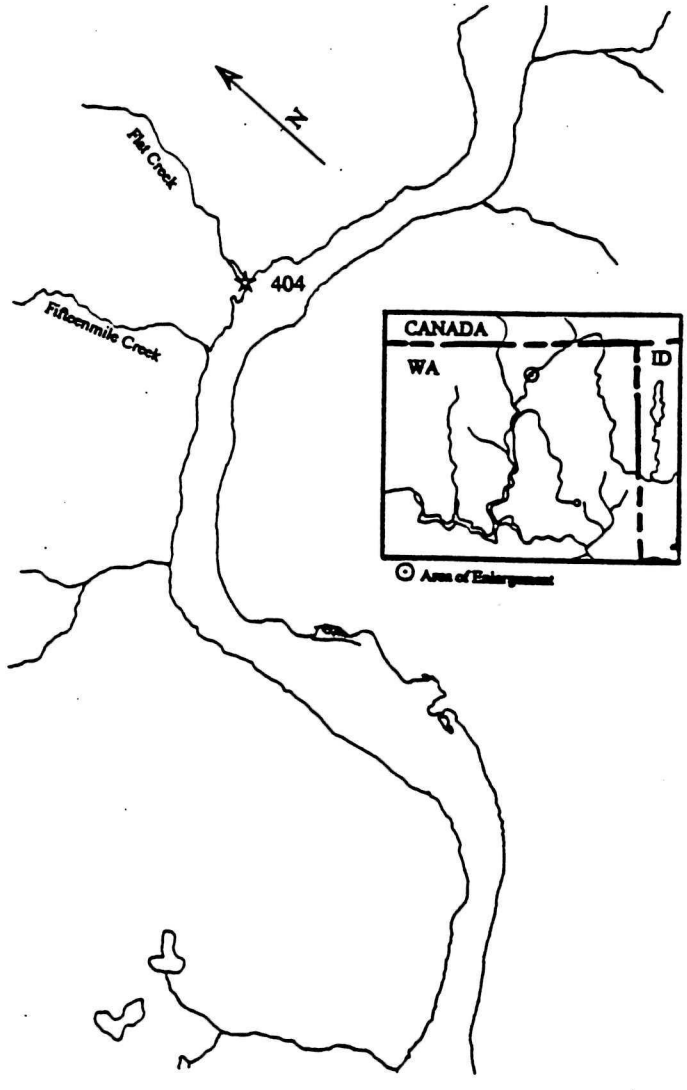


Fig. 25. Place Names 404 - Lakes territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:403.)

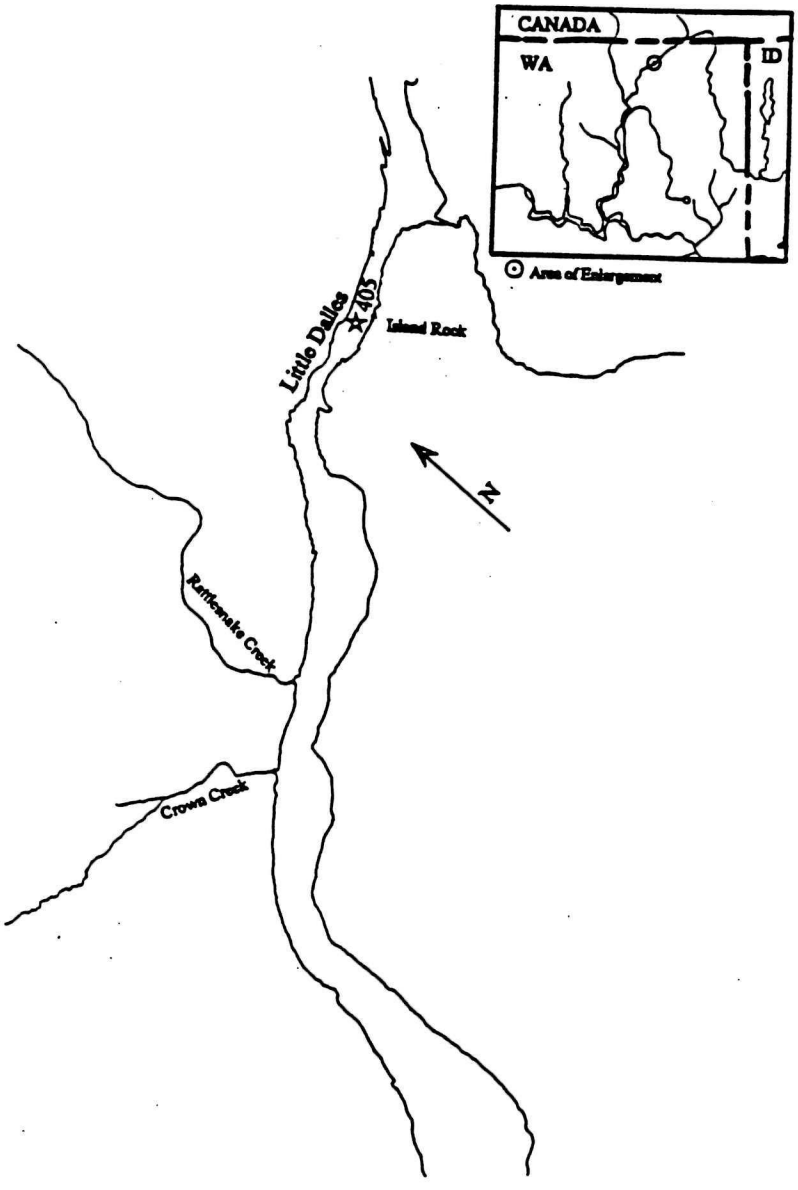


Fig. 26. Place Names 405 - Lakes territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:406.)

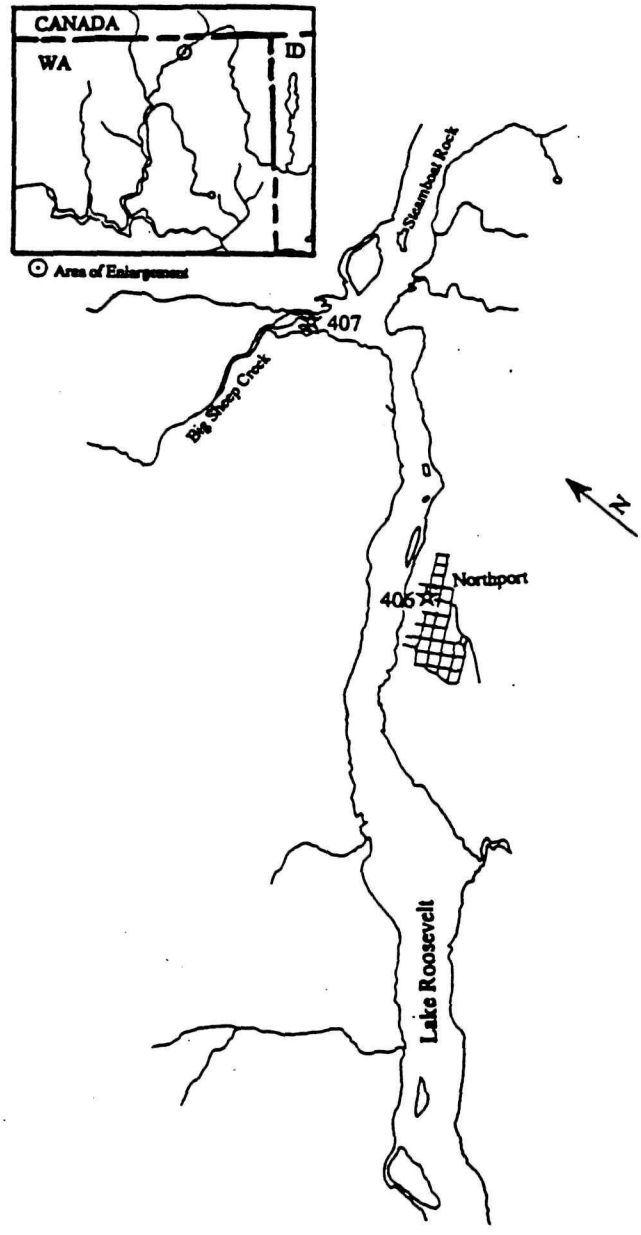


Fig. 27. Place Names 406 to 407 - Lakes territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:409 -412.)

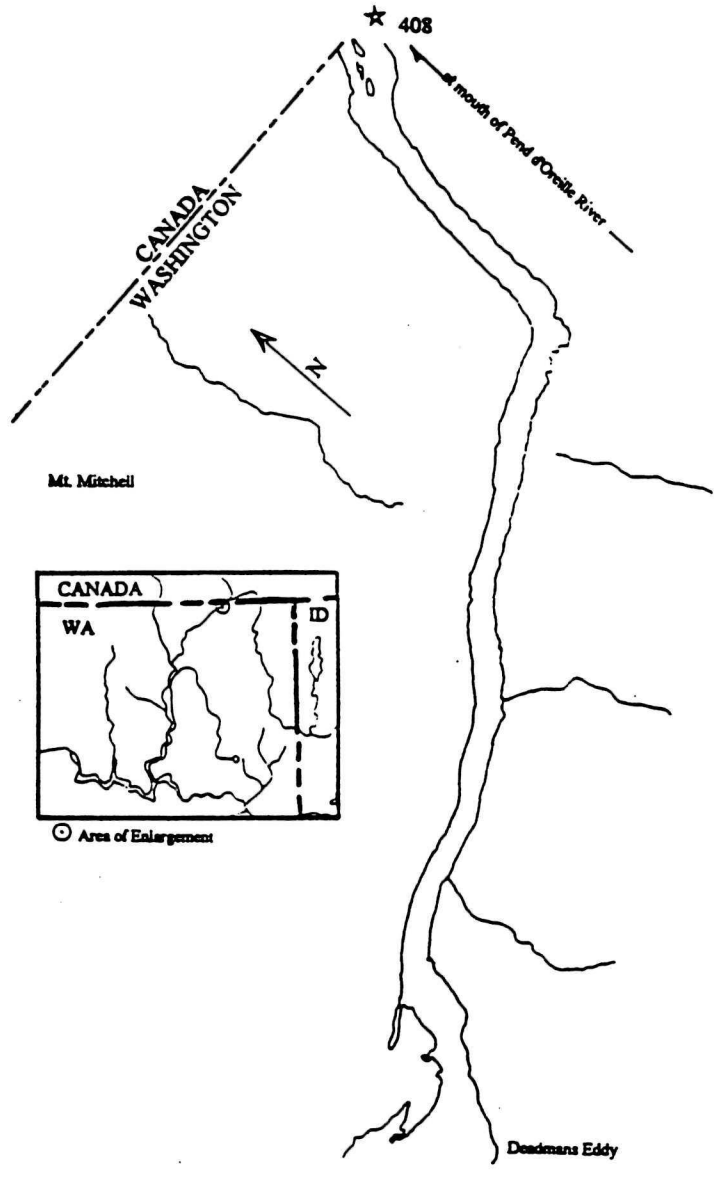


Fig. 28. Place Names 408 - Lakes territory, Lake Roosevelt (for discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1984:414.)

THE SINKAIETK OR SOUTHERN OKANOGAN

The Southern Okanogan were noted fairly extensively in early fur trader accounts, and they have been the subject of more than one ethnography, one of them the other basic monograph for Plateau studies (Spier, ed., 1938).

Ross Cox - *The Columbia River*

Ross Cox (1957), an early fur trader, observed in 1814 that the Okanogan were lazy and would not work. As with the Colville and the Lakes, noted above, they were no doubt affected by the epidemics sweeping the area in this period. When fur traders complained about Indians not working, it sometimes meant they were not out getting furs, but fishing, hunting, and generally living their lives.

Cox commented that the Okanogan were honest and quiet. The group included 200 warriors. Their chief was an old man with little apparent power. They gambled and were shrewd in trade (Cox 1957:235).

Alexander Ross - *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813.*

Alexander Ross, another fur trader who resided among the Okanogan between 1810 and 1813, is probably the best early source on Indians of this area. He first worked for the Pacific Fur Company, an American concern, which sold out to the North West Company from Montreal, another fur trade company, and began to work for the latter company. He was sent into the interior from the coast to find a good site and establish a profitable trading post. When he reached Okanogan Falls, the Indians there asked him to establish his post at that location, since it was an active site in Indian trading. They promised to kill many beavers for the company (Ross 1986:151). Because of his residence among them, Ross was able to observe the Okanogan at close hand and did so with fair sophistication by modern standards. He wrote a book about his experiences in 1849.

He noted the presence of twelve tribes with different names. Each was governed by an independent chief, but all the settlements united against a common enemy. These twelve tribes apparently included what we call today the Wenatchi, Entiat, Chelan, Methow, Nespelem, Sanpoil, Columbia, Similkameen, and Okanogan. He said the languages were similar, but the accents were different. Altogether, this group could muster only 600 warriors, for they were not numerous peoples (Ross 1986:275-276).

They made their living by hunting, fishing, and trading. It took fifteen days to reach the Pacific coast from their territory, which they traveled to for trade. They sought higua or dentalia shells and other "trinkets" in exchange for their hemp, a highly valued commodity, as it is used for fishing nets and other rope objects. The higua was noted to serve as a kind of money standard (Ross 1986:277). This is confirmed by Griswold's 1954 study on Plateau trade.

Ross observed that the chieftainship descended from father to son, though equality was the rule. The chief had no coercive power to enforce his rulings, but he was seldom disobeyed. The council was made up of prominent men (Ross 1986:276, 278). Ross does not mention the presence of women in council, probably an oversight, as councils usually included women unless war was being discussed.

Ross noted that each tribe had two chiefs: the village chief and the war chief. The latter was elected, but the village chief decided the movements of the camp (Ross 1986:279).

Men hunted, fished, made canoes, and fought when necessary. Women cured fish, dried meat, prepared skins, and collected roots and wood. He commented that a woman may be said to serve in the double capacity of "wife and slave." Then in the same paragraph, he noted, "Each family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter." He appeared not to see the contradiction (Ross 1986:280).

Polygamy existed with some men having between two to five wives. The wives, however, did not live together. "Indeed, that would be utterly impossible," he noted. The wives lived with their own relatives while the husband visited each in turn. If co-wives met accidentally, a brawl would ensue (Ross 1986:280-281).

Ross then described marriage customs. He noted that parents betrothed or promised their children while very young. Most of these contracts were honored when the children came of age. The exchange of gifts sealed the marriage contract. The family of a young man continued to give gifts until the couple actually married. Gifts might include one horse or several, a dressed skin, or trinkets (Ross 1986:283-284).

When a young man was about fourteen to fifteen and a girl about eleven or twelve, he slipped into her lodge after dark and sat by the fire. When he was noticed, the girl's mother awakened her daughter who joined him by the fire, and everyone else went to bed. This process was repeated over four to five nights. Then the young man presented himself during the day and if welcomed he presented his intended's father with "purchase money" (gifts). The young woman was then brought out and after a visit, the young couple left together (Ross 1986:284-285). This account infers that the already betrothed man courts in this manner, but more likely it is the young man presenting his suit for the first time who visits the girl. This may have happened as Ross describes it in his time, but in the memory of contemporary consultants, the young couple was a little older, and the first time he slipped into the girl's bed. If she did not object, the next morning her family found him there, and they were automatically married (Ackerman 1978-1995).

Ross noted that sometimes the girl rejected her parents' choice of husband. This caused feuds and quarrels between the families, sometimes to the point where the "tribe" split and separated. Second and subsequent marriages were made according to the whim of the people involved (Ross 1986:285-286).

There were three to four shamans in each tribe. They knew herbs and roots, and were healers. People avoided offending them because they were spiritually powerful too. Ross regarded them as charlatans, but did note that any unexplained death or misfortune was blamed on this category of people. Consequently, many shamans were killed in "self-defense" (Ross 1986:286-287).

The healing ceremony itself could last several days, the shaman blowing at the patient, praying, and gesticulating; all to drive away the evil spirit infesting the patient. Then the shaman sucked out the blood from the affected part of the body, while his assistants beat on sticks during the cure. Ross admitted that they effected "many extraordinary cures," as well as curing cuts and wounds. One person had a split skill from a grizzly. Less than two months later, this man was hunting again. They could also cure rattlesnake bite and performed surgery as well (Ross 1986:288-290).

Ross noted that the gambler was a favorite personage. He described the stickgame. This game could last a week, or be concluded in six hours (Ross 1986:291, 293).

The longhouse held one to six families whose winter supplies were held in common. In describing the subsistence activities, he noted that the men were divided into two parties; one for hunting and the other for fishing. The women divided also; one group for curing fish, the other for gathering (Ross 1986:295). Ross may be overstating this division: everyone fished for awhile, and then some men left to hunt. It is likely that those with a fishing spirit fished all summer. From the information available to me, it appeared that an extended family had a division of labor beyond the sexual division of labor. If one man fished, his brother may have hunted, etc. (Ackerman 1978-1995).

"They are rather a trafficking commercial people than a nation of warriors; yet, when called to war, they are resolute and brave" (Ross 1986:300). They had a "recruiting for war" dance, because no one was compelled to go to war. They had to be persuaded. A war chief stood within a ring and made a declaration of war. The war dance began, and any man who entered the ring was thereby a recruit. Few men actually died in these wars (Ross 1986:300-301).

Children were not weaned until they gave up breast milk on their own, or until their mother became pregnant again. Children were robust and healthy. A child was named casually, after its type of personality at first (wolf, bear, deer, etc.). The name changed, and new ones were taken according to "caprice" (Ross 1986:305).

Ross admired the Okanogan character. He believed that Christianity would improve it, but deplored the rivalry between missionaries that tore the Indians apart (Ross 1986:310, 313).

A party from the Wilkes Expedition traveled upriver from the coast and observed the Okanogans. Members of the party estimated that the Okanogans numbered about 200. They again made the Euro-American

comment that the Indians were not provident enough to put up enough fish for the winter, so they were "reduced" to eating roots (Wilkes 1845). Roots were and are a favorite food of the Plateau peoples, and they are highly nutritious.

The next early observer of the Okanogan was George Gibbs who helped Issac Stevens make treaties with the Indians in 1855. He was an educated man, and several of his Indian studies were published by the Smithsonian Institution.

Gibbs mentions that there was a great loss of population among all the Indians due to smallpox and other illnesses. He observed six bands among the Okanogan in his time: the T'Kwuratum, Konekonl'p, Kluckhaitkwu, Kinakanes, and Milakitekwa (Gibbs 1978:18). He noted their cultural resemblance to the Sanpoil and Kettle Falls people.

James A. Teit - *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*

The first professional ethnography of the Okanogan was published by Teit in 1930, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*. He included in the "tribes" of the Okanogan the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lakes (Teit 1930:198). He noted that the differences in speech among these four groups are very slight. Variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is marked enough to identify which group a speaker belongs to (Teit 1930:203). Despite Teit's lumping, these groups do see each other as separate peoples though they recognize their linguistic, cultural, and other similarities, but do not extend them into the political arena. Each is a separate ethnic group. Then Teit seems to adopt this stance when he speaks about the divisions of the Okanogan.

The Okanogan had two recognized divisions, Teit said, and the Similkameen could be considered a third. The Upper Okanogan occupied the country around Okanogan Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake. The Nicola Okanogan belonged to this division. The Lower Okanogan or River Okanogan lived in the country along the Okanogan River. They are the so-called "real Okanogan." The Lower Okanogan were nearly all on the Colville Reservation and had received allotments in Teit's day (Teit 1930:203-204).

Elders told Teit that their population was once at least four times larger than in Teit's day. He estimated that the Okanogan numbered 2500-3000 people in the past. The Okanogan intermarried with the Sanpoil, Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, Thompson, Lakes, Colville, and Spokan (Teit 1930:211-212, 215). Teit's lumping of the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lakes with the Okanogan suggests a regional culture.

The underground house was used by all tribes as a winter lodge, except for the Colville. This type of house was falling into disuse by Teit's time in some areas. Many people preferred to live in mat lodges during the winter (Teit 1930:226-227).

Subsistence

Food of the Okanogan tribes differed little from that of the Thompson Indians, the subject of a detailed study by Teit. The proportions of different foods used were similar, as well as the methods of collection. Families moved around a lot within their tribal territories, according to the season. Usually each band was able to get enough foods of all kinds on its own grounds, but some families occasionally, and some regularly, went farther afield. Some families made regular trading trips to intertribal rendezvous passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. There were few Okanogan who had not at some time traveled to the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had gone even further. In some parts of the country, the chief means of subsistence was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places, these two activities were equally important (Teit 1930:237 flw.).

Vegetal foods were important everywhere. Serviceberries, soapberries, huckleberries, and in some places cherries were important. Roots were very important, and some nuts. Pinenuts and a few other seeds were used.

The Okanogan hunted elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, black and grizzly bear, and three species of deer. Sheep and deer were common. In later days, some Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rockies (Teit 1930:242).

Smaller game included rabbit, marmots, and beaver. Cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, otter, marten, and other animals were snared for their skins. The Okanogan did not eat dogs. Individuals and small parties hunted all

year, but most bands had four great hunts a year. There was a short spring hunt for deer and sheep, a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear perhaps lasting two months, a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women dug roots. During the summer and early fall, they gathered and dried berries and roots. Skins were dressed all year round, but probably mostly in the winter. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also shot game (Teit 1930:242-243).

A famous Similkameen story of a sheep hunt two generations previous was related to Teit. A large group of hunters could see but not get at some sheep. A female shaman whose spirit was mountain sheep was asked to help. With the aid of her dog and spirit, she was able to drive the sheep toward the hunters who waited with bow and arrows. They were able to kill a great number of the animals (Teit 1930:244-245).

Fish were caught in the same manner as described above for the Sanpoil. The main fishing places were Okanogan Falls and Kettle Falls, where all groups had access (Teit 1930:247).

Horses were introduced early in the eighteenth century. They were scarce at first, but by the end of the century, all Indians were mounted. Before the advent of horses into the Plateau, trading journeys were made on foot except for the Lakes and Okanogan, who used canoes on their convenient waterways. During this period, trading objects could be viewed as filtering across the country, but once the horse was acquired, large trading parties undertook extensive journeys (Teit 1930:249-250).

The two greatest trading spots were Kettle Falls and Okanogan Falls. Both locations were important before and after the horse because of the superior fishing sites, which made them a natural area for trading as well. When mounted, people could travel in straight lines, more or less, rather than following the water courses in canoes. A great cross-country trade sprang up between Okanogan and Colville, and the latter became the greatest trading center for the interior Salishan tribes. The Okanogan and Colville were the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the horse (Teit 1930:250).

Hostilities

The Okanogan had two meter long spears. They used flaked stone, bone, and antler originally before they used metal. They had war clubs of several kinds, and used cuirasses or armor, consisting of rods and slats of wood. They made some tunics of elk hide. No helmets were used, but small shields were universal. The latter were of thick hide sewn to a wooden hoop (Teit 1930:255-256).

Wars occurred between the Okanogan and the Thompson. The Okanogan particularly attacked the Nicola Athapascans, but after intermarriage took place, this stopped. They did not want to spill their own blood. Thus, intermarriage insured peace (Teit 1930:257).

Teit never heard of any wars between the Okanogan tribes and the Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. About 1700, the Shuswap and Okanogan fought (Teit 1930:257-258). Teit's description of the fighting sounds like raiding--they were not out to seize territory.

Feuds between families occurred, usually to avenge murder. The chiefs tried to intervene and act as arbiters, but not always successfully. If fighting was to be avoided, blood money had to be paid. Once this was done, no one could touch the murderer (Teit 1930:259-260).

Political and Social Organization

There was no hereditary nobility among the Okanogan, No clans, phratries, or societies were evident. Long ago, animals and birds were imitated in dances (not the guardian spirit dances), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups (Teit 1930:261).

Each tribe had bands, which were a group of villages, consisting of varying numbers of loosely connected families. Each band made their headquarters in a certain district under a single chief (Teit 1930:262). A number of bands, historically four among the Southern Okanogan, made up the tribe.

All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs. Besides the war chief, there was a war shaman who was an advisor to the raiding party. There were dance chiefs, whose office was rather temporary. The

hereditary chief was looked on as a father. He gave advice, harangued people for good conduct and announced news. He kept a record of time by notching sticks and made records of notable events. He judged cases when quarrels arose, and settled feuds between families if asked to do so, for he had little coercive power. Some chiefs had messengers or helpers who could act as peace officers (Teit 1930:262-263).

There were no female chiefs, and no permanent councils. Councils and meetings were open and everyone could attend and speak. Criers announced decisions. Teit says there were two head chiefs of the Okanogan, one on the American side, and the other on the Canadian side (1930:263).

Teit (1930:263) took a genealogy of six generations of a chief's family. It is notable that much was known of individuals several generations back by their descendants. They knew the ancestors and descendants of individuals, and often details of their lives, such as an escape from a war party.

Some slavery occurred among these groups. The slaves were mostly young women captured in war, but a few were obtained in trade from the south. They came from the Snake country, or Shasta. The slaves were well treated and their children were considered members of the tribe (Teit 1930:277).

Tribal territory was common property. People could get subsistence anywhere on it. People of another band or tribe did not use the resources without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory (Teit 1930:277).

Life Cycle - from Pregnancy to Death

Tabus were placed on a pregnant woman, especially with her first baby. They were meant to insure the health of mother and child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm. The first pregnancy was considered, "mystery," "in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation" (Teit 1930:278). The pregnant woman's husband also followed a few tabus for the same reasons.

Delivery was aided by one or more older women, a mother, aunt, or grandmother. There were restrictions regarding twins, but not as strict as among the Thompson Indians. Cradleboards were universally used, and styles varied from group to group (Teit 1930:278-279).

The adoption of children was common. People who had many children gave some to friends or relatives to rear as their own. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained with their foster parents.

Both sexes were under training around the time of puberty. The young people washed and bathed at least once a day as part of the training, but Teit did not discuss ceremonies surrounding this phase of life. When menstruating, women lived in a semi-subterranean house in winter and a rude shelter in summer (Teit 1930:281-282, 288).

Graves were dug in sandy places. Rock-slide burials were also common. A cairn was built over graves. Deeper graves were surrounded by a circle of rocks. Among the Okanogan, canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave (Teit 1930:288-289).

Assessment

This is a good ethnography, about 100 pages long. The only uncertain point is when he discusses chiefs, especially his statement that there were two head chiefs on either side of the international boundary. No one else says this but Teit, and while he is usually dependable, more evidence is needed to corroborate his statements. He is suggesting a chiefdom development here--but there is not a similar development described for any other tribe on the Plateau.

Teit's evidence is sometimes confusing because he lumps so many different groups under the term "Okanogan." At times he seems to mean the Upper Okanogan, and sometimes the Lower, and sometimes he is referring to the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lakes. It makes the ethnography occasionally difficult to follow.

Leslie Spier (ed.) - *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington*

The best ethnographic source for the Southern Okanogan is Leslie Spier's editing of *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanogan of Washington*, published in 1938. Spier took a group of students into the field in 1930, assigned each a major cultural topic, and edited the results. What resulted, in my opinion, is one of the staples of Plateau ethnography. It has some strengths over Verne Ray's work, especially in the social aspects of the culture, but it also has weaknesses, both of which will be explained below.

The territory of the Southern Okanogan consisted of the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, plus Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen Valley in British Columbia. This monograph studies the southernmost of this group, south of the British Columbia border, including a small strip of Northern Okanogan below the international boundary. The anthropologists also made incidental notes on the Methow, Wenatchi, and other neighbors. Spier says the culture of the Southern Okanogan is different from the northern groups, and local differences in culture seem to have been marked. He feels that this monograph is incomplete and perhaps not always accurate, and should be regarded as provisional (Spier 1938:3-4). Unfortunately, no one has ever returned to the area to study the complete culture.

At the time of the study, the Southern Okanogan numbered about 250-300 people and were living on the Colville Reservation. In Spier's time, there was still some weir fishing, hunting, and gathering, though his impression was that the people had already lost many of their cultural practices. Spier cites a list of informants, among them Suszen Timentwa, chief of the Kartar band of Okanogan. He was Moses Columbia and Kartar on his mother's side and Chelan on his father's side (Spier 1938:4). A synopsis of the papers contributed by each of Spier's students follows.

Richard H. Post - The Subsistence Quest

The Sinkaietk took every variety of fish and game, and used roots, berries, moss, seeds, and the cambium layer of pine trees. Little camas occurred in the valley and no kouse, but the people obtained camas through trade and through special trips to camas grounds in other territories. The article goes briefly through the annual round. This is similar to the annual round in Ray's *Sanpoil and Nespelem* and the narrative will not be repeated here. Each Southern Okanogan family went to the same general vicinity every year for subsistence activities (Post 1938:11).

Post estimates that one-half of the food supply came from vegetables, and more fish was eaten than game, an accurate assessment, verified by more recent work (Ackerman 1971; Anastasio 1972, Hunn 1981). The winter food supply for one family was a stack six feet tall. Three kinds of salmon ran in the Okanogan River. Chinook was most plentiful and ran for the longest period. The sockeye salmon run occurred in July and August, and silver or white salmon were taken in November. They also captured steelhead.

In the shallows, spears were used to take fish. Weirs and traps were built in favorable spots, and dip nets were used at waterfalls. In winter, spearing took place from canoes by torchlight. A salmon weir can be built at only a few places on the Okanogan River. Rapids where the water is not over waist deep is needed, and a deep and large pool is needed as well. The building of the weir was a community project, and power songs were sung during the building (Post 1938:12).

Salmon were dried every year, as they only lasted for one year. Salmon that were pounded into powder lasted longer. The fresh salmon was roasted, while dried salmon was roasted or boiled (Post 1938:14).

The First Salmon Ceremony lasted for four days. The captured fish were carried on poles everyday to the "head man" who butchered the fish in a ritualistic manner. The entire fish had to be consumed by a previously designated group of men. On the fifth day, the fish were given to the women who prepared it for winter (Post 1938:15-17). Post says that all the men present participated in the Salmon Ceremony; not just a few as in other accounts.

Women were not supposed to come nearer than a half mile to the weir. Further, those who were mourning a recent death, or a man whose wife was pregnant with her first child had to avoid the weir (Post 1938:17). It is apparent then that the tabus were not merely menstrual tabus.

Deer hunts by large groups of people took place mostly in the fall. Ten hunters with about half that number of women made up a typical hunting group. The animals were hunted year round in smaller groups. There was always a hunt leader in large groups, who had spirit power for this task. Dogs were used for the fall hunting and traps to take deer were also used. Deer meat was dried for the winter. During the fall hunt, a ceremony was held with the first deer caught, which was a First Fruits ceremony, similar to the First Salmon Ceremony and First Roots Ceremony (Post 1938:19-22)

Meat was divided among the women, who sat in a circle along with those men who were not married. The hides and heads were always kept by the individual who killed the animal (Post 1938:22).

Killing bears was dangerous and not every man hunted them (Post 1938:22). Smaller animals were also hunted (Post 1938:24). Berries (Post 1938:25) and roots were gathered (Post 1938:26). Other plant foods were also collected (Post 1938:31 flw.). First Fruit Ceremonies were held after the first big gathering of camas, service berries, and bitterroot. The night after the ceremony, sexual intercourse took place between married people (Post 1938:32). Apparently, these were fertility rituals.

Assessment

Post wrote a very good paper, because he described subsistence practices that are not described elsewhere in Plateau literature. For instance, Post accurately assessed the relative importance of the three major foods; vegetal foods, fish, and game. He mentioned a First Fruits ceremony with the first deer caught, which is unique in the literature, and he described the distribution of meat to women, also a first in the literature.

Richard Post and Rachel S. Commons - Material Culture

Dwellings are described in detail in this paper. The principal types were the long mat-covered lodge and the mat-covered tipi. The underground house used to be common, but was no longer used in this period. Each winter village may have had a house built by the women as their work place, but this may refer only to the Wenatchi. The makeup of a mat lodge and the tipi are described (Post and Commons 1938:37 flw.). A menstrual lodge was built like a regular tipi, and a large village might have two such lodges. The sweat house or lodge was an important structure and is described (Post and Commons 1938:41 flw.).

The clothing is described (Post and Commons 1938:43 flw.). Sagebrush bark was once used for clothes, but skin garments were in use during this time. The bark clothing was replaced about 1790. Earrings, face and body painting are described (Post and Commons 1938:49 flw.).

Cradles (Post and Commons 1938:50 flw.), weapons (Post and Commons 1938:53 flw.), and skin armor (Post and Commons 1938:55 flw.) are described. Rod armor was also made, but it was not common. It was customary to enter battle wearing a breechcloth and body paint. (Contemporary consultants related one wore one's best clothes to war; then one could be buried in one's finest, if necessary.)

Canoes (Post and Commons 1938:56) and other implements, such as spoons, fire-drills, awls, baskets, and parfleches (Post and Commons 1938:56 flw.) are described. Imbrication, a kind of decoration, was done on the baskets. Musical instruments (Post and Commons 1938:64 flw.), pipes, and tobacco are described (Post and Commons 1938:65 flw.). Smoking was always done during a shaman's curing. Tanning (Post and Commons 1938:66 flw.), weaving, wood and bone working, and dyes and paints are described (Post and Commons 1938:68-69).

Assessment

This is a good source for material culture, since most of these items are not being manufactured today. The objects are largely unfamiliar to contemporary Indians.

L. V. W. Walters - Social Structure (Social Organization)

Teit believed that the Southern and Northern Okanogan were under one head chief until the international boundary was established. The Sinkaietk denied this, saying they only had band chiefs and no one was ever head chief over their entire tribe. Since each band was autonomous, it was not possible to speak of them as a tribe, according to Walters. Any unity they had was due to language, geography, and similar customs plus intermarriage. They saw the Methow as a different group, though they were close geographically, spoke a similar language, and had similar customs. Even within the Sinkaietk, there were local variations in culture between bands. They were even more different from the Northern Okanogan culturally. The Sinkaietk occupied the land south of Tonasket, Washington (Walters 1938:73).

Epidemics severely reduced the numbers of this group. The Southern Okanogan have a close relationship to the Nespelem, Sanpoil, Colville, and Northern Okanogan, based on language similarities. They shared berry and hunting resources. Most Salish-speaking people were treated as friends. When members of different bands met in one place, they camped separately with each chief keeping order, but during the day, all the groups mingled with each other. There was intertribal visiting during the Winter Dances. Walters (1938:74) says that most marriages occurred within the band. This seems unlikely since most of these people would be related, but if true, it probably occurred only in early reservation times when travel was discouraged.

Trade

Before the horse was adopted, trade followed the rivers. The Southern Okanogan went as far as Wallula to the south, and Thompson country to the north for trade. They also crossed the Cascades to the coast where they traded wild hemp for sea shells. After the horse was adopted, they sometimes traveled to the Plains for buffalo. There were three large trading points for the Sinkaietk: the Big Bend on the Columbia, the mouth of the Okanogan River, and Kettle Falls. These were fishing places, but extensive trading and gambling also took place (Walters 1938:74 flw.).

They often fished in other territories. Young men especially went elsewhere to fish so they could see the girls and perhaps marry one. The trade in food was carried on entirely by women since the stored food belonged to them. Trading occurred even with the Blackfoot in-between fighting, because the Blackfoot liked salmon very much. Women and children were taken along on these Plains trips, which took three months each way (Walters 1938:75 flw.).

Before the adoption of horses, people walked to Kettle Falls from Okanogan territory, a trip lasting four days. A large bundle of hemp was worth one horse. One man commented that, "The old women do the trading," consequently, he did not know the value of things (Walters 1938:77).

There was a form of dance that was supposed to be new to this area at the time the monograph was written, called the Drum Dance. Walters believed it may have come from the Coast. Only the Thompson, Shuswap, and Northern Okanogan tribes performed this dance in the Plateau (Walters 1938:77).

Hostilities

The Sinkaietk and the Thompson were enemies; the latter being the aggressor. The former were a peaceful tribe and did not seek war: they fought only to protect themselves. A man with a certain kind of power (cougar, eagle) might be a war leader. He was immune to wounds and directed war tactics. He always foresaw enemy attack and so was useful to have in the community. The chief depended on him (Walters 1938:79 flw.).

There were refuges where women and children took shelter during attack. These were usually piles of rocks with trenches. Food was stored in this place (Walters 1938:80). Teit also speaks of these refuges, and archaeologists have found similar structures on the tops of hills or ridges.

If an enemy comes close, a "woman with much power" may take a weapon from the dead and fight with the enemy. In desperate situations, even menstruating women fought. Women who used weapons this way were allowed to keep them. The Nez Perce were among their enemies, as they used to raid the Southern Okanogan (Walters 1938:80 flw.).

Band Organization

The Sinkaietk in the 1930's were composed of four bands: the Tukoratum, Konkonelp, Kartar, and the Tonasket bands. The Sinkaietk have relatives in all four bands (Walters 1938:84). There were six bands in 1854. They were three of the above plus the Kluckhaitkwee, and Kinakanes and Milaketkun. The Tonasket band did not come into existence until later. These last three belonged to the Northern Okanogan tribe. Tonasket did not become chief of his band until 1858, and attained that position by collecting followers, and claiming some land. With the advent of epidemics, there was probably a fair amount of empty land, as survivors tended to join other bands rather than live alone.

Summer camps at good fishing stations and other subsistence areas were composed of people from any of the four bands and from neighboring tribes. The winter settlements were semi-permanent; only band members occupied them, and each band was limited to its own territory (Walters 1938:84)

A group of Methow wintered on the Okanogan River between Sand Point and Malott, Washington. This was the Chilowhist band, named after a creek in their territory. Their dialect was more similar to the Chelan than to the Sinkaietk. They were wedged between two Sinkaietk bands, had similar customs, and intermarried with them (Walters 1938:86).

Village Life

There were no class distinctions in the society. Every adult person was autonomous. They chose to hunt, gather, etc. as they pleased. They had the right to move to any village site within their band or go to another friendly band. If a chief displeased him/her, they simply moved (Walters 1938:87).

Citizenship derived from where a person lived, not place of origin. Most, however, stayed within their extended family in their place of birth. The same group wintered at the same site every year (Walters 1938:87).

Every person obtained spiritual power, even if only a little. This cultural trait led to specialization. Leaders of group activities were chosen because they had talents derived from their powers. Thus, war leader, dance leader, etc., were not hereditary positions and were not permanent during a lifetime.

No family ever attempted to winter in isolation. Two or three houses were usual, built parallel to the stream. Winter mat lodges held twenty to thirty people, with some accommodating up to fifty people. Lodge residents were usually related. Sometimes, there were ten to twelve such mat lodges in each village (Walters 1938:87).

People within a household might not have been related, but had to be congenial. The house group was formed by invitation, and the same group lived together year after year. All members of the house ate together, but each family kept its supplies separately. Married children kept their supplies with their parents. Two brothers would keep their family supplies separate. (A contemporary consultant said this was so because then a family could travel when it needed to and have its food supplies intact.) The women of the house cooked together. An older man served as house leader (Walters 1938:87-88).

Kinship Terms

The kinship systems of the Sinkaietk and Northern Okanogan are identical. Kinship terms are listed in Walters (1938:89-90). The kinship system is a Hawaiian or generational type system with cousins being equated with siblings. Other relatives are grouped together as well. For instance, a woman will call her niece daughter and the relationship is that of mother and daughter. They differentiate between a relative-in-law living in one's household and one living elsewhere.

Inheritance and Property

All property other than land and resources was strictly personal. This kind of property included objects, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative distributed the personal objects of the deceased during mourning. The deceased's parents and siblings received most of his property; friends were given the rest. The

surviving spouse and children kept almost nothing. In fact, they were required to give away their property too (Walters 1938:91). Relatives supported them until after the mourning period was over.

The name of the deceased was passed on to a young relative at a feast or giveaway some time later. Power could be inherited, given by the dead relative appearing to a young person in his dream. The latter then owned the guardian spirit and its power (Walters 1938:91). It is possible, in my opinion, that this may be an effect of enforced rejection of the Guardian Spirit religion in reservation times. Either a child refused to go on a quest or was not allowed to, so an older relative would try to give the child his or her own power.

Crime and Punishment

Stealing was almost unknown in the society. Elders kept peace and order in the group, for young people of good character never disobeyed an elder (Walters 1938:91). In cases of murder, the victim's family often killed the murderer. This could develop into a feud lasting for years. More often, a chief stepped in and tried to prevent a feud from starting by negotiating blood money from the murderer's family. If it were accepted, no feud followed. If not accepted, much trouble occurred (Walters 1938:92).

Feuds occurred over adultery also, though relatives counseled against taking revenge for that. Sometimes, though, a husband killed his wife's lover. (Elders of the 1990s note that if the lover was known to be guilty, his relatives were not allowed to start a feud.) Because of missionization, whipping became the common punishment for various crimes in early reservation history (Walters 1938:93).

Chieftainship

The chief's office usually passed from father to son. The chief and his family were supposed to be virtuous and serve as a good example to the rest of the community. Every morning, the chief's spokesman rode or walked around the camp and harangued as he went, exhorting people to good behavior. The chief never interfered with family or individual affairs. He directed the movements of the camp as a whole, and held council when necessary. The chief's son became chief because the family members were usually the best trained in moral behavior and leadership (Walters 1938:95).

While the wife of a chief worked like any other woman, she received special respect. She assumed the role of preventing quarreling among women. Sisters of the chief also received much respect.

The chief's main talent was being a good manager; in organizing things well. He also had to have good sense. Food was given to the men and women chiefs by other members of the group so the chiefs could handle public affairs without spending all their time gathering food. The chiefs kept the surplus for times of emergency for the rest of the group. Chilowhist Jim, a chief of the Methow, told Walters that chiefs did little work, but they cared for their people; they kept track of everyone, and what they were doing and how successful individuals were in getting food. Someone taking a trip to Kettle Falls, for instance, informed the chief before leaving (Walters 1938:94-95).

All four of the Sinkaietk bands plus the Methow and Chelan had chieftainesses (sku'malt, woman of great authority), who served in an advisory capacity. She was elected by the council or assembly. These women were always related to the chief, but in no recorded case was it passed on from mother to daughter. In the Tukoratum band, the sku'malt was an advisor in cases of murder, revenge, or other emergency. If her decision differed from the chief's, the people could follow either. Women were never political chiefs (Walters 1938:95-96).

Such women were also known among the Coeur d'Alene. These women were influential and respected, and were asked for political advice, but had no official role (Walters 1938:96).

When the old chief died, the new one was always a son, brother or near relative. A year passed before a new chief was elected. Then a meeting was announced and "all of the old men and women form a council to decide who shall be the new chief." They always chose the eldest son if suitable. Young people did not participate in the choosing. If they were married, they were adults, and could therefore participate; but the older people had more influence (Walters 1938:96 flw.).

One consultant said that the entire Methow tribe was under the rule of one chief only. He mentioned by name several chiefs and several sku'malts (Walters 1938:96 flw.).

In those villages without a chief, a headman led the group. He was not appointed by the chief. The chief appointed aides, using some individuals as sentinels. He had a spokesman who made announcements, and had a second public spokesman who repeated everything the chief said in a speech (Walters 1938:98).

Women captured in war first become slaves, and then wives. Often these people were seamlessly integrated into the tribe (Walters 1938:98-99).

Assessment

This paper is one of the best in Spier's (1938) collection. Walters contributed data unique in Plateau literature, as in the discussion of the chieftainesses above. Later fieldwork confirmed her information more readily than Ray's in certain areas. Some of the war stories do not ring true as on p. 80, bottom. For instance, sentinels watching over women while they gathered food is not recorded elsewhere, but it may have been true in the distant past.

May Mandelbaum - The Individual Life Cycle

Naming

A baby was not given a name for about a year, according to Mandelbaum, when an ancestral name was given to him or her. The child had "no real social status" until then. As children got older, they were introduced gradually into their tasks. They listened to "folk tales" at night, which were educational. They were excluded from religious life until puberty (Mandelbaum 1938:103).

According to Mandelbaum, when young people came into their power at the Winter Dance, social differentiation began: there was a difference in prestige. With increasing age, the desertion or loss of the guardian spirit occurred and death soon followed. The memory of the individual was lost (Mandelbaum 1938:103).

After a child was born and isolation for the mother and child was ended, the mother and child were given a feast. The child was passed around to everyone and was welcomed. A year later, an elaborate feast was given where the child was given an ancestral name by a grandparent. The feeling was that the child would resemble that relative in features or personality. This name was used until after puberty. Thereafter, a person might change his name for the sake of variety or whim (Mandelbaum 1938:104).

When a new name was assumed, a feast was given and a giveaway took place. The new name was announced, and everyone thereafter addressed the person by his new name. Sometimes the person's guardian spirit power endowed him with a new name, announced at the Winter Ceremony. The power name was seldom used.

Nicknames also were used; some were derogatory, and referred to some funny incident in the person's past. A person was called by any of his/her names (Mandelbaum 1938:105).

Childhood

There were a number of tabus, dietary and otherwise, for both parents during pregnancy. A woman shaman continued to cure while pregnant. Pregnant mothers were supposed to keep active. They went to their mother's home for the birth of a first child. Delivery was done in a squatting position. After delivery, a mother and child were secluded for a time. Twins were considered lucky (Mandelbaum 1938:120).

A baby spent much time in the cradleboard. When it became a toddler, it joined the other children in play. The older ones looked after him or her. Little boys gathered wood and water and took care of horses. They also followed their fathers to learn hunting and fishing. Eventually the boys learned to shoot arrows and kill small game. The girls helped their mothers in the house and with the babies (Mandelbaum 1938:107).

Children were allowed to make protracted visits to relatives, and they were expected to be obedient. Both sexes were made to swim in icy water in the morning; and they were sent to dark places to fetch things at night. Children were whipped when the winter village was set up. Mandelbaum states that parents might whip a child (Mandelbaum 1938:108).

The first foods brought in by either sex child were given to old people to eat at a special dinner, to insure the child's vigor and skill (Mandelbaum 1938:108).

Adoption was common, though only nephews and nieces were adopted (Mandelbaum 1938:109). In my opinion, this is not likely. There are many "take-in" children on the reservation today, as well as adults who were "taken-in."

Mandelbaum says that puberty meant solitude and fasting for a boy. "For the girl the rites were more severe." Mandelbaum further notes that "blood that comes from a woman is not good" (Mandelbaum 1938:110).

The author has a name for the puberty period for both sexes: apsuwi'stn. When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him on a vision quest, though she does not call it that. She remarks that there is now some doubt as to the relationship this had to the regular vision quest.

At her first menses, a young girl went to a tipi built for her some distance away. Her hair was bound in rolls which hung low behind her ears. She could not touch her hair; she used a scratcher instead. Her face was painted, and she wore undecorated clothing which she did not change. After the flow was over, she took frequent sweat baths. This went on for perhaps a year (Mandelbaum 1938:110 flw.). The tone of this part of Mandelbaum's account is so tentative, one is distrustful. Further, she remarks that her informants were uncertain.

Marriage

Marriage to a blood relative, even to a sixth cousin, was theoretically forbidden. Mandelbaum says that actually many second cousins did marry. It was considered a disgrace, but the offense was forgiven, though their children were expected to be weak or deformed. Incest was rare, never occurring between parent and child, but sometimes between young siblings (Mandelbaum 1938:112).

Marriages outside the tribe took place frequently. Rich and poor intermarried with no problem. Mandelbaum says that only men made the proposal for their sons--it would be disgraceful for a mother to do so (Mandelbaum 1938:112 flw.). This statement may be an accommodation by the Indians to the missionary influence, or the informant was telling the anthropologist what he thought she might like to hear. Most accounts say that the mothers arranged the marriage.

There was some infant betrothal with exchange of presents between parents. The young people did not need to honor this agreement if they did not wish to when they reached maturity. In the more usual match, the young man or his father took some horses for the girl's father and brought the girl back to his house. A year later, the girl's parents returned equivalent gifts. If the girl did not like the husband chosen for her, she might elope with her own choice (Mandelbaum 1938:112 flw.).

Sororal polygyny occurred, but also the non-sororal kind was practiced. Sororal polygyny is marriage to two sisters, and non-sororal polygyny is marriage to two or more unrelated women. In the latter case, a man might leave each wife with her people, and visit each in turn. Unrelated co-wives often quarreled. Mandelbaum's informants denied that there was a ceremony of marriage. It was "just taking each other." The author describes several marriage ceremonies (p.115-116), a few of which sound aberrant because they are white-influenced. The author also doubts their authenticity.

Divorce

In case of adultery, the husband might kill the lover, and no return vengeance was allowed. If the relatives of the deceased did not believe in his guilt, a feud could start. The wife might be forgiven or killed by the husband or she might be allowed to return to her family, signifying divorce. She was not supposed to resent her husband's affairs, but she could leave him. Turney-High (1937:96) and Ackerman (1971:601) discuss the female equivalent to

a husband killing his rival--the wife collected her friends to beat her rival and they chased her away from the husband.

Separations occurred commonly without adultery. The children went with their mother. Sometimes one of the pair might go to a celebration, taking their best clothes, and never return (Mandelbaum 1938:116 flw.).

Mandelbaum mentions the levirate, a form of marriage in which a man marries his brother's or cousin's widow (Mandelbaum 1938:117), but does not mention the sororate, in which a man will marry a sister or cousin of his deceased wife. If a widow married someone not of her husband's family, a feud might develop.

A young couple alternated living between his people and hers. That is, they took turns living with each set of parents. They set up "separate" households only after several children were born, though they likely lived "next door."

Polygyny occurred, and the divorce rate was high. Amicable relationships with parents-in-law was the usual situation.

Sexual Relations

Mandelbaum says that chastity in a girl was valued. The author then speaks about "nice girls" and those who don't know when to stop. She finally concludes that every boy and girl had a "certain amount" of intercourse before marriage (Mandelbaum 1938:118 flw.). My research confirms Mandelbaum's final conclusion, for I find it highly unlikely that chastity was an aboriginal trait. At the time Mandelbaum was working, both government and missionaries were putting pressures on these people to conform to Euro-American standards.

Illegitimate births occurred. (In the past, this was unimportant. The child was integrated seamlessly into the mother's family.) Sometimes abortion was attempted or even infanticide. There were native contraceptive plants in the area (Mandelbaum 1938:119).

Male berdaches are mentioned (Mandelbaum 1938:119). Berdaches assume the clothing and roles of the opposite sex. In Plateau culture, either sex was able to become a berdache.

Assessment

This paper has many errors in it by bald statement and by implication. It is not entirely without merit, but it is not a dependable account of the life cycle. For instance, the statement that children were excluded from religious life until puberty is absurd. Little children were taught to avoid shamans, they witnessed power being used, and were taught about spirit quests in stories. Finally, they were sent on spirit quests from at least the age of eight on up.

Mandelbaum (1938:103) says that when a person died, his or her memory was lost. This is incorrect. As noted for the Okanogan, above, histories of individuals in a genealogy lasted several generations in the memory of descendants, even if the person was undistinguished.

Mandelbaum (1938:104) states that a person might change his or her name for the sake of variety or whim. Again, this statement is incorrect in its inferences, for an adult or adolescent received a new name according to one's accomplishments. She further notes that a person was called by any of his/her names (Mandelbaum 1938:105). Actually, a person was called by only one name at a time. There is some evidence from my research indicating a person's name might be different when visiting relatives in another area, because the relatives in that area gave him/her that name. In his/her own village, however, he/she retained the original name. Naming practices are extremely complex in the Plateau, and not all the principles have been identified.

Mandelbaum (1938:108) notes that parents might whip a child. More recent literature notes that a parent never hurt a child physically. That was what the institution of the whipman was for, releasing parents from the stigma of inflicting pain (Ackerman 1971).

Mandelbaum (1938:110) states that puberty meant solitude and fasting for a boy. If Mandelbaum is referring to vision quests, a boy should have conducted them well before puberty. Actually, only girls went through puberty rites in the Plateau: boys did not have puberty rituals.

Finally, Mandelbaum (1938:110) notes that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." This comment could be interpreted in two ways. One way is that the blood is polluting. Another way, and I suspect the Plateau way, is that menstrual blood would upset the natural order unless controlled. Thus, menstruating women isolated themselves from others to prevent upsets in the spiritual powers that were so important in Plateau culture.

Walter Cline - Religion and World View

Sumix

Each man and woman was affiliated with a material object or class of objects, usually an animal, bird, or insect. The word *sumix* refers to this relationship. This word translates as "power." The source of the power was the guardian spirit (Cline 1938:133).

The soul was defined differently from sumix, but the latter was believed to live inside the heart or chest. When it came out in a person's power-song, the whole body trembled. The guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains and came when the person thought of it or needed its help. The power remained within the person, but the spirit wandered around. The spirit and the power are covered by the same word, sumix.

Cline says that the guardian spirit was a particular individual rather than a class; not all deer were the guardian spirit, for instance, but a particular one. The same individual, however, could give power to several people, and not necessarily the same power. A man who had rattlesnake power felt that all persons with rattlesnake power were his associates. Having a relationship with one rattlesnake did give him a kind of relationship with all rattlesnakes. He was immune from their bite and could cure people who had been bitten (Cline 1938:133).

The guardian sprit was conceived of more often in human rather than in animal form. In a conflict between guardian spirits, they were visualized as animals. When the power was being destroyed by an opposing shaman who had captured it, it seemed to be material, as the shaman could show blood on his hands.

The sex of the guardian spirit was not specified. It was usually the same sex as the vision seeker, though this is uncertain. At one winter dance, a dancer remarked that his guardian spirit was a female. All informants agreed that a parent could have his guardian spirit confer power on a child without decreasing his own supply of power. After death, if not given to a child, the power returned to the animal from which it came (Cline 1938:133).

A list of guardian spirits with the powers they might confer is given (Cline 1938:133-135). For instance, Coyote might give power for killing deer, because he too was a hunter, or for gambling, because he was a smart gambler in folk tales. Cougar also could give hunting power for obvious reasons. Deer can also bestow the power to kill deer. The most powerful spirits were Story Chickadee, Story Mountain Goat, Story Beaver, and Story Rock. The power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer; small birds gave great power, and chickadee power and yellow jacket power were among the strongest (Cline 1938:133-135).

One consultant said that owning power was not necessary to bring success. One could be a good hunter without it. On the other hand, the same consultant noted that even a clever person might be slow and lazy without power.

The novice was endangered in his first experience with his guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, there was more friendly control. The power did not leave him until senility. One did not identify his spirit to others, though consultants in the 1990s note that its nature became obvious after awhile. The group was interested in the power of its members for it determined his status in the group, and served as a resource for the community. "After childhood, every normal man and woman possessed it (power) in some measure; without it, he or she would have played little part in society" (Cline 1938:136). The Okanogan regarded power as essential to success.

Berdaches were considered good-for-nothing, an opinion that evolved due to Euro-American influence, in my opinion. Before that influence, berdaches were respected, just like everyone else. If they were shamans, and many were, they were accorded even more respect. My research shows that the missionaries made every effort to eradicate the practice of one sex assuming the roles and clothing of the other. They equated it with homosexuality, which it often was, and condemned it.

Shamans were of both sexes, but "if either sex predominated, it was the male." (Ray says that they were equal in power and probably numbers.) Cline notes that having power did not make one moral. Sumix were strong patrons to the "mean man" that people often followed. The only vices that prevented one from acquiring power was laziness, cowardice, and lack of concentration. The shiftless or timid child was left out (Cline 1938:137).

Children went on quests between the ages of seven and thirteen; always before puberty. They might try several times and acquire more than one spirit. As a result of Christian teaching, few children undertook the quest in the 1930s. The best places to find a spirit were on Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, or one could dive for power in Omak Lake. Children were supposed to abstain from sleep on the quest. They were advised to receive a vision cautiously since it might be a bad one. Usually, though, the child had to accept what came (Cline 1938:137 flw.).

Girls were receptive to visions during puberty isolation because they were fasting. Very young children might get a power too. The child forgot the power while growing up, and would not remember it until a Winter Dance after he/she was grown. The spirit came back in his sleep, though a very strong power would appear when the person was awake (Cline 1938:138 flw.).

Emblems were associated with certain powers. Only a person with grizzly bear power could wear its claws. Smoking had been confined to shamans, but has been lately secularized. The shaman had a power pipe, retained in a bundle in which he kept his power emblem (Cline 1938:142 flw.).

The shaman often had a special "stick" or staff as an instrument of power. In his first vision, the guardian spirit appeared with a stick and gave it to the supplicant. He had only one in his/her lifetime. Sometimes it was undecorated; sometimes painted with symbolic colors. Straight lines, spirals and circles were the most common form of decoration. It was used at winter dances, and during purification before hunting. A woman's stick helped her find roots and berries. The shaman might fix his power emblem to a stick three to four feet long, and place deer hoof rattles on it (Cline 1938:142 flw.).

When the power returned to a young person after childhood, it told him/her it was lonesome. The young person became ill (lonesome and ill at ease). A shaman was called in who informed the young person that the power wanted him/her to host a dance. When winter came, the neophyte awoke singing from a power dream. Then news was sent to other villages to invite people to the Winter Dance. The neophyte hosted the dance, but the shaman managed the affair (Cline 1938:145 flw.).

The Winter Dance, also called the medicine dance or Chinook Dance, took place in the winter. The host was the chief dancer who discharged an obligation placed on him/her to do this by the spirit in a dream. The community helped him sing his power song. Those with power also danced. By helping him tame his power, the guests received blankets, skins, food and other gifts at the end of the dance. The dance was held in January or February. One always gave his first Winter Dance in his own house. Most of the food was provided by hosts and relatives, but guests brought some too. Men and women sat on opposite sides of the room (Cline 1938:146 flw.).

The dance leader decided how many nights the dance should last. From three to fourteen nights was possible. During the days, the people slept, ate, and socialized. The dance began soon after sunset and continued till dawn. A post was placed in the middle of the room and contained a dangerous potency. After the dance, it was removed to the woods, placed upright against a tree, and abandoned (Cline 1938:146 flw.).

Power contests took place between shamans. A shaman might fight another to justify a boast, thwart another shaman or kill him by killing his guardian sprit. If a spirit was killed by another shaman, all of the victim's spirits died. The contests between shamans occurred most often when one of them was curing a patient. He was engaged in finding the guilty shaman who had made his patient ill. In a shaman's contest, the defeated shaman did not die right away. He or she met with an accident or became ill and died (Cline 1938:154 flw.).

Spirit power kept the fish running. When the fish run failed, a grandmother who had salmon power cleaned the weir and sat down near it. She sang no songs; she just thought about her power and went away. The salmon began to run again that night (Cline 1938:160).

Another woman's grandson made a weir, but no fish came. So she walked to the weir and lay down there. Soon after sunset, she heard the kingfisher, and knew they were going to eat. She slept and the salmon came. Thus,

while most women should not come closer than half a mile to the weir, those who had salmon power or "who were attended by a man who had such power" could do so without destroying the run (Cline 1938:160).

Various methods of shamanistic curing (Cline 1938:162 flw.) and herbal curing (Cline 1938:166 flw.) are described. On this page an herb to produce abortion is mentioned, but one consultant said it was sinful, (placing the ethnography in a historical context, because it was not considered sinful before the arrival of missionaries.) There was love medicine too.

Assessment

The account of the Sinkaietk religion is poorly organized, and though I am not an expert on the subject, I do not trust many of the details of this narrative. The discussion of souls and ghosts (p. 167 flw.), for instance, is confusing, but the complexity of the subject should be considered.

Rachel S. Commons - Diversions

This paper (Commons 1938:185-194) contains a discussion of stories and gambling, activities that were very popular. One needed gambling power to be a good gambler. She also discusses various types of games.

Assessment

Commons' paper appears to be adequate in describing the games.

Village Locations

A map (Walters 1938:85) and a list of the villages are presented (Walters 1938: 86-87) on the indicated pages. The map appears to be accurate. The villages listed number 54.

Overall Assessment

Both Spier's students and Ray did their studies at a time when Indian morale was low, the population numbers had dropped, the missionaries were powerful, and the government intrusive. Many cultural forms were suppressed by these forces. These factors should be taken into account when reading the ethnographies from this time period. Considering the handicaps, the students did a fair job. Only Walters and Post, however, seem to have made a real contribution to Plateau studies. Since their time, it appears that Plateau cultures have been revitalized, and many cultural forms are being revived and practiced. There has even been some cultural evolution going on in the Plateau tradition. Here I am referring specifically to the kinship system, which is a little different from the past in that it has been carried to its logical extension. That is, marriage to all known relatives is currently forbidden. In no way does the Sinkaietk kinship system resemble the Euro-American form of kinship.

THE MOSES-COLUMBIA (SINKIUSE)

James Alexander Teit - *The Middle Columbia Salish*

Much of the extant information on the Columbia, or Moses-Columbia as it is known today, is of a historical nature, but some cultural content is available. James Alexander Teit wrote a monograph in 1928, entitled, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, in which he grouped the Wenatchi in with the Moses-Columbia. He collected data on the Colville Reservation in 1908 for this monograph, but spent only a few days doing so. His main objectives were to collect a vocabulary and gather information on their former tribal territory. Most of the data came from the Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation (Teit 1928:89).

The Middle Columbia Salish consisted of two tribes, the Columbia and Wenatchi, according to Teit. Other works include the Chelan and Entiat in this group and sometimes even the Methow, but that will be discussed below. The Columbia were also known as Priest Rapid's people and were the principal band of the tribe. They were given the name by fur traders who noted a shaman in the vicinity and so named the area Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre or the Rock Island People, since there is a rocky spot in the river. The name, Sinkiuse, is derived from their name in the Columbia language. The Wenatchi lived on the west bank of the Columbia. The Moses-Columbia considered themselves separate from the Wenatchi though they spoke the same language and were supposed to be of common origin (Teit 1928:89-90).

The Columbia language resembles the Okanogan language, but it has similarities to other Salish languages as well (Teit 1928:93). Teit listed four bands (Teit 1928:94-95). He reported that Moses was a greater chief than Joseph in most respects. He wielded most power among the Indians "and his word received most attention" (Teit 1928:94).

Teit placed the Methow and Chelan as subdivisions of the Wenatchi. Many Wenatchi were absorbed into the Yakama through intermarriage (Teit 1928:95).

The Columbia and Wenatchi said that they were once numerous. This was confirmed by the Sanpoil and others. Through disease and wars, only remnants of these peoples were left, at the time that Teit wrote. The chief cause of the decrease appeared to have been smallpox and other epidemics which came at least four times, carrying off thousands of people. The first epidemic occurred around 1800, and the second about 1825. Both were lethal. A third came a little later and may have been the malaria that occurred about 1830. A fourth epidemic reached the tribe about sixty years before Teit's monograph was written (about 1868) and may have been measles, which also killed many Spokan. It may have been the 1847 measles that was brought into the Plateau by Euro-American immigrants in that year. Teit figured the four groups he was discussing once numbered at least 10,000. He noted that all or part of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi were included in the Yakama treaty, but most refused to recognize it. Very few individuals were placed on the Yakama Reservation. In the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1905, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi resided on the Colville Reservation (Teit 1928:97-98).

According to Teit, the Salish (Columbia and Wenatchi) were gradually pushed back or absorbed by the Sahaptins, later called the Yakama. The latter gradually moved into the Yakima Valley and spread up and down the river. The Palus were an offshoot of the Yakama who spread into the lower Snake and the Palouse country. Teit further discussed the subject (Teit 1928:99-109), which will not be repeated here, as it is generally discounted today. Teit obtained the account of these movements from Indians, but he reported that some said their traditions do not preserve any tribal movements. McCrosson, the sub-agent at Nespelem, knew the Columbia well, and he was told by them that the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River Valley south of their recent boundaries to the eastern borders of The Dalles tribes (Teit 1928:105).

The Columbia and Wenatchi had a reputation in the Plateau for being superior to other tribes in stone work and weaving (Teit 1928:111). Bone work, weaving, and mats are described (Teit 1928:112). Lodges are described

on page 114, and fit into the general style of the Plateau. There was a menstrual underground lodge used by the Columbia women in winter, similar to that of the Nez Perce.

Clothing type was similar to that of the Sanpoil (Teit 1928:116-117). Food gathering and subsistence generally was similar to that of other tribes (Teit 1928:118). Canoes, snowshoes, and the use of horses are described (Teit 1928:120).

The Columbia and Wenatchi were active traders. Trading routes were noted in a general way (Teit 1928:121). Their most important market places were located at The Dalles and the Grande Ronde.

Social organization was similar to that of the Thompson and Okanogan Indians (Teit 1928:126). Teit noted that Moses was a hereditary chief, but there may have been leaders of war parties as well.

Assessment

This monograph is not up to Teit's usual quality. There is too much speculation presented as fact. As he himself noted, he had spent only a few days gathering information. Further, while the Columbia, Wenatchi, Chelan, and Entiat did have certain political ties, cultural similarities, and perhaps common origins, the people of each of these divisions do not identify themselves as Columbia if they are Wenatchi, Entiat, or Chelan. The implications about tribal affiliation are wrong here.

Allan H. Smith - *The Cultural Resources of the Rocky Reach of the Columbia River, Vol. 1*

Allan H. Smith also did a study of the Middle Columbia in his 1983 study, *The Cultural Resources of the Rocky Reach of the Columbia River, Vol. 1*, Schalk and Mierendorf, eds.

Smith studied the period between 1811-1855. Unfortunately, while the study includes first contacts and geography, no ethnography was available. Smith notes that David Thompson was probably the first white person to make contact with Middle Columbia people. He came across a group who were either Wenatchi or Columbia, which had a population of about 120 families or approximately 800 persons. They had a few buffalo robes that they obtained through trade. Smith thinks it likely that the Columbia were already going to the Plains and getting their own robes in this period. David Thompson also noted a Methow camp at the confluence of the Methow and Columbia Rivers in 1811 (Smith 1983:43). There follows much figuring by Smith on who it was early fur traders met along the river, but they recorded no cultural data.

Social Organization

Following Curtis (1911: 7:65) in his classification of social organization, Smith says that the Middle Columbia Salish (the Columbia, Wenatchi, Entiat, and Chelan) had four levels of social organization:

1. Camp group - These were for the acquisition of food. They were temporary sites and small social units.

2. Village groups - These were more permanent settlements than the camp. They were placed in about the same site year after year. The village population consisted of a few families up to several hundred people. The families were usually related, with fewer friends and kinsmen from other areas than in the case of the camp. Each village was politically autonomous under a chief.

3. Band - There were usually two or more bands within a tribe. Each band was composed of a number of neighboring, loosely-linked village groups. Both language dialect and cultural differences occurred within the band, but they were fewer and more trivial than within the tribe. It is unknown if bands were always named. Band members had more interaction with each other than with people outside their band. The band had no formal leadership, but its full social role is not well understood. The band did occupy a certain area, one segment of the tribal territory. Most band members used resources within their own borders, although they had the option of entering the territory of fellow tribal bands.

4. Tribe - There was no unifying central political structure. Connected groups had a common dialect, a single culture, a high level of social interaction (such as for marriage and religion), common interests, and a sense of

belonging. They had a common territory, which outsiders did not use without permission. For Smith, the term, "tribe," is acceptable if used in this non-political sense (Smith 1983:147-149).

Perhaps because of epidemics, or the presence of Euro-Americans, or pressures implicit within their own culture, the Middle Columbia went through changes in the first part of the nineteenth century. During the 1805-55 period, the Columbia apparently abandoned the Priest Rapids area and gathered near Rock Island. The Entiat of Entiat Valley and the adjacent Columbia River seem to have disappeared as separate entities, perhaps because of epidemics and probably because of partial absorption into Wenatchi and Chelan groups (Smith 1983:149).

Bands were more discrete than tribes. If a village were geographically isolated, it might be regarded as a single village band. We do not have a native's view of this social-political organization. Perhaps the Entiat had no bands at all. Smith does concede, however, that the natives themselves saw four different population entities, even if we do not call them tribes (Smith 1983:150).

Because villages and bands in this area were not formally bound into tribes, there was a fuzziness about border lines, especially in the back country. River village boundaries were supposed to be more defined, but if two groups were closely placed, they had a bilingual and bicultural village with permanent residents, and a high interaction level. Where this occurred, boundary lines were uncertain even along a river (Smith 1983:152).

Some areas were year-round villages and camps at the same time. The Columbia site at Rock Island was such a site.

Columbia - On the bank of the Columbia east and south of the Chelan, Entiat, and Wenatchi were the Columbia or Sinkiuse. The Columbia were close kin to the west bank tribes, linguistically and culturally, but had distinct differences. Ray (1974) delineates the position of Columbia villages, which Smith follows (Smith 1983:163). Winans places the Columbia on the east and south side of the Columbia River, from Grand Coulee down to Priest's Rapids, including the country within the great bend of the river. There were a number of named bands in this group (Smith 1983:189 -198).

Chelan - Chelan Lake and Chelan River constituted the center of their country. The Chelan also claimed and used the west flank of the Columbia Valley north of the Chelan River's confluence with the Columbia. Their territory reached up to the Rocky Reach Reservoir. The entire group was small and did not seem to have band divisions (Smith 1983:165-166). No cultural data are given here.

Entiat - this was a sociocultural and linguistic entity, a tribe in Smith's sense. It was too small probably to have band divisions. Historical accounts fail to mention the Entiat, which suggests that in the early 1800s, they were already disappearing by mid-century as a viable tribe. Ray did not mention them in his early work, but in his 1947 list of villages, he did list some Entiat villages (Smith 1983:171 flw.).

Wenatchi - this group was located in the Wenatchee Valley with adjacent sections of the Columbia River (Smith 1983:177).

The term, "Middle Columbia Salish," refers to the four tribes listed above. The term, "Moses band" came into use after Chief Moses became their leader, and the remnants of the Columbia concentrated in the Rock Island area.

Ethnography - The data are scanty indeed. Teit's 1928 work on the Middle Columbia Salish is either generalized or specific to the Wenatchi. The Chelan, Entiat, and Wenatchi were located west of the Columbia within the Northern Cascades Province. The Columbia were in the Columbia Basin Province. Consequently, available resources were quite different. The Chelan had no salmon in the Chelan River, while the Entiat had a small quantity of fish in the Entiat River. The Wenatchi took salmon in great numbers in the Wenatchee River. The Columbia obtained salmon from the Columbia River and had a good fishing site at Rock Island Rapids (Smith 1983:204 flw.).

In game resources, some bands in this area had no antelope at all, and others no sheep or goats. These differences were somewhat evened out by the common use of resources among different tribes. Trading also might have evened out the differences, but there are no hard data on this topic in these two biogeographic provinces. Smith therefore doubts that these four tribes really represent a cultural cluster (Smith 1983:209-210). Ray disagrees, as I will discuss below.

In the early nineteenth century, the four tribes began regular journeys to the Flathead country and from there to the Plains. The Columbia group was especially apt to undertake this journey. Smith notes that Teit says that almost the entire Moses Columbia band undertook the trip every year (1983:210).

Annual Round - Much of the annual round is extrapolated due to lack of data. However, it appears that the four tribes followed an annual round, not much different from the rest of the Plateau (1983:211 flw.).

Intertribal Gatherings - The Wenatchi had an important fishing ground visited by other tribes near Leavenworth. The Wenatchi also had good camas grounds and were visited by the Okanogan on occasion. Good camas grounds did not seem to have existed in Chelan and Entiat territory (1983:221).

Assessment

This is not a rewarding monograph, but the data simply are not available. The length of the monograph is due to the compilation of every observation ever made by first observers of Indians digging roots, etc. at a particular location, with no other ethnographic data.

Smith notes that the Entiat seem to have disappeared in the mid-eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there are at least a few Entiats on the Colville Reservation in the 1990s. One elder who died recently at the age of 102 was the granddaughter of perhaps the last Entiat chief. From her accounts, the band persisted at least until mining days (the 1850s) because her mother remembered miners traveling through their land.

Smith also doubts that these four tribes were a cultural cluster. They did, however, form one of the two tribal confederacies in the Plateau (see Ray 1960 below), memories that are preserved on the Colville Reservation today. It is hard to know what is meant by "cultural cluster" anyway. If the four tribes were united politically on occasion, but differed in some cultural traits, can they be part of a cultural cluster? Politics is cultural too, and descendants of Chief Moses today who live on the Colville Indian Reservation recall that Moses took care of all the members of the former four tribes, making sure that they were coping economically, and helping them when they could not.

Verne F. Ray - "The Columbia Indian Confederacy: A League of Central Plateau Tribes"

Political Organization

Verne F. Ray in his 1960 article, "The Columbia Indian Confederacy: A League of Central Plateau Tribes," has a differing view from Smith on the Columbia tribe. He says that the Columbia headed a confederacy that started in pre-contact times and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. Chief Moses was the last great leader of these groups. He led four tribes: the Columbia, Wenatchi, Entiat, and Chelan. They occupied a contiguous block of territory on both sides of the Columbia in central Washington. While they were similar culturally, the Columbia tribe diverged somewhat from the other three in having a stronger tribal organization, being more warlike, and making frequent and longer ventures into the Great Plains for both war and buffalo hunting than did the other three groups (Ray 1960:771).

These tribes occupied an area which was the last in the Northwest to be settled by whites. Not until the 1890s did settlers arrive in the area in any number. The city of Wenatchee was not laid out until 1892. As late as 1910, almost all land near Manson, on Lake Chelan, was owned by Indian families (Ray 1960:772).

The fur traders ignored this area. Alexander Ross, Ross Cox, Alexander Henry, and David Thompson traveled the Columbia passing through the territories of these four tribes, but did not provide much information on them. Lewis and Clark mentioned them on the basis of second hand information from other Indians, but did not meet them. George Gibbs made ethnographic notes on the Chelan, Entiat, and Wenatchi, and was the first to learn of the Columbia Confederacy and its pre-white origin (Ray 1960:772). Prior to 1870, little contact occurred between these groups and the United States. For fifteen years thereafter, contact was continuous, and included the formation and dissolution of the Columbia Reservation, immediately west of the present-day Colville Indian Reservation.

Ray points out that political organization was highly developed among all the Plateau tribes--they had offices, departments, and precise functions, even though of modest size. Village autonomy was the rule, but buffalo

hunting required greater tribal organization. Intermarriage linked the four tribes, but intermarriage also occurred with other neighbors. A comparable organization to the Columbia Confederacy existed among groups to the south: the Yakama Confederacy, which consisted of the Kittitas, Yakama, Wanapam, Klikitat, and Palus. Its leader was Kamiakin (Ray 1960:773).

The first head of the Columbia Confederacy was Shooktalkoosum (Broken Sun). He may have been responsible for the formation of the confederacy, about 1820. His own ancestry was Okanogan through his father; his mother was Chelan. Shooktalkoosum's family went to live with the Columbia when he was very young. Not being born in that area, his eventual ascension to the chieftainship was unusual. For the Columbia, a deceased chief was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother, or if none lived, his eldest son succeeded. Usually, there was no deviation (Ray 1960:774). We have no account of how this happened.

Shooktalkoosum was a great warrior, known for his courage. Before his death, he led many parties of his four tribes to the Plains every summer. His guardian spirit was superior to those of all contemporaries, and it guarded him in battle. He was destroyed by a Blackfoot female shaman who was able to neutralize his powers. He died about 1840. Ray says it was natural that the unity of the four tribes on the battlefield would extend to more peaceful venues (Ray 1960:774-776).

Shooktalkoosum was succeeded by his oldest son, who was chief for only a year, dying on the Plains. The second son, Kwiltninuk, succeeded his brother and remained chief for many years. He was prominent in the Yakama War against the whites. He attacked a party of miners and killed fifty. He was also killed in this skirmish, and Moses succeeded his brother. Moses was a more even tempered man than Kwiltninuk and was opposed to fighting the whites. He used diplomacy to keep the four tribes out of war (Ray 1960:777).

Moses' mother was Kanitsa, the first and favorite wife of Shooktalkoosum. She was of the Columbia tribe (then Ray says that her father was a Spokan chief--this might not be a contradiction, since her parents might have divorced, and she was raised among the Columbia.) She was a powerful and capable woman. People looked to her for leadership in her husband's absence. Her second son was Moses. Moses' father, Shooktalkoosum, sent him to Lapwai to the mission school where he remained three years, learning about white culture (Ray 1960:779-781).

His older brother, Kwiltninuk, was a harsh chief. Moses often intervened and tried to persuade him to be more temperate. Moses often spoke up in defense of some accused person. As he became older, he participated in the councils. He was a good fighter despite being a pacifist. He took part in some of the attacks on miners, and was present when his brother was killed. He claimed he took part because his brother was leader and he was obliged to obey him. When he first inherited the chieftainship through the death of his brother, he hid from the Euro-Americans because of his previous participation in hostilities (Ray 1960:783-784).

When Moses became chief officially, through the acclamation of the people, the people gave him the name of his father, Shooktalkoosum. This was a great honor. He also became the recognized head of the Confederacy. Later, when he was ordered by the whites to go and live on the Yakama Reservation along with his people, he refused. That area was unacceptable because it was outside of their aboriginal homeland (Ray 1960:785-786).

From 1870 on, Moses negotiated with the military and agency officials regarding removal to a reservation. Although he was placed in jail at one point because of his part in killing miners, he still kept his people at peace. He had hoped to get his own reservation. During his 1879 trip to Washington, D. C., he obtained the promise of his own reservation, which was to be called the Columbia Reservation. It would have been adjacent to the Colville Reservation, but would occupy lands native to some of the four tribes of the Confederacy. The new reservation did not last long. The Moses Agreement followed, in which he had to give up the Columbia Reservation and move to the Colville Reservation. Ray does not say how he was persuaded to do this. Perhaps Moses was being realistic in not putting up a fight. As compensation for the loss of the reservation, he received $1000 per year, a house, and other privileges. He and his people moved there in 1884. Those who did not wish to go remained and took a homestead of one square mile. Some Wenatchi did this, and their descendants were still living on their ancestral lands at the time Ray wrote this article (Ray 1960:787-788).

Assessment

This is a very interesting article, throwing new light on Plateau history and culture. Recent fieldwork on the Colville Reservation confirms Ray's assertion of the high regard given to Moses by everyone, not just members

of the four tribes. His descendants are still highly respected because they inherited his political acumen and exercised it for the good of the reservation.

Stuart A. Chalfant - "Material Relative to Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy by the Columbia Salish of Central Washington"

Chalfant (1974b) denies that the Columbia had any influence over other tribes. He also doubted that the Columbia had tribal status before the whites arrived on the scene, believing that this developed as a result of warfare with the whites. Chalfant notes that several ethnic groups joined this band as refugees, including Nez Perce "renegades." He believes that the Columbia tribe's territory was more limited than Ray and others would have it. They were less dependent on salmon because they were equestrian, but he does acknowledge that there were major fishing sites in their area, Priest's Rapids being one of them. Chalfant makes a long argument for a court case, taking the side of the United States government, that the Moses group was militaristic, involved in several wars against the whites, accepted "renegades" which revealed their militarism, and did not really "own" any land but for the fishing villages. They did not have a definable economic area. Further, the Moses band was not the direct successor of the Kowachin and other bands because of its "alien elements."

Assessment

Many of the statements that Chalfant published are absurd, and are presumably made to win a court case, or are simply fieldwork-deficient. They are absurd, first of all, because the Columbia had tribal status in pre-contact times. Contemporary Indian people acknowledge a connection among the four tribes of the Columbia Confederacy Further, the "renegades" that Chalfant refers to were refugees, a sort of elaboration of "take-ins," an admirable Plateau custom exercised to the present day. To be militaristic in defending one's territory is a new definition of the term and is obviously used polemically here. It was well known that Moses went to great lengths to avoid war with the whites. No Plateau group truly "owned" land in our definition, but the Columbia owned their land as much as any Plateau group did. That is, they owned it communally, and excluded outsiders from using its resources unless the outsiders secured permission from the proper authority. "Alien elements" occur in every Plateau society--intermarriage guarantees it. Since ethnicity is defined by residence in Plateau culture, a principle not unknown to us, these people or "renegades" became Moses-Columbia. Chalfant's article seems intellectually suspect, because he must have been aware of some of the points above.

Ray (1974) also testified in the above court case. He repeated much of the material presented above regarding the Columbia tribe's tribal organization under Chiefs Shooktalkoosum and Moses. The Confederacy operated in times of war. At other times, the four groups were politically independent.

THE WENATCHI (PISQUOW)

Stuart A. Chalfant - "Material Relative to Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy by the Wenatchi Salish of Central Washington"

Chalfant (1974b) prepared a statement on the Wenatchi regarding their aboriginal land use and occupancy for a court case, testifying for the United States government. The objective was to determine the extent of the lands the Wenatchi owned and occupied to the exclusion of other native groups at the time of and prior to the Yakama treaty of 1855, and to examine the nature of rights to the lands that the Wenatchi occupied (Chalfant 1974b:319).

Origins

Historically, the name, Wenatchi, has been differently applied to one or several bands of Middle Columbia Salish who lived along the western banks of the Columbia, and on the Wenatchee, Entiat, and Chelan rivers. Some included the Methow in this group. Dialectically, the Wenatchi are part of the larger Middle Columbia Salish, which includes the Columbia and Moses Band. These groups shared a common culture as well, but there was some slight cultural and linguistic variation between the Wenatchi and other bands west of the river and the Columbia tribe (Chalfant 1974b:321).

Teit (1928) identified the Methow and Chelan as Wenatchi. Curtis separates Methow out of this group. Chalfant agrees, but the Chelan and Entiat are a different matter, and their relationship to the Wenatchi is discussed below (Chalfant 1974b:323).

Chalfant supports Teit's discredited theory that the Sahaptins displaced the Salish, and pushed them north to their present locations. Teit believed the displacement occurred in the Wenatchi area as well. Teit's theory is not generally accepted because the Sahaptins have no traditions that they are recent in the Southern Plateau, though Chalfant ignores this. Chalfant states that the Wenatchi in the south (the Pisquows, consisting of six bands) were so intermarried with the Yakama, were so reduced by disease, and then were supposedly displaced by Sahaptins, that Chalfant calls them "supposedly Salish" (Chalfant 1974b:7). In his view, the Wenatchi lost their identity: he sees the Pisquow more validly as Kittitas, a Sahaptin group. The four Salish bands found south of the Wenatchee Mountains and the two bands from the east side of the Columbia may be identified as Pisquows proper for the early nineteenth century. Gradual assimilation into Sahaptin stocks distinguishes them from the Wenatchi proper on the Wenatchee, Entiat, and Chelan rivers (Chalfant 1974b:325-326).

Social and Political Organization

The political organization for the Wenatchi was the same as for the rest of the Plateau. According to Chalfant, there was village organization only; no tribes. Social groupings did not function as political units. Ray contradicts Chalfant's assertion. He notes that the Wenatchi and Columbia had a "slight" tribal tendency in common with some eastern Plateau groups, who were influenced by Plains Indians (Chalfant 1974b:331-333).

Ray sees the Methow and Chelan as different groups from the Wenatchi, while Curtis groups the Chelan and Entiat with the Wenatchi (Chalfant 1974b:334).

According to Teit, the Wenatchi and Columbia bands were afflicted by smallpox in 1800, 1825, 1830-32, and measles in 1847, all of which resulted in great losses. The effect of these on social and political organization can be surmised, but details are not known. Little or no historical data on the Wenatchi exist between 1811 and 1841 (Chalfant 1974b:345).

Chalfant concludes that the Wenatchi, Entiat, and Chelan were three different ethnic groups, though they were related (Chalfant 1974b:354). Chalfant did not contact any Wenatchi informants during his study on the Colville Reservation. He indicates that their subsistence round was similar to other groups in the Plateau. Trade relations with other groups and much intermarriage was usual (Chalfant 1974b:356-358).

Certain villages consisted of more or less equal mixes of two groups. The Leavenworth area had a village of Wenatchi and Yakamas, and everyone was bilingual. Also, a mixed village of Chelan and Wenatchi developed

near the present town of Entiat, Washington. The Chelan chief had more or less power over all Chelan villages. These groups went to trade at The Dalles with other groups (Chalfant 1974b:361-363).

Chalfant reiterates that the Wenatchi, Chelan, and Entiat bands were separate ethnic groups and separate political units in the mid-nineteenth century. In the latter part of the century, the Entiat and Chelan were subsumed under the Methow, at least in that they had a single chief who was chief of the Chelan before and during the time of the Yakama treaty. His name was In-no-mo-se-cha (Chalfant 1974b:367-368).

Assessment

This seems to be a fairer evaluation of the Wenatchi than Chalfant gave the Moses-Columbia. He does seem to believe that intermarriage equals cultural eradication. It does not, for individuals retained their cultural identity even when married far from home. Even though married to a local resident, such individuals did not participate in the local religious rituals, indicating their outsider status. When widowed, the man or woman returned to his or her natal village.

The only other source for the Wenatchi is in Ray's, *Cultural Element Distributions: Plateau* (1942). This book consists of a list of cultural traits like bark canoes, pack strap, paid wailers (at death), etc., with a positive or negative mark under columns denoting various tribes, one of them Wenatchi. The book was carefully examined, and is practically useless as a source for writing an ethnography.

THE CHELAN

Allan H. Smith - *Ethnography of the North Cascades*

The material pertaining to the Chelan is slight and is usually mixed in with the Wenatchi or Moses-Columbia, as above. The only source dedicated to the Chelan is by Allan H. Smith, who did an ethnography of the North Cascades for the National Park Service in 1987.

Smith also notes that the data available for the Chelan are meager. They were, however, of a group of cultures that shared similar life patterns with the Methow, the Entiat, and the Wenatchi. However, the Entiat and the Chelan are also poorly described. The Wenatchi are somewhat better described due to a study by Ray (1942), so Smith used data from the Wenatchi with references to the Chelan when able (Smith 1987:251).

Smith further notes that no two groups in the Plateau followed precisely the same cultural patterns, and each had its own speech variations as well. Historical influences were slightly different as were the ecological niches. The Chelan lived in a mountainous riverine environment, but were mainly a lake people. They lived mostly on the shores of Lake Chelan and its small tributaries. In contrast, the Wenatchi made less use of the mountains since they lived on the banks of the Columbia and the Wenatchee River, and its tributaries. They used much salmon. Cultural consequences flowed from these environmental differences (Smith 1987:251).

The Columbia tribe are sometimes linked with the Chelan, Methow, Entiat, and Wenatchi into a "Middle Columbia (Salish) group." Though the Columbia are similar culturally, they have yet another ecological base that includes living along the Columbia and using the dry Columbia Basin with its steppe and shrub vegetation. Further, they were involved in bison hunting in post-horse times. Thus, Smith judges that their cultural data are only marginally useful to understand the Chelan (Smith 1987:251).

As a result, the information below is to be understood as Wenatchi-specific unless explicitly noted as Chelan. Most of the Wenatchi data is from Ray (1942), which is a cultural element survey. Early historical documents referring to the area of the Chelan number only nineteen between 1811-1850, while only one historical reference relates to the Chelan people specifically (Smith 1987:253). The historical contacts are reviewed below.

In August, 1811, Alexander Ross canoed up the Columbia from Astoria when he observed a small rapid stream which descended over the rocks in sheets. He was told that this was called Tsill-ane or Chelan. The water came from a lake not far distant (Lake Chelan). His notation was the first reference to the lake in Euro-American history. A short distance farther up, he met a group of people and camped with them in Chelan territory. Smith notes several passages made by various fur traders along these shores without anyone spotting Indians, or at least mentioning them. Smith concludes that the fur traders were not interested in these poor people, or they were not visible, because they remained mostly near Lake Chelan. Salmon fishing was not that important to them: they hunted, dug roots, and gathered berries instead (Smith 1987:254).

The traditional territory of the Chelan included a short stretch of the Columbia on both sides of the Chelan River, and Lake Chelan itself. Specifically, their territory started from the mouth of Antoine Creek downstream past the entrance of the Chelan River and south just below the mouth of Navarre Coulee (Smith 1987:260) (see Fig. 4 for general location).

Teit regarded the Chelan as part of a complex that included the Wenatchi, Entiat, and Methow, constituting a single tribe. He connects these four groups with the Columbia culturally, and called the entire complex of five groups the Middle Columbia Salish. Ray calls this group of five the Central Interior Salish (Smith 1987:260-262).

Language

The Chelan language and the Wenatchi language are different only at the dialectical level. Plateau linguists group Chelan, Columbia, and Entiat together and term it "Columbian." More recently, Kinkade and Thompson have

regarded Methow as an Okanogan dialect. Some evidence exists that Methow earlier was part of the Columbian language group but shifted in recent times toward Okanogan (Smith 1987:262).

Population

No reliable information on population numbers exists; these people were too much out of the way of fur traders during the 1811-1850 period. Several very small estimates of "Okanogan" (300 people) may have included the Chelan but are quite suspect. Even the 1907 census does not explicitly count the Chelan, but combines them with other groups. Informants said the these groups were once populous in precontact times. By the mid 1800s, disease decreased their numbers greatly. They suffered at least four epidemics in the first half of the nineteenth century (Smith 1987:263).

Subsistence

Fishing - In the absence of hard data, Smith assumes that the Chelan had fish, game, and plant foods in a balanced supply. Fish were somewhat less plentiful with them than among the Wenatchi. Salmon could not reach Lake Chelan, and the people had villages and camps at only six sites on the Columbia River. Smith infers that Chelan territory did not have really good fishing locations. The Chelan often fished for salmon at the Entiat fishery, which was relatively unproductive. Some went to the Wenatchee River where there was a large intertribal fishery. After about 1870, they also fished in Methow territory (Smith 1987:263-265).

The area is very prone to earthquakes. A large cliff fell into Lake Chelan, and an early settler recorded three days of earth tremors. Also, Lake Chelan is subject to floods, one raising the lake level eleven feet over the 1892 water mark. All these conditions may have prevented the entry of salmon into this area. There were brook and rainbow trout in the lake plus other varieties of fish, and they could have depended on these species quite a bit, but no hard information on uses is known (Smith 1987:265).

Hunting

Smith notes that hunting was important to the Wenatchi. I learned that hunting was also very important to the Chelan (Ackerman 1978-1995). Game included deer, but also elk, antelope, mountain goat, bighorn sheep, and brown and grizzly bear. The Chelan were said to have an astounding amount of game. Mountain goats were particularly numerous and important to the Chelan. Deer were hunted on an unwooded peninsula and adjacent shore areas near the present town of Manson. There was a large village at the foot of Lake Chelan that was an important goat hunting base. At Fish Creek Point, fifty miles up the lake, a settler killed fifty goats, indicating their abundance (Smith 1987:268-270).

Plant Foods

There is little data on gathering plants, though the Chelan must have depended heavily on plant foods. The Wenatchi used camas and bitterroot. The Chelan had access to roots, because they gave some to Alexander Ross when he was there in 1811. Bitterroot was either numerous or of good quality, because the Sanpoil-Nespelem name for the Chelan refers to them as the "bitterroot people." The Wenatchi had a First Fruits Ceremony for berries, though no kinds of berries are mentioned specifically for either Wenatchi or Chelan. Ray's informant (1942) noted abundant berry grounds among the Chelan. Sunflowers and berries were especially prolific in the vicinity of Willow Point. Root gathering grounds were located on the unforested peninsula and adjacent shore areas near the Chelan camp in the Manson, Washington area, and perhaps on the south side of the lake opposite Green's Landing. Root collecting country also occurred on Badger Mountain east of the Columbia River (Smith 1987:270-271).

The Chelan wore blankets of mountain goat wool. They also wore marmot robes and woven rabbit skin robes. Smith does not mention if they used the meat from these last two animals.

Houses and Villages

The Wenatchi winter dwelling was set in a pit about one foot deep, eighteen to eighty feet in length. Tule mats covered the structure. On the outside on the base, grass was piled to about three feet and covered with earth. In the longer houses, one fire served two families. The Wenatchi also had semi-subterrenean lodges, sometimes erected over a square pit. This was considered an older type of dwelling. Teit verified the use of these types of

winter dwellings when speaking of the Columbia Salish, presumably including the Chelan. The Wenatchi had menstrual shelters where birth took place (Smith 1987:274-275).

Smith reports thirteen Chelan communities, taken from Ray's 1936 and 1974 works (Smith 1987:277-279).

Prior to 1886, the Indians were able to secure allotments of one section each or one square mile (640 acres). Thirteen families called Wapato Indians in the early literature from Joe or Jack Wapato, their headman, settled on the north shore of the lake. Each of the thirteen families were allotted one section of land. This area included the sites of villages 2 to 5 and maybe 6 in the listing on p. 277-279. This group was of mixed Chelan and Entiat people. Joe Wapato was born in the Entiat valley (Smith 1987:279).

Travel and Trade

The Wenatchi acquired the horse in the mid-eighteenth century. There were two areas in Chelan territory used as horse grazing areas. One was a large village near the outlet of Lake Chelan, and the other was at Wapato Point on the north shore (Smith 1987:281).

Transportation was by foot and canoe in traditional times. Objects were carried in squares of deerskin or matting, or in rawhide bags. Both sexes used packstraps to carry burdens on their backs. The canoe (Wenatchi) was a pine or cedar dugout: there was no bark canoe. Canoe makers were specialists. A Chelan dugout canoe was mentioned casually in 1879 (Smith 1987:281).

The Wenatchi left markings along trails. No information has survived as to what the markings meant, and we can only speculate. Trails to particular places were indicated in some manner. Smith defined one traditional trail running from the Chelan River mouth north along the west side of the Columbia to the Methow Valley and south following the Columbia River to Entiat and Wenatchi countries. The Chelan were friendly with the Skagit tribe and made frequent visits and even intermarried. Once the epidemics took hold, however, social interaction was greatly diminished. Epidemics must have come in through coastal contact as well as Plateau contact (Smith 1987:282 flw.).

Clamshell beads and occasionally dentalia were used as media of exchange. The Chelan did trade with other tribes, though the data are scant. No sites similar to the Kettle Falls fishery or camas grounds elsewhere existed to attract people to the Chelan territory. Parties of Sanpoil-Nespelem went downriver to the Wenatchi fishery, moving through the Chelan area. They undoubtedly stopped to visit. There is a record that some Chelan visited Kettle Falls to trade for Plains items. The Chelan traded shells and beads of coastal origin. At the Wenatchi River mouth, families of Sanpoil, Columbia, Yakama, Chelan and other groups including coastal tribes met to fish, gamble, and trade. The Chelan did not intermarry much with Sahaptins, but did with coastal peoples (Smith 1987:288).

Social and Political Organization

The Wenatchi had a few slaves who were permitted to marry other slaves. Their children were free (Smith 1987:290).

Tabus existed in Wenatchi society which affected expectant parents. These notes will not be abstracted as they all apply to the Wenatchi and are secondary, and are very similar to the tabus described for the Sanpoil and Nespelem, above. Smith mentions puberty rituals for both sexes, but confuses these with the vision quests. Only girls had puberty rituals; both sexes went through vision quests. Smith mentions the wedding trade, but the narration, based on Ray (1942) is confused, and pertains to the Wenatchi. Marriage among the Wenatchi was allowed between distant kin (based on Ray's 1942 data). In case of divorce, children remained with the mother (Smith 1987:290-292).

Each Wenatchi village was politically autonomous. Some villages were grouped together in what could be called bands. The affairs of each village were directed by chiefs or headmen, usually two in number but more in a large village (he is possibly speaking of familial heads of extended families). Of the two leaders, one had a title and was recognized as being higher in rank, and was the wealthiest man in the community (Smith 1987:293).

Smith, following Ray, says that all boys and some girls were sent on vision quests. This is probably incorrect. It was likely that all girls sought visions too, because they could not be successful adults without a

guardian spirit (Ackerman 1982). Shamans received the same kind of vision and the same spirits as the ordinary person, but he usually obtained more spirits, and stronger ones (Smith 1987:294-295).

Pictographs

Pictographs are found across Lake Chelan from the dock at Stehikin on the north end of Lake Chelan. Some of the figures are now inundated by a dam at the lower end of the Chelan River. Fish, human, and anthropomorphic figures are depicted, as well as mountain goats and bighorn sheep (Smith 1987:298).

Assessment

Smith performed a difficult task, not altogether successfully, through no fault of his own. While there is undoubtedly a close resemblance between Wenatchi and Chelan cultures, it is dangerous to extrapolate too far. Not many Wenatchi references have been abstracted here as they are too general, and one has to make too many inferences to extend these cultural traits to the Chelan.

Further, there is no reason to think that the Chelan did not participate in the general task groupings like other Plateau peoples. They very likely went to the Wenatchi and other fishing sites for their supply of salmon if they had none in their own territory.

METHOW

Dale M. Kinkade - "On the Identification of the Methows (Salish)"

Only one reference on the Methow has been found in the literature, and that one is linguistic. Dale Kinkade (1967) notes that the Methow were a small band located between the Columbians to the south and the Okanogans to the north and east. He observes in the article that the Methow language is not a dialect of the Columbia language, as previously thought, but of the Okanogan language. He notes that there is almost no difference between the Okanogan and Methow languages. Earlier affiliation with the Columbia language was inferred because place names in Methow territory were derived from the Columbia language. The aboriginal territory of the Methow people was the Methow Valley, which is outside of contemporary reservation boundaries. Today some Methows live between the towns of Malott and Monse in the Okanogan Valley on the Colville Reservation and they are surrounded by Okanogans. Kinkade notes that the major differences in speech between Okanogan and Columbia are in the vocabulary.

Assessment

Kinkade's short article is illuminating in discerning relationships among the tribes named.

Ackerman (1978-1995) worked with a Methow consultant who said that the Methow had once had a "special animal," a mourning dove, as their emblem (probably a totem.) He attended a ceremony at one time, which needed a Wenatchi representative, but no Wenatchi were present. He was asked to serve as the representative, since he had "some Wenatchi relatives," but since he was actually Methow, this was a case of bending the rules. He noted a difference in the techniques of butchering animals between the two groups, as well as differences in religious rituals.

THE ENTIAT

There are absolutely no materials on the Entiat, derived or otherwise. Ackerman (1978-1995) met an Entiat woman on the Colville Reservation, born in 1889, who was the granddaughter of probably the last Entiat chief. This man must have lived in the 1860's, as she spoke of his hosting white miners who had run into trouble. This group definitely intermarried with other groups, because another of her ancestors was a female Chelan chief who had lived five generations before her, which would place the female chief in the mid-eighteenth century. There must be other Entiat on the reservation because the Entiat chief mentioned above had several wives and many children.

THE CHIEF JOSEPH BAND OF THE NEZ PERCE

Verne F. Ray - "Ethnohistory of the Joseph Band of Nez Perce Indians: 1805-1905"

Verne Ray (1974) wrote an ethnohistory of the Joseph band for the years, 1805-1905, for a land claims case. These were the Nez Perce of the Wallowa-Imnaha band.

The chief of this band in 1855 was named Tukakas, English name, Joseph. He died in 1871. The chieftainship passed to his oldest son, also known as Joseph. Since both men were highly influential and able, this band came to be called "Joseph's Band." Ray used first hand accounts for this narrative (Ray 1974:169).

The Nez Perce generally were known by their Indian neighbors as the most powerful and culturally advanced group of the region. They were also the richest, and were leaders in social, political, and economic activities. One of the reasons for this dominance was their borrowings from the Plains Indians. The Nez Perce were among the most peaceful tribes on the continent, along with the rest of the Plateau. They borrowed the Plains war dance, which in their hands became almost entirely a social dance. It was not performed in preparation for war or for the celebration of a victory (Ray 1974:172-173).

Bonneville and his company were the first Europeans or Euro-Americans to meet the Wallowa Nez Perce, and they were hospitably received. The men of the expedition were tired of the roots given them to eat, though their hosts said it was excellent food. Bonneville visited several Nez Perce groups where they were greeted enthusiastically (Ray 1974:173).

Bonneville was a good observer. Joseph's band occupied the Wallowa-Imnaha drainages with villages on both rivers and on the west bank of the Snake River in 1877, just before the Nez Perce war. Their economic and residence patterns included use of the uplands during the summer and the lower river valleys in the winter. There was a strong band unity under recognized chiefs. The band was part of the Nez Perce tribe but set off as a sub-group (Ray 1974:174 flw.).

The Joseph band was deeply identified with its land, and it respected the lands of other bands and tribes. Spinden noted that the valleys of the Clearwater and Wallowa rivers provided the most favorable conditions of life in the Plateau; for game, fish and vegetal foods were in abundance. They participated in the general Plateau ethos of equality among all people, a reach towards harmony, and a sharing of food (Ray 1974:178-179).

Lewis and Clark spoke highly of the Nez Perces, and the latter were kind to them. Sixty years of friendship with Euro-Americans followed. By the 1850's, however, emigrants no longer headed for the Willamette exclusively: they wanted Nez Perce land. Old Joseph signed the 1855 treaty, and a Nez Perce reservation was established. The land area included more than half of the aboriginal lands of the tribe, but Old Joseph insisted that all lands occupied by his band, including the lower Grand Ronde River valley and the Wallowa and Imnaha valleys should be retained. He saw the map and the line was where he wanted it. He was promised that the government would protect his people in their use and occupation of their lands. No non-Indians were to be allowed on their lands except for agency employees (Ray 1974:180-183).

The treaty was not ratified for four years. In the meantime (1860), gold was discovered on Nez Perce land. A town grew up, Lewiston, to supply the gold fields, and the government failed to protect the interests of the Indians. In 1863, the government insisted on a new treaty council. Young Joseph and his brother Ollokot attended, as their father was in failing health. The government demanded nine-tenths of the reservation lands. The northern bands, led by Chief Lawyer, were agreeable, but the southern groups were not (Ray 1974:184-189).

A Nez Perce interband meeting that followed resulted in dissolving the tribal relationship. The assembly was reported by a Captain Currey who attended the meeting. The military came in, and the next day, Chief Joseph and Chief White Bird and their people went home. Only three dissident chiefs remained to talk to the

commissioners, who threatened them. The new treaty was signed in 1863 by chiefs whose lands were inside the new reservation. Yellow Wolf called it a thief treaty: others took what did not belong to them. The treaty disrupted Nez Perce tribal organization, making them all much more vulnerable to Euro-American domination (Ray 1974:189-191).

The lands of the Joseph band had not been claimed by many whites at this time. This was also true of White Bird's Band and Toohoolhoolzote's Band, so they lived largely undisturbed until 1871. Trespass was common in the Clearwater River region, but not the Wallowa Valley. When whites began to filter into the Wallowa Valley after 1871, the government demanded that the Joseph band go to the diminished Nez Perce Reservation at Lapwai. Joseph's band refused to go. They claimed that the Wallowa Valley was theirs alone. At the same time, the Nez Perce of Lapwai did not want to share their land with Joseph's people. The Wallowa lands were placed in the public domain and thrown open for entry by white settlers in 1875 (Ray 1974:192-195). Federal troops were called into the area, supposedly to protect the whites, but it was found that it was a ruse for certain settlers to sell their grain to the soldiers at high prices (Ray 1974:213).

In 1876, two of the settlers killed a member of Joseph's band. The military promised to take them to court for punishment, and Joseph was satisfied. When he found out that the culprits were not going to be tried, he determined to punish them himself. Only the troops prevented bloodshed, and Joseph was given an ultimatum. He had to be on the Lapwai reservation by April 1, 1877, or the soldiers would force them to go (Ray 1974:213-216).

After negotiations, it was agreed that Joseph's band would go to the Kamiah area to settle. They were given thirty days to gather their stock and possessions. The task was impossible for the time allotted, but they made a good faith effort. They had to abandon much household and ranch equipment. The Snake River was at flood tide and crossings were difficult. No lives were lost, but hundreds of range horses stampeded and were lost (Ray 1974:219-220).

The various Wallowa bands met near Tolo Lake, where they proceeded to make arrangements for their final move. At that camp, a young man of White Bird's band was taunted for not avenging the killing of his father by white men. Because of this and the liquor he drank, he and two of his cousins left camp and killed four whites and wounded a fifth. A few other men decided to join the rebels and in a raid killed several other whites. Joseph was not in camp at this time. When he returned, he moved everyone to White Bird Creek, sixteen miles away. They camped there, intending to collect their stock, but the soldiers found them and attacked. Joseph tried to prevent fighting, but most of the people joined White Bird for they were afraid to stay (Ray 1974:220 flw.).

The first hostilities occurred at White Bird Creek on June 17, 1877. The Nez Perce fled to the Bitterroot Mountains. General Miles caught up with them in the Bear Paw Mountains, where they surrendered on Oct. 1, 1877. Miles intended to send the Nez Perce to the Lapwai Reservation, but he was overruled and it was decided that they were to be sent to Oklahoma (Ray 1974:224-226).

Estimates of the numbers of band members who surrendered vary between 410 to 431 individuals. (White Bird and others made it to Canada.) The government decided that the band would never be allowed to return to Oregon. They were sent to Oklahoma in 1878 (Ray 1974:227-228, 233).

Many members of the band, about one-fourth of the number, became ill and died in the first few months in Oklahoma. In 1885, the band was allowed to leave Oklahoma. One hundred eighteen were permitted to go to Lapwai, where they were required to convert to Presbyterianism, and 150 were sent to the Colville Reservation, where they would be allowed to follow their own religion. Chief Joseph still hoped that the government would relent and let them return to the Wallowa Valley (Ray 1974:234, 244-246).

The Nez Perce were placed in Nespelem territory, exactly where that tribe was concentrated. As a consequence, the Nespelem resented the Nez Perce, and some continue to resent them to this day. The Nez Perce refused to farm unless given allotments in the Wallowa Valley, but the Commissioner declined. Joseph died on the Colville Reservation in 1904 (Ray 1974:247).

Assessment

This is a good account of the events surrounding Chief Joseph.

Erskine Wood - Days with Chief Joseph: Diary of a Fourteen Year Old Boy's Days with Chief Joseph.

After Joseph and his people were placed on the Colville Reservation, it is interesting to see how they fared. Wood (n. d.) has given us a glimpse into the life of the man and his followers in his little book, *Days with Chief Joseph*. This was the diary of a fourteen year old Euro-American boy whose father had struck up a friendship with Joseph. Erskine Wood had just passed his fourteenth birthday in 1893. His diary describes his second visit to Chief Joseph. He had spent almost six months with him the year before.

Wood tells us that Joseph and his people usually camped on the Nespelem River on the Colville Indian Reservation. Joseph did move around though, especially for the fall hunt. He and his people went into the mountains for their yearly supply of venison. The government kept a sub-agency at Nespelem, (the main one was at Colville). Nespelem then had a small gristmill and sawmill and a storehouse for the Indians' rations. Joseph had his tipi at the sub-agency, and when the fall hunt was over, he moved down the valley below the sub-agency (Wood n. d.), probably where the Nez Perce are located now, in the town of Nespelem near the Nespelem River.

In summer, the Nez Perce were spread over ten to twelve miles of the valley. Families put up their tipis where they pleased. During the fall hunt, six, eight, or ten families banded together to combine their dwelling into one long lodge with four fires. They smoked the venison in the tipis. In the winter, they returned to the main camp below the sub-agency. Wood thought there were about 150 Indians in this group (this was the number reported in Ray 1974, above).

Wood lived in Joseph's tipi as one of his family. The family consisted of two wives, and a boy two to three years older than Wood called Cool-Cool-Smool-Mool (Wood's phonetics are approximate). He had a different name from the year before, for he had changed it. Changing names was not unusual, and was especially prevalent when a boy became a man. Some people had two names at a time. Cool-Cool-Smool-Mool was a relation of Joseph or of one of his wives, and thus, he was one of the family (Wood n. d.).

The wives "observed perfect harmony and shared his bed." One was named Wawin-tip-yay-la-tal-e-otsot, and the other Iyat-too-we-a-net-en-my.

During Wood's first visit, he noted that a man named Looking Down and his wife shared Joseph's tent. The second year, another man and wife shared Joseph's tent. Joseph had a small board house, but he and his family never lived in it (Wood n. d.).

Joseph kept a calendar by filing a notch on a white stick everyday, and marking the seventh with a dot. A bunch of these sticks were tied together with a buckskin thong and the time represented "covered a long time - years" (Wood n. d.). This is similar to the calendar that each mature woman kept as a record of her life. It was made up of string, knots, and beads.

Races were held on Sunday and were an occasion for the Indians to wear their best clothing. Much betting occurred, with usually a blanket as the prize. The horses were ridden bareback (Wood n. d.).

People bathed every morning during the fall hunt to lessen the human scent. They took steambaths in a sweat house or hot water baths in a pit on the creek-bank. The water was heated with stones. They always ended by immersing themselves in a cold water bath in the creek. The water was often coated with ice, requiring them to break the coating in order to bathe (Wood n. d.).

Wood had a camera to which some of the older Indians objected strongly. Younger people did not mind having their pictures taken.

The two boys drove the horses to water on horseback as a regular chore. Joseph had a band of forty to fifty horses. Once the horses were knee-deep in water, the boys lassoed as many horses as they wanted for whatever plans Joseph had in mind. Joseph always had a fresh horse supply at camp (Wood n. d.).

The diary itself concerns much fishing and hunting by Wood and his boy companions. At one point he and some Nez Perce boys spun rocks. The stones were as near egg shaped as possible, and the boys spun the rocks with a little whip. One time, they started spinning the rocks on ice with their hands, and then whipped them. They spun "as good as a top." Then they went sliding and returned to the tipi after dark (Wood n. d.).

Wood noted that a sweat house held ten people comfortably and could hold thirteen to fourteen, but it was crowded with that number (Wood n. d.).

Assessment

This is an interesting narrative, giving us a glimpse of Chief Joseph and his people in exile. The younger Wood stayed with the Nez Perce only twice. Wood's narrative describes some of the household arrangements of a Plateau chief, and the activities of the band from an inside perspective.

Richard L. Blandau - The Nez Perces on the Colville Reservation: An Investigation of the Inception and Maintenance of a Socio-Cultural Isolate, 1885-1968

Richard L. Blandau gives us a contemporary glimpse of Chief Joseph's band in an M. A. thesis (1972). His purpose was to investigate the mechanisms that maintained the socio-cultural isolation of Chief Joseph's Band on the Colville Reservation. He notes that they practice a non-Christian religion, and live around the town of Nespelem. They were socially isolated from other ethnic groups on the reservation, as of 1968.

Blandau mentions that if he had associated with other groups during his fieldwork, he would have been barred entry into Nez Perce society, so he abstained from socializing with other ethnic groups. He also states that a degree of hostility existed between linguistically different groups (Blandau 1972).

Blandau reviews the events narrated by Ray (1974) above: the treaty, the war of 1877, and the story of the Nez Perce exile. He notes that the Salish of the area were also under pressure. The Colville, Methow, and Entiat were also placed on Sanpoil, Nespelem, Lakes, and Sinkaietk land, which did not lead to mutual understanding. Wild food resources were already limited by restriction to the Colville Reservation, and additional population did not help. Factionalism between Christian and non-Christians also developed. When Moses was settled on these lands, he was declared by the government to be "head chief," which offended many. Then Joseph's band of 150 came to the reservation in 1885 (Blandau 1972), provoking more dissension among the tribes already on the reservation.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was rejected on the Colville Reservation partly because the bill gave political equality to the Nez Perce and Moses-Columbia who had no aboriginal rights in the territory. A new constitution was presented in 1937, and feelings against the Nez Perce were the same. One Nez Perce said that for the next two decades, anything that went wrong was blamed on the Nez Perce. Their children were picked on at school. Carloads of older children would drive from Omak or Inchelium with the express purpose of fighting the Nez Perce children. Not just males, but females fought too (Blandau 1972).

Blandau notes that during his visit, the pressures were easing somewhat, but friendly relations were still not routine. During Blandau's study, the Nez Perce lived in twenty-four households, twenty-three of which were located within a one and one-half mile radius of Nespelem. The twenty-fourth household was located twelve miles to the south. The Nez Perce were not interested in pursuing agriculture, and at any rate, these lands were rented out to white farmers (Blandau 1972).

An individual must be at least one-fourth Nez Perce or other eligible ethnic group to be enrolled as a Colville tribal member. Blandau used this to evaluate "outbreeding." Lapwai Nez Perce have a larger white blood quanta than the Colville Nez Perce. The Yakama have intermarried with the Colville Nez Perce as have the Palus and Moses groups. Blandau notes that many individuals on the reservation are losing the knowledge of their own particular ethnic identity. Not so for the Nez Perce. They continue to intermarry with the Lapwai (Idaho) Nez Perce, despite any latent hostilities (Blandau 1972).

Blandau says that the Nez Perce are culturally conservative. That does not explain their position as an isolate, because other Indian groups are culturally conservative too. Many try to retain their cultural identity and cultural practices, and they are not socially isolated.

He notes that other ethnic groups on the Colville Reservation resent not only the Nez Perce, but the Columbia since the Bureau of Indian Affairs always paid attention to them rather than to the real natives of the country. Though Joseph always hoped to return home to Oregon, today's Nez Perce are fearful that they will be disenfranchised from the Colville Reservation. This was due to the termination movement that many other Colville tribal members favored. The Nez Perce fought against it (Blandau 1972).

In the 1970s, some Nez Perce were becoming Pentecostals and Shakers. Blandau does not address the fact that a particular individual attends several churches and may adhere to several religions. He calls people who attend an aboriginal ceremony, "backsliders" (Blandau 1972).

Assessment

This thesis does not present important information. It fails largely to do what it intended--to explain Nez Perce isolation. Further, hostility between groups who are linguistically different is not the basis for that hostility, as he claims. Chief Moses and Chief Joseph were friends, and Moses spoke a Salishan language, while Joseph spoke a Sahaptin language. Hostility existed because the Nez Perce were placed on Nespelem land, which while not their fault, still aroused indignation because Nez Perce war parties used to raid the Sanpoil. Blandau overstates ethnic differences as the basis for conflict.

THE PALUS

Stuart A. Chalfant - Ethnohistorical Report on Aboriginal Land Occupancy and Utilization by the Palus Indians

Chalfant (1974a), in testifying for the government, notes that the Palus have never been singled out for an ethnography or special study. The Palus no longer exist as an identifiable group, he declares (they are legally one of the confederated tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation). Only a few families exist on the Colville Reservation and possibly other reservations. Thus, the following study is based almost entirely on records by early explorers, traders, missionaries, and government agents. Chalfant says that the Palus along with the Yakama and related bands ceded their lands to the United States in 1855 (Chalfant 1974a:177).

Identification of the Palus

The Palus spoke a Sahaptin language, and lived along the Snake River and the Palouse River near its junction with the Snake River. Their name is apparently of geographic origin, but the meaning of "Palus" is unclear. He says the term, Palouse, did not appear as such until the time of the Yakama treaty of 1855. It was never clear what specific political entity or tribe, or what bands were designated by the name (Chalfant 1974a:179-180).

The Walula or Wallawalla and Palus languages are essentially the same. The language shows more affiliation with Yakama and other northwest Sahaptin languages, and not with the Nez Perce language. Chalfant discusses various Palus villages and seems to classify the areas as Nez Perce. He believes that perhaps only one or two of four villages could have been Palus. He notes that Horatio Hale in 1846 was one of the first to identify the Palus as separate from other Columbia basin groups. He sees them as closer kin to the Wallawalla, Yakama, and Klikitat groups rather than to the Nez Perce. The group that George Gibbs refers to as having been presented with the Lewis and Clark medal was Walla Walla, and *they* were at the mouth of the Palouse River (Chalfant 1974a:181 flw.).

At the 1855 treaty signing, only one Palus chief showed up, as the others were indifferent to the meeting. He acknowledged Kamiakin as their head chief. Another chief whom Issac Stevens met a few days after the council also acknowledged Kamiakin as his head chief (Chalfant 1974a:191-192).

The problem of identifying the aboriginal Palus has several facets. One question is the identification of the several aboriginal groups who may or may not have been ancestral to the Palus named in 1855, and another question is the identification of the Palus group actually represented at the treaty council and party to the treaty. The term Palus or its equivalent does not appear until 1835, and may be derived from the term "Pallace" recorded by Lewis and Clark on the maps of the Palouse River. So possibly, their affiliation may be with Nez Perce, or with the groups to the west (Chalfant 1974a:193). Here, Chalfant appears to be questioning the existence of the Palus.

Further, Chalfant continues, are the Palus on the Colville Reservation the only descendant group from the aboriginal Palus? Some also appear to be on the Umatilla and Yakama Reservations. Thus, the Colville Palus would not be the only descendants of the aboriginal group (Chalfant 1974a:194).

Political Organization

Linguistically and culturally, the Palus belong to the group made up of the Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Palus. Thus, it is assumed that the political organization of the Palus is similar to these groups. He concludes that tribal organization did not exist among them. The basic political unit was the local group or band, which fluctuated according to different economic activities in different seasons. Local autonomy reigned: each band had its spokesman. No larger political groupings were known. In fact, Chalfant questions the consistency of their political units and seems to deny that they ever existed as an ethnic group (Chalfant 1974a:195-197).

Origins of the Palus

Chalfant agrees with Teit that the Sahaptin came from the south and pushed Salishan tribes north at the time the horse arrived in the Plateau. These were not necessarily hostile movements. The newcomers occupied less favorable lands, but they gradually spread over it. Spier agrees with Teit (Chalfant 1974a:197 flw.).

He concludes that the Palus are the remnants of a people who split off either from the Yakama, or that they consisted of an eastern splinter of the Yakama who migrated east to occupy several sites on the lower Snake and Palouse rivers. This migration was likely made by small autonomous bands, right after Lewis and Clark came through, or if prior to Lewis and Clark, they had not as yet coalesced into an ethnic group identifiable as the Palus. Actual identification did not take place until 1835, but ancestral Palus were on the Snake River in the vicinity of the Palouse River (Chalfant 1974a:204). They were no doubt heavily affected by disease (Chalfant 1974a:206).

After discussion of the views of several anthropologists regarding the location of Palus villages, Chalfant says the only village site verified as Palus is the one at the mouth of the Palus River. This was the band represented in the treaty of 1855 (Chalfant 1974a:217).

Few early references to Palus land use exist. Major fishing stations were noted at Almota and at the Palouse and Snake River conjunction, but the identity of these groups is not known. This confluence noted by Alexander Ross in 1811 was a general rendezvous for the Indians on all important occasions, which indicates a sharing of the resource (Chalfant 1974a:219).

Alpowa Creek was a major fishing site used by the Nez Perce, according to Chalfant's informants, and constituted the major camping grounds of Red Wolf in the 1850's. The informants say that Red Wolf and Timothy bands had village sites and fishing sites ranging down the Snake River to the Palouse. Rock Lake was used to hunt waterfowl. The Camas Prairie near Moscow, Idaho, was visited for camas; camas was also dug near Colfax. Colfax in later days was considered Palus country, but it was also used by the Coeur d'Alene and Nez Perce (Chalfant 1974a:220-223).

Chalfant concludes that there is no real evidence that the Palus used any lands to the exclusion of other ethnic groups. No evidence on boundaries for a Palus territory exists. His main conclusions are:

1. Before the entry of whites into the northwest, the Palus were of generalized Sahaptin stock, which migrated north across the Columbia River, part of whom came to be known as the Yakama. Then a branch of that group migrated east to become the Palus,
2. Wanapam, Wallawalla, and Wauyukma are known to have lived in and used the Snake-Columbia confluence,
3. Linguistically, the Palus are most affiliated to the Wallawalla and Wanapam, and show a slight divergence of language from the Yakama. These are their closest cultural neighbors,
4. The Palus were latecomers to the region (Chalfant 1974a:225-226).

Assessment

Chalfant seems to be defining the Palus out of existence. It may be true and even likely that they heavily intermarried with their neighbors, but ethnic origins are dearly held by Plateau people. For instance, the religious rituals are different from group to group, which preserves ethnic differences. I have no data with which to judge the merits of Chalfant's argument. His evidence seems strained. Also, it is hard to imagine a Plateau Indian introducing himself as of "generalized Sahaptin stock."

SUMMARY

The description of the eleven tribes above, living on the Colville Indian Reservation in the 1990s, demonstrates that in the past they were foraging groups, depending on vegetal foods, fishing, and hunting for their subsistence. All the groups had marital and blood ties to other groups not of their ethnicity, forming an overall social unity throughout the Plateau. They were extremely democratic and autonomous, politically and individually. All of these factors: the foraging way of life, the social unity it created, and the autonomy characterizing the polities and individuals of the Plateau will illuminate the history recounted in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

CONTACT HISTORY

Indirect European influence in the Plateau occurred before any European or Euro-American set foot in the area. This included the arrival of the horse around 1730 (Anastasio 1972:127). Epidemics of European origin were another indirect European influence that reached the Plateau in the proto-historic period. These spread throughout the two American continents soon after Columbus made landfall (Dobyns 1983:8), killing native populations in appalling numbers. In the Plateau, population reduction before actual contact with Europeans may have been as great as 45% from only two epidemics of smallpox, which occurred in 1775 and 1802 (Boyd 1985:334). Eventually, a series of epidemics of smallpox, measles, and malaria reduced the Columbia Plateau native population by more than two-thirds between 1775 and 1875 (Boyd 1985:398). An early visitor, Dr. John K. Townsend, reported that entire tribes had disappeared. Whole villages in the lower Columbia Valley had been depopulated with dead bodies carpeting the ground around the dwellings. This epidemic was probably malaria, and is estimated to have reduced the already decimated population by 75% between 1830 and 1833 (Cook 1972:183-184). The epidemics should be kept in mind when reading Hudson's Bay Company sources and the struggles that occurred between the Indians and the United States.

Another pre-contact influence in the Plateau was indirect trade with Europeans. A series of European ships from several countries visited the Northwest Coast peoples, with whom the Plateau people had friendly trade relations. The first European ship to explore the Northwest Coast, in 1602-1603, was Spanish. Later ships came from Russia, Britain, France, and the United States. In 1792, Captain Robert Gray, an American, entered a few miles into the then unknown Columbia River in his ship, the *Columbia Rediviva*.. He named the river after his ship and traded with the natives. By the time Lewis and Clark arrived on Plateau soil in 1805, about 130 British and American ships alone had traded or were trading along the Pacific Northwest coast. Some of the goods obtained from various European and American ships filtered into the Plateau through their regular trade with the coastal Indians (Reichwein 1988:146-147; Roe 1992:1).

Explorers and Fur Traders

By 1803, the Pacific Northwest had become an international focus of rivalry between the United States and Great Britain. This was one of the reasons why President Thomas Jefferson commissioned Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the regions of the west, including the Plateau (Reichwein 1988:147). After crossing the continent from the east, Lewis and Clark, along with the members of their expedition, were the first outsiders in 1805 to enter Plateau country. They followed the Columbia River down to the Pacific Coast, meeting and writing about the indigenous peoples who lived along the river.

The exploration did not confirm American ownership of the country. Lewis and Clark were followed by David Thompson, one of the British and Canadian fur traders who established posts of the North West Company among the eastern Salish Indians. Their primary objective was to exploit the fur-bearing animal resources of the Plateau, especially beaver. David Thompson established the first fur trading post among the Kutenai Indians for the North West Company in 1807 (Anastasio 1972:114). Other trading posts were soon established, and the North West Company had the field to themselves until 1810. Thompson was the first white man to arrive at Kettle Falls in Colville territory in July, 1811.

In 1811, the Pacific Fur Company, owned by the American, John Jacob Astor, set up a station on the coast, which they named Fort Astoria. Two members of the American party, David Stuart and Alexander Ross, traveled up the Columbia River where it met the Okanogan River. At that confluence of waters, they established Fort Okanogan and set up business (Bloodworth 1959:7-8). There, they contacted the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Methow, and Lakes Indian peoples, future member tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation. The Pacific Fur Company became rivals of the North West Company, contesting with them not only for furs, but for the eventual ownership of the country itself. The War of 1812 with Great Britain ended this venture, however, and both American posts were

bought by the North West Company of Canada. The North West Company later merged with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 to become the paramount European-derived institution in the area, dominating the fur trade for the next twenty years (Burns 1966:12). The Hudson's Bay Company re-established Fort Okanogan in 1825 (Gough 1990), and built a fort at Kettle Falls in 1826 (Maxwell 1987:28); the latter location being the second most productive fishery in the Plateau. A fort was built here named Fort Colvile, after Lord Andrew Colvile, who was a deputy governor and chief executive of the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company (Scott 1992). The Treaty of 1846 between Canada and the United States forced the Hudson's Bay Company to abandon Fort Okanogan, but they remained at Fort Colvile until 1871 (Scott 1992).

The first epidemic in the Kettle Falls area took place about 1783. Probably half of the Colville Indians and their neighbors died in a matter of weeks. When Thompson and his party arrived in 1807, they were not opposed. The site for Fort Colvile was donated by verbal treaty in 1825 by the local chief. The main stipulation was that the Company had to refrain from interfering with the Indian fishery, which they had done at Spokane House, causing considerable friction (Chance 1973:27).

In fact, Alexander Kennedy in a report to George Simpson, the director of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, complained that the Kettle Falls people would not let Company men do their own fishing. The Europeans had to depend on agricultural products for subsistence (Hudson's Bay Company 1830-1831: IM 37).

In 1825, two sons of Indian chiefs were sent to the Red River colony in Canada to be educated. They were to be Christianized and taught about "civilization." Several other boys were also sent. Several of them died at the Red River, but others, like Spokane Garry, survived to return to teach agriculture and to proselytize Christianity. Chance says that their influence was disruptive because, "They had learned egalitarian ideals which, applied to the contemporary political structure of the Columbia Plateau, were disruptive" (Chance 1973:73, 29). This, of course, is a misunderstanding. The Plateau cultures were as egalitarian as possible. It is far more likely that the proselytizing was disruptive. Chance further notes that the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged peace and discouraged war, believing that war occurred frequently before their advent (Chance 1973:16, 85, 87, 88). This also is incorrect. Feuds and raids certainly occurred, but that was not war, as defined above.

The Company apparently attempted to induce political and social stratification because they gave chiefs European clothing and other gifts to set them apart from the rest of the people. They tried to give chiefs an authority which they traditionally did not wield. At Fort Walla Walla, the Company tried to create a paramount chief over all the tribes; the Americans tried the same with the Nez Perces. This was done in the hope that the chiefs would control the rest of the people (Chance 1973:91), contrary to Plateau traditions.

The Colville (Sxoielpi) also began to give the first, and sometimes the second or third salmon of the year to the fort manager. This was symbolically important, according to Chance (1973:96), though in what way is not made clear. Perhaps Chance is suggesting the Hudson's Bay Company was winning political domination over the Colville Indians.

Chance (1973:102) further claims that the fishery could not support the relatively few Europeans at Fort Colvile, as the Indians were starving themselves. This is extremely doubtful. John Work, a fur trader, noted in his journal of 1826 that the Indians were catching about 1000 salmon on August 5 that day and every day. Fish were hard to get in July because the water was too high, making fishing less productive (Work 1825-1826). If the Indians were starving it was due to disease, and not the availability of salmon. The depopulation would have caused the destruction of food distribution patterns. That is, fewer people were available to work, both fishing and drying the fish. Consequently, there was less food to distribute to surviving elders and children. Francis Heron's Journal at Fort Colvile (Hudson's Bay Company 1830-1831:IM 37) noted the death of two children and a mother (1831), and commented on Dec. 7, 1830, that the Indians were camped outside the fort complaining of hunger. Many Indians were sick, which he attributed to being crammed together in large tents. He further blamed their poor health on the eating of salmon and "unwholesome roots" (Hudson's Bay Company 1830-1831:IM 37). It should be noted that the year, 1830, was around the period when malaria and other epidemics were killing Indians along the Columbia. On January 5, 1831, Heron noted in the house journal that many Indians were sickly and that two had died. On January 15, a child died, and many others were ill. At this time, Heron exhorted them to go hunting for furs. He again noted sickly Indians on January 23, 1831. On February 22, 1831, Spokan, Sanpoil, and Kettle Falls Indians came to the fort without goods (furs) to trade. He attributed this to the cold and snow (Hudson's Bay Company 1830-1831:IM 37).

It is hard not to infer that the Indians were looking for help during their illnesses. Many of their female relatives were married to Company servants inside the fort, and it was logical to look for help from their European in-laws during such an emergency. The Company men apparently did not understand this expectation, due to either ethnocentrism or simple denial of the crisis. Also, perhaps, the Indians stayed near the fort in large numbers because their female relatives were supplying food secretly to their relatives. The concentration of people near the forts guaranteed the spread of disease (Boyd 1985). Disease was so pervasive that one epidemic of smallpox about 1825 extended from Kettle Falls to the Pacific.

Because Fort Colvile was supposed to provide food to other Hudson's Bay Company forts in the Plateau, and they seemed not to get access to enough salmon, fort personnel were ordered to start a farm. Farming and pig raising proved successful, and food was raised to send to other Hudson's Bay Company posts in the interior.

The Hudson's Bay Company was very successful in its business ventures for about fifty years. Many of its servants, whose competence assured the Company's success, remained in North America to settle on both sides of the international boundary after the Company terminated operations south of the border. One, James Douglas, was married to a half-Indian woman, and became governor of colonial British Columbia. Others settled in the Willamette Valley, and along the coast to the Canadian border.

Missionaries

The missionaries' history in the Plateau overlaps that of the Hudson's Bay Company, for they arrived soon after the fur traders. The Reverend Samuel Parker, a Presbyterian, journeyed through the area in 1835-1836, scouting out sites in which to place missionary stations (Parker 1844). His most famous colleagues, Henry H. Spalding and Marcus Whitman, established missions among the Nez Perce and Cayuse Indians respectively (Burns 1966:23). Jesuit missionaries followed in 1840 (Burns 1966:18), establishing missions for the Catholic Church (Raufer 1966:45) in the Salish area that is the subject of this narrative. They eventually established a mission near Fort Colvile. The missionaries all found the Indians eager to hear about the new religion.

The Jesuits came hoping to create a Reduction as they had in Paraguay and other parts of South America. A Reduction was an autonomous Christian community of Indians that was independent of the rest of society. It elected its leaders and plans were usually made to build a town (Burns 1966:41). The community was to include schools and an infirmary. The Jesuits began to create such a Reduction in parts of Northwest America, and were successful at first, even being able to vaccinate many Indians against smallpox. They planned to teach the Indians to settle in one location and farm (Burns 1966:50). The continuity of such a community was not to be realized, because of subsequent historical events that destroyed the Jesuits' work.

Aside from on-rushing history, the usual ethnocentrism prevailed on both sides. For instance, the Jesuits found the Colville Indians to be lazy and addicted to gambling. Squaws were "viragos" (quarrelsome women or scolds) because of their husbands' laziness. The fish given to the women were dried by them, but it was conceded that it became her private property. She was truly the mistress of the house and if displeased, she would send the man away, as she owned everything (Carriker and Carriker 1987:roll 32:620). Fr. Joseph Joset disapproved of the women's independence and believed that Lakes women, who had to depend on food from the man, which was not true, were more subservient, also not true, and thus followed a more Christian pattern. In fact, Lakes women, as described in the last chapter, collected vegetal foods independently, and could support their families by themselves, like other Plateau women (Ackerman 1982).

Lillian A. Ackerman - "The Effect of Missionary Ideals on Family Structure and Women's Roles in Plateau Indian Culture"

Many changes were made in family and social structure through Christian missionization. The missionaries left records on their reactions to certain aspects of Plateau family and social life, but the Indian perspective on the changes urged by the missionaries are harder to come by. We can only infer their reactions through our understanding of aboriginal Plateau culture (Ackerman 1987:64).

The aboriginal religion included native proselytizers before Christian missionaries arrived in their area. The natives had always welcomed new prophets with visions for enhancing religious experience and reforming the lives of their listeners. So when Christian missionaries arrived, who also intended to improve religious experience and reform the lives of their converts, we may speculate that the Indians regarded them as another series of prophets

with novel visions. Consequently, they were prepared to listen sympathetically. This speculation may explain why most Indians tolerated the familial disruption and reorganization that was pressed onto them by missionaries (Ackerman 1987:64).

European marriages were monogamous and dominated by the husband. Marriages were supposed to be lifelong and stable, and there was no divorce and certainly no polygamy. This was a non-functional type of family structure in the Plateau, not suited for a foraging group. A male dominated woman does not work autonomously foraging for food. If she is not economically autonomous, her family will suffer, as she supplies half of the food for the family. Polygyny was important in providing more vegetal foods in those families that needed it, for instance, in chiefs' families. It was also useful for a good hunter to have plural wives since the women processed the meat and hides. Other features of the Indian extended family was that it provided economic security for its members. Women were equal in status to their husbands, reflecting their very important and flexible economic and social roles. Divorce was easy and obtained by either party; and no economic disadvantage accrued to either ex-husband or wife. Children were cared for by their aunts and uncles if their parents died or were absent. When the European style of marriage and family was pressed onto them, dysfunction within Plateau society was unavoidable (Ackerman 1987:64).

"Nomadism" was the first cultural form that the Jesuits intended to eradicate. Both they and the Protestant missionaries among the Nez Perce deplored the annual round. They saw the Indians as indolent since all they did was fish and hunt. Moreover, they had fun doing it, very unlike the concept of work in European and Euro-American culture. There was an air of celebration around fishing activities, with the socializing and gambling going on at the same time. The missionaries of all denominations believed the Indians were living without working, and it offended them (Ackerman 1987:65-66).

The underlying reason why the Jesuits disliked the annual round was that it was a handicap in making converts. The missionaries would have had to travel with them, so they tried to get the Indians to farm instead of forage. The missionaries were largely successful in this objective because meat was becoming scarce by then, settlers were pouring onto Indian lands, and many Indians saw they had to farm or they would have nothing (Ackerman 1987:66).

The missionaries planned settled farming communities. They built a few small cabins for Indian families, but as these were not flexible structures like the native dwellings, which were expandable in size, the extended family was separated. From 1840-1880, the Indians farmed but also used wild foods. The Jesuits believed that the quest for wild foods was a leisure-time activity. They further believed that the roots and berries were poor foods and that the Indians were half-starved most of the time before whites came to "rescue" them (Ackerman 1987:66).

The missionaries, like the Hudson's Bay Company, even tried to change the native democratic political structure. They did not like the individualism inherent in Indian society, and the lack of power in the chief's office. The chief's advice could be safely ignored and people even left the community if they were displeased with him. This was not the hierarchical society that the Jesuits or any other European had been used to (Ackerman 1987:67). Fr. Alexander Diomedi attempted to persuade a chief to exceed his powers by intervening in a feud, when the individuals involved had not invited the chief to arbitrate (Diomedi 1978:22).

The extended family was weakened first by the inflexible cabin structures the Indians were persuaded to build, which excluded many family members. This was probably an unplanned change, since it was not mentioned in missionary records, though many harmful effects have followed. To the missionaries, polygyny was the most offensive custom in Plateau culture. They believed the practice led to the degradation and exploitation of women (Ackerman 1987:67).

The institution of polygyny was important to a chief, as he and his wives were obligated to feed the entire village during political assemblies. One wife's labor was not sufficient for this purpose. Missionary writings abound with details on how they persuaded men to leave their "extra" wives (Ackerman 1987:67-68).

Soon, the native practice of marriage itself came into disfavor. Fr. Peter DeSmet wrote that there were no valid marriages among the savages, because they could always contemplate divorce. Finally, only marriages performed by the Catholic Church were considered legal. From then on, children risked the stigma of illegitimacy. Jesuit records documented illegitimate children, though they were never considered illegitimate in Plateau custom (Ackerman 1987:69-70).

The marriage trade taking place between families was viewed as the purchasing of a woman. The termination of this custom loosened the ties between the families of a married couple. Women's work was considered degrading by the missionaries because it was physically strenuous. The missionaries did not realize, however, that women profited by that work (Ackerman 1987:70).

The missionaries taught girls "appropriate" European female tasks in their boarding schools. They believed that they were helping to raise the status of "family life." This kind of education undermined the economic and domestic advantages that women enjoyed in aboriginal times. While this education did affect a few women adversely, it seemed not to have influenced most girls. Most Plateau women continued to run their households autonomously in the gender egalitarian manner (Ackerman 1987:72).

With the weakening of the extended family, numerous mentions of orphans appear in missionary writings. Neglected orphans would not have appeared in the aboriginal culture, for other relatives gladly took them in. As the extended family disappeared, however, its economic flexibility also disappeared and it became financially difficult to raise a child. As more people became addicted to alcohol due to acculturation stresses, it reduced the pool of relatives further. The Christian schools took these children and others and educated them in European forms of family and gender roles (Ackerman 1987:72-73).

Why did Plateau people adopt Christianity so readily? First, the message paralleled one that was familiar to their own religion, but was believed to be more powerful. Further, epidemics and incursion into their lands by outsiders may have led them to look for new ways to cope with these unprecedented events (Ackerman 1987:73).

The change to farming seemed to be well accepted by the Indians. That it had an effect on families was not a connection made by Indians until far too late. When settlers flooded the country, they had no options but to concentrate on farming and hope they would be left in peace. Later on, they hoped reservation boundaries would protect them and their culture. Many of the social changes forced on them might not have persisted if their economic base had not been destroyed (Ackerman 1987:73).

The jettisoning of many parts of Indian culture caused more harm than good and the adoption of European forms of social structure and economy failed to protect Indians from the confiscation of their lands and the disorganization of their societies. The forced changes were drastic, and the consequences continue to resonate among Plateau Indians today (Ackerman 1987:73).

While the Indians were being weakened by outside influences, and while they were trying to recover from the stresses arising from population loss, the international boundary in the Northwest between the United States and Canada was established in 1846. Euro-American settlers, who had settled in the Plateau in small numbers before this date, now swarmed into the territory in large numbers, creating friction with the native peoples. The Americans arbitrarily occupied Indian lands, signaling the beginning of the end of Indian autonomy (Burns 1966 28-29).

The two foreign influences--the fur trade and Christianity, plus the loss of culture through population loss--explain at least partially why the Indians so readily lost their autonomy and their country. For instance, the Catholic fathers attempted to protect the Coeur d'Alene from the influences of in-coming settlers and miners (and preserving theirs) by re-locating them elsewhere. With the best of intentions, they encouraged the Indians to abandon some of their hereditary lands, which were rich in gold and other minerals, leaving them to the Euro-Americans to exploit (Diomedi 1978:64-65).

War

As noted above, Euro-American immigration into the Plateau occurred soon after the establishment of missions in the Oregon Territory. The Indians became alarmed at the large number of Europeans in their midst. They noted the unfamiliar diseases occurring among many tribes, and the factions arising within many groups, originating from conflicts between Christian converts and adherents of the native religion.

Dr. Marcus Whitman, whose mission was located at present-day Walla Walla, Washington, on what became known as the Oregon Trail, always welcomed white immigrants. Many stayed a few days at the mission before continuing their journey to the coast. By 1846, many Cayuse and other Indians regarded Whitman with suspicion. They feared the loss of their land, and were terrified of the new diseases that appeared among them.

When, in 1847, a flood of white emigrants arrived at the Cayuse Mission, they brought measles with them. The Indians noted that whites did not die from the disease, but it caused a deadly epidemic among their people, killing adults as well as children. Emotions soared and led to the Whitman Massacre in 1847. Whitman, his wife, and eleven other whites were killed. The mission was destroyed. Other violent incidents between white settlers and various groups of Indians followed (Trafzer and Scheuerman 1986:25-27). These hostilities lasted a year. As a consequence, some Catholic missions and all Protestant missions in the Plateau were suspended for a time (Reichwein 158-9).

The Oregon Territory was incorporated as part of the United States in 1848, two years after the international boundary was set. In 1853, Washington Territory was created, which included the present State of Washington, northern Idaho, and western Montana. Major Issac I. Stevens was appointed as the first governor of the new territory and became acting superintendent of Indian affairs (Bloodworth 1959:22).

Indian unrest was common at this time. Outsiders were arbitrarily and illegally driving the Indians off their lands, taking their important root grounds, and depleting the game at their fishing and hunting sites. Miners were particularly troublesome and many violent incidents occurred with this group (Bloodworth 1959:22-23). Gold was discovered on the Columbia River near Fort Colvile in 1855 and the Similkameen River in 1859. Miners and settlers invaded these regions. They also sought timber, minerals, and lands (Gough 1990). Stevens, in 1855, did not have time to make treaties with the northern Indians except for the Spokan, Okanogan, and Coeur d'Alene. Since he had to meet with the Blackfeet, he delayed meeting with the northern groups until the fall. That is when gold was found near Fort Colvile and 8,000 miners streamed in, trespassing on Indian lands (Scott 1992). The settlers and miners were encouraged by the Donation Act of 1850, which allowed white settlement on Indian tribal land prior to extinguishment of Indian title to the lands. Naturally, whites poured into the territory and settled anywhere (Scott 1992). Instructions were given to Issac Stevens to negotiate with the tribes for some of their lands to accommodate the white settlements that were already present, and to restrict the Indians to reduced portions of their territory (Scott 1992).

The Indian chiefs met in council at Grand Ronde Valley in 1854 for five days. The leaders of every tribe spoke. Only the Nez Perces, the Cayuses, and Garry of the Spokan were in favor of making a treaty with the whites, but all the others were opposed. The chiefs agreed on and marked the boundaries of the tribes so that each chief could rise in council, claim his boundaries, and ask that that parcel of land be made a reservation for his people. There would be no lands for sale. The Okanogan, Wenatchi, Methow, and Colville were represented at this meeting. It was agreed that if Stevens wanted a council, they would meet but they would not give up land (Bloodworth 1959:24-25).

Stevens met with the tribes at the Walla Walla Council in 1855. Over 6000 Indians attended, but not all tribes had participants there. During the council, which lasted from May 29 to June 11, 1855, Stevens urged them to sign treaties giving up much of their land. Only a few chiefs were in favor of making such a treaty with Stevens, while most others were adamantly opposed. After much persuasion and pressure, treaties were signed that ceded land to the Americans in exchange for the land on three reservations, where, it was promised, they would not be bothered by settlers. Sixty thousand square miles of land were ceded (Bloodworth 1959:24-25; Mourning Dove 1990:152-153).

The Wallowa Nez Perce lost their lands later, in 1863, when a supplemental treaty was signed. Issac Stevens set up the loss by appointing Chief Lawyer of the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho as head chief of the entire Nez Perce nation. This was an act that was unprecedented in Plateau Indian political history. Chief Lawyer, in the sham status of "head chief," then illegally signed away the lands belonging to the Wallowa Nez Perce in Oregon (Ray 1974:198-199; Reichwein 1988:169). This action led to a schism between the Wallowa Nez Perce and the Idaho Nez Perce that resonates to this day

Many of those present at the signing of the Treaty of 1855 felt betrayed, with the consequence that several tribes went to war with the Euro-Americans. The consequent hostilities are known as the Yakama War, 1855-1858 (Bloodworth 1959:25; Reichwein 1988:170), since the Yakama and Klikitat were the first to engage in hostilities. Many incidents of hostility occurred, included the killing of miners who encroached on Indian lands, the defeat of Colonel E. J. Steptoe by a combined group of Spokan, Palus, Coeur d'Alene, and other warriors, the hanging of six Palus and others by Colonel Wright in 1858 at what became known as Hangman's Creek, and which is still remembered with anger on the Colville Reservation today, and quarrels over the stealing of Indian cattle by some whites (Bloodworth 1959:27). Wright was especially harsh with the Palus who suffered more than any other tribe.

He not only hung the six Palus referred to above, but also the Yakama chief's son, Qualchin. The Yakama chief himself, Owhi, was shot later for trying to escape. About half the Palus tribe died. They lost their land and the survivors did not recover their numbers (Burns 1966:314; Ray 1975a).

Despite occasional Indian victories like the defeat of Steptoe and his company, events turned against the Indians. The Yakama War and the Nez Perce War of 1877 (Burns 1966:284, 382) with skirmishes before and in-between these dates, did them no good. Most of the Columbia River country was finally taken for the Euro-Americans while reservations were created for the Indians (Burns 1966:79). The Indians were forced onto the reservations, which were located for many away from their homelands (Gidley 1979:34).

The period of time from the first white explorers in 1805 to the influx of Euro-American settlers in the 1850's was of short duration.

> "The sweep and proportions of this westward movement are dramatic, but what stuns the imagination is its pace. Individuals could and did live through the entire process. . . . for example, the Lewis and Clark expedition had ventured into the unexplored Northwest regions. The last survivor of that expedition, born before the American Revolution, died in 1870. . . A Flathead woman who saw its coming was alive as late as 1890" (Burns 1966:2).

Assessment

The historical material above is taken from a variety of sources. The ethnographic interpretation of missionary influence in my article (Ackerman 1987) includes a number of inferences based on available information and knowledge of Plateau culture. My conclusions are based on my research and analyses.

CHAPTER 5

THE COLVILLE INDIAN RESERVATION

Creation of the Colville Reservation

In 1865, George Paige of the Indian Bureau was appointed and sent to Fort Colville. The U. S. Army had built a fort near the old fur trading establishment, and spelled the name differently. Paige observed the Colville and Okanogan Indians, and visited all the tribes under his jurisdiction by 1868. Some Indians were farming in the Colville Valley, but most continued to follow their traditional annual round (Bloodworth 1959:28).

President Grant announced his Peace Policy in 1869, with the intention of appointing a new class of men as superintendents and agents. Members of the Society of Friends had been appointed as Indian agents in several places, while all the other Indian agents were still army officers detailed for the duty. Grant, also in 1869, appointed a commission of prominent citizens to cooperate with the government in managing Indian affairs nationally. The Indian Commissioner in Washington, D. C., noted that a military officer still ran things at Fort Colville without a treaty from the tribes. He recommended in 1865 that a special agent or government farmer negotiate a surrender of the Indian lands and find a location on a suitable reservation somewhere (Bloodworth 1959:30).

In 1867, C. W. King, the farmer in charge at Fort Colville after the death of Paige, reported to Brevet Colonel Ross, Superintendent of Washington Territory, that the country was being rapidly settled by whites and crossed by miners, with unpleasant consequences. The Indians tilled the soil in season, but four-fifths of their support was still derived from the salmon fisheries. He also complained about the liquor trade with the Indians (Bloodworth 1959:30).

In 1870, W. P. Winans was appointed farmer in charge of the Spokan and other tribes in the area. Winans counted 1000 "Columbias," 616 Colvilles, 532 Sanpoil and Nespelem, 340 Okanogan, 301 Methow, and 229 Lakes. When the Colville Indian Reservation was created by Executive Order on April 9, 1872, the Spokan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene were located on other reservations (Bloodworth 1959:31; Royce 1899:856).

The Indian Commissioner recommended that since the appointment of Friends (Quakers) was so successful, no military man should run a reservation. The President then invited other religious groups to engage in the "great work of civilizing the Indians." The Catholics were the only ones around the Colville Agency, so the Colville Reservation was assigned to the Catholics.

The Colville Reservation was created by the Executive Order of April 9, 1872, for the non-treaty bands, which included the Methow, Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lakes, Colville, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alene and "scattering bands" (Rooney 1973; Royce 1899:856). At this time, the Colville Valley in Stevens County was counted as part of the reservation (Bloodworth 1959:34) (see Fig. 29). John A. Simms, a Catholic, was appointed special agent in July, 1872, and served in that capacity until 1883 (Bloodworth 1959:33).

Three months later, by the Executive Order of July 2, 1872, the government changed the boundaries and excluded the area east of the Columbia River from the reservation, occupied by the Colville, Spokan, and Pend d'Oreilles (Rooney 1973). This is a very fertile valley, the only land really suitable for farming on the original reservation. The loss of the valley occurred through the machinations of W. P. Winans who was the appointed Farmer in Charge to the Colville Reservation from 1869-1873. Winans took "the part of the settlers" and encouraged whites to settle the valley, and did not tell the Indians already farming and foraging there that the land was part of the reservation. Consequently, the settlers encroached on Indian land without meeting any resistance or complaint. Winans made unfounded and inflammatory comments about Indians, saying they stole cattle and were insolent (Winans Papers, WSU Archives).

The Indian Commissioners in Washington noted that Winans had reduced the reservation for selfish motives, and by fraudulent means. They further observed that the new reservation boundaries made farming

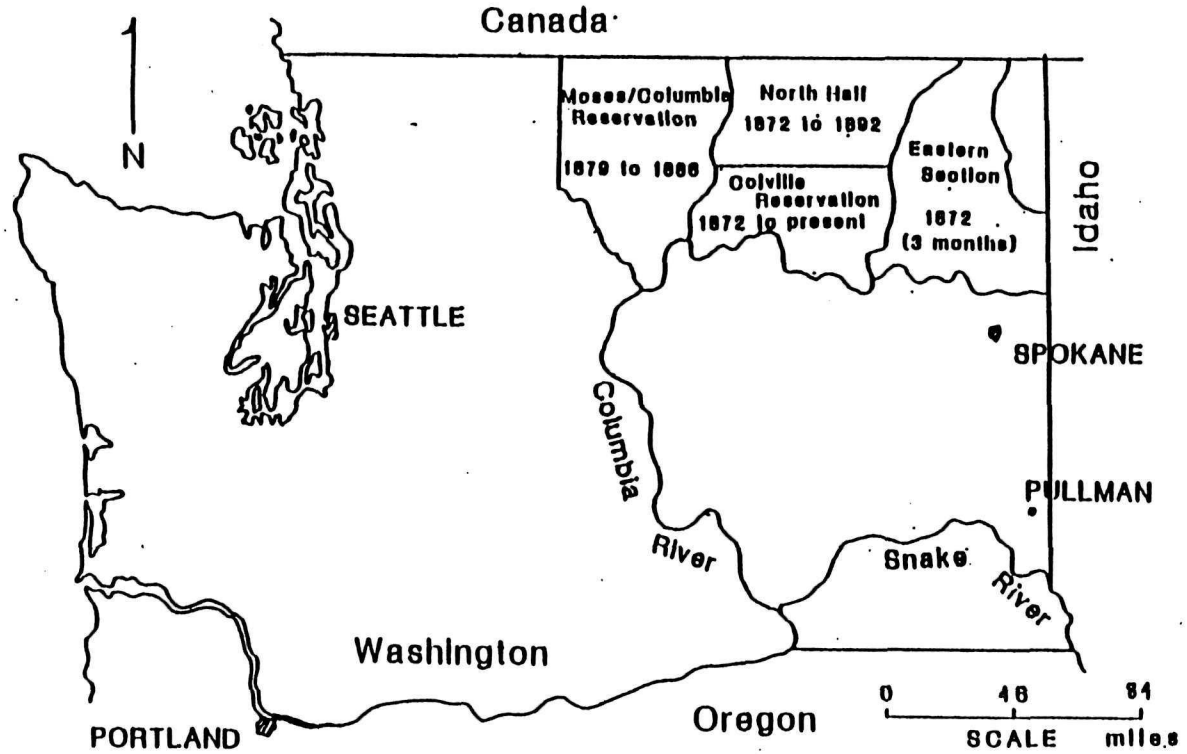


Fig. 29. Boundaries of the Colville Indian Reservation from its inception to the present (Jerry Scott 1992:86).

impossible, and cut the Indians off from their fisheries on the Columbia and Spokane rivers. They complained that making the Indians go west of the Columbia River would either starve them or make them a perpetual burden on the government. By the time the deception was discovered, the Executive Order of July 2, 1872, removing the Colville Valley from the reservation, had been made and the valley was so thickly occupied by whites that the government allowed matters to stand. It was said that Winans also illegally traded whiskey to the Indians (Bloodworth 1959:36-38; Royce 1899:857).

At a public meeting, Winans did not reply to government investigators when he was asked regarding these charges. He was also accused of selling Indian goods in his charge and using the money for his own profit. Winans denied all this, and accused John Simms, the then Superintendent of the Colville Reservation, of trying to "steal" the Colville Valley for the Indians. Winans was only discharged from his post. The Superintendent of Washington Territory was removed from his position because he supported the Indians in this affair (Winans Papers, WSU Archives).

Those Indians with farms already established in the Colville Valley were permitted to stay. Nevertheless, they were finally forced to move onto the reservation, because of intimidation and harassment by whites.

The western side of the new Colville Reservation acquired a new stretch of territory called the Columbia Reservation by Executive Order of April 19, 1879 (see Fig. 29). Chief Moses of the Columbia was arrested in 1879. He was sent to Washington, D. C., where he pleaded his case for a reservation on the native land of his tribes. He was successful (Ray 1960:788). By Executive Order of April 19, 1879 and March 6, 1880, two tracts of lands that included lands claimed by the Okanogan and Methow were set aside as a reservation for Moses and his people (Bloodworth 1959:41-42; Royce 1899:910). This tract of land lasted only a little longer than the Colville Valley. In 1883, settlers made claims of prior rights to part of this land. General Miles sent Moses and three other chiefs to Washington, D. C., where they signed an agreement, called the Moses Agreement, in which the Indians of the Columbia Reservation would move onto the Colville Reservation or receive allotments of 640 acres for each head of family. Moses and most of the four tribes of the Columbia Confederacy moved to the reservation in 1884 (Bloodworth 1959:43; Royce 1899:910).

In June, 1885, the remnant of the Nez Perce Wallowa band, about 150 people, was placed on the reservation in Nespelem territory. Friction between that group and the Nez Perce became endemic, because the Nez Perce were settled on Nespelem land (Bloodworth 1959:42).

The Palus included the Colville Reservation in their annual round. Some finally settled there, having lost all their land in their home territory on the Snake and Palouse rivers. Only twenty-five to thirty Palus remained in their home country by 1907 (Ray 1975a).

Moses' chief lieutenant, Yenmooseetsa, was head of the Chelan. His grandson carried the same name and was also known as Long Jim. It took military intervention to force the Chelan and Entiat to move to the reservation. The Entiat had joined the Chelan in their country only a few years before. In 1890, both groups were forcibly removed. A few allotments were allowed to some of the Chelan who remained. Cultus Bob and Long Jim were among those (Ray 1975a).

Administration of the Reservation

Accompanying these events was the daily running of the reservation, the dealing with routine problems and some not so routine. Superintendent Simms, in a letter to the Commissioner, dated August 26, 1876, speaks well of the missionaries. He noted that the school they ran was doing well, but reiterated the need for a mill. In another letter dated 1876, he noted that the Indians had a very poor fishing season at all the fisheries. He blamed it on the large numbers of salmon caught at the mouth of the Columbia. He said that the Indians would need help with subsistence from the government because of the situation. A complaint, dated July 28, 1878, cited the need for an agency farmer to help the Indians with their farms. The only employees on the reservation were the miller, blacksmith, physician, and interpreter. Most Indians were self-supporting. They picked up a few jobs, like cutting wood for the military in exchange for cash payments. Simms threatened at one point to resign, because he could not get the support he needed for his projects to help the Indians (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 35a).

In many of his letters, Simms showed himself to be a partisan of the Indians. He complained that settlers were moving in and he was forced to spend his time adjusting relations between them and the Indians. He complained that his employees were underpaid. A very big problem taking up much time was the issue of cattle trespassing on Indian lands. Whites would sneak their cattle onto reservation lands without going through the process of asking permission and paying fees (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 35a).

Many Indians had to be defended from whites who squatted illegally on their land. Simms intervened on Kamiakin's side when his homestead on Rock Lake was encroached on by whites. Simms had the whites ejected (Simms Papers, WSU Archives, Box 213)

Simms said he found the Indians adjusted to their situation. Many were intelligent and industrious with successful farms. They were opposed to dissolving their tribal relations (Simms Papers, WSU Archives, Box 213).

School problems abounded. Children ran away from the boarding schools. Many had been coerced and taken from their families without consent and transported to the missionary schools. There were two overcrowded boarding schools on the reservation; at Colville and Tonasket. An "unrespectable woman" wanted to buy a farm near one of the schoolhouses, but this was prevented by the reservation administration. There were many allotment and homestead disputes to settle. To the question put by the Indian Commissioners in Washington, D. C., when would the Indians become self-sufficient?, Simms answered that they needed sufficient arable land, agricultural implements, and more schools (letter dated September 25, 1874; National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 35a).

In 1916, there were seven day schools on the reservation and two mission schools. Whites could attend them if they paid tuition. The day schools were small one-room structures that accommodated twenty-five to thirty students. The missions were educating 100 children by 1916, including a kindergarten. By 1931, they had 74 students (Gough 1990).

Simms was notified by the Office of Indian Affairs that Indians were forbidden to leave the Colville Reservation. A special permit in writing from the Indian Agent was needed for Indians to leave. It was noted, "The interchange of visits between different parties or bands of Indians residing on reservations widely separated from each other is objectionable, especially in cases where the route for travel from one reserve to the other necessitates frequent contact with white settlements or mining districts." If such a permit were granted, the Indians were to have a guard of soldiers accompany them and remain with them as long as they were near white settlements (Simms Papers, WSU Archives, Box 213).

In a letter dated January 21, 1875, Simms noted that Indians were exploited at white stores. A flour mill near Spokane, 100 miles from the reservation, charged Indians extra to grind their wheat. Simms argued again that a mill was needed on the reservation (Simms Papers, WSU Archives, Box 213).

One of the major problems throughout the history of the reservation consisted of squatters who occupied or tried to occupy Indian lands (see Appendix 2, letter dated April 30, 1889). The Indians were alarmed because whites were "swarming" into the territory. They took forcible possession of land and drove the Indians away (Colville Indian Agency, WSU Archives, Cage 2014).

Other major problems included illegal grazing (see Appendix 3); and drunkenness, often with lethal consequences (Appendix 4) (Colville Indian
Agency, WSU Archives, Cage 2014). Even when cattle were grazed legally, there were problems. One woman complained that a herd of cattle had knocked down her fences several times and destroyed her gardens. McCrosson, the agency farmer, wrote the cattle company on Sept. 20, 1905, fining them $75.00 for damages and warning them to control their cattle or be ejected from the reservation. Many letters refer to similar problems (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 331a).

In the Annual Report of 1888 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs submitted by Rickard D. Gwyder, U. S. Indian Agent, it was noted that a farmer was hired to instruct the Indians in farming techniques. It was further recorded that while Chief Skolaskin of the Sanpoil and Nespelem wanted to improve the lot of his people, he would not take anything from the government. Skolaskin had a court and a private police force. Skolaskin's people cultivated some land, and he was regarded as a prophet. The Okanogan under Chief Tonasket occupied the land

between Osoyoos Lake and the Columbia River. They farmed and ranched, and had a mill and school. They also had a Catholic chapel on the banks of the Okanogan River (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

The loss of life was great at Nespelem due to epidemics of measles and scarlet fever. Gwyder recommended that there should be hospitals at Nespelem, Washington, and among the Okanogans (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

Other reports to the Commissioner by various agents noted that the Indians were industrious, had good farms, and raised stock. Only Joseph's band was unsettled and dissatisfied (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

Cole observed that under the influence of whiskey, three men were murdered. He also urged that another physician be appointed to the reservation. Indians were dying at an alarming rate, though no epidemics broke out that year (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

The Indian court tried five cases of drunkenness, three of adultery, seven of gambling, one of larceny, and one for plurality of wives. The bigamist was sentenced to sixty days in jail (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

Hal J. Cole in his Annual Report of 1891 noted that the Colville Commission came and talked to the Indians about selling part of their reservation. The treaty had the Indians selling 1,500,000 acres, or about half of the reservation, and the government would pay $1,500,000 in 5 annual installments (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

In his annual report of 1892, Cole complained that when the treaty matter of selling half the reservation for $1,500,000 was taken up by Congress, members of Congress questioned whether the Indians had any right to the land at all. The Indians were not given an opportunity to be heard, he complained. He pointed out that the incident had not increased the confidence of the Indians in the government, and he personally felt that he had been used. He further charged that white people were entering the ceded portion of the reservation (the North Half) and seizing land before it was legally opened to white settlement. He was fearful that bloodshed might ensue (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

Cole rejoiced that there was a great change in marriage relations taking place in the previous two years. He noted that adultery was punished with a jail term. He believed that in time adultery and bigamy would no longer be practiced on the reservation (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

The Lake and Okanogan tribes wanted allotments to preserve their land from whites. They had houses, farms, and cemeteries on their allotted land. Eighteen men and two officers in the police force kept order among the Indians and attempted to run down and eject white prospectors and trespassers who were on the reservation without authority (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

In his annual report for 1893, Cole reported that a large majority of Indians were farming or cattle raising: only Joseph's band received subsistence from the government. The Nespelem raised more grain per capita than any other group on the Colville Reservation. They still refused to accept issues from the government for they feared that Washington would then take their land. The Sanpoil still lived by fishing and hunting mostly, with some small scale farming. Everyone lost much stock the previous winter as the weather was very severe (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

Cole was of the opinion that despite the progress the Indians had made, intermarriage and the heavy death rate would lead to extinction in a few generations. He noted that some Indians, like some whites, did well at farming and liked it, but others, like white men, preferred mining, and many liked the wild and "reckless life of a cowboy." He urged that some leeway should be allowed (Colville Indian Agency 1888-1893).

Hal J. Cole was superintendent in 1892 when Skolaskin of the Sanpoil returned to the reservation after serving a jail term. Skolaskin had threatened Cole's life before being jailed, but Cole was willing for him to return (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 36).

The agency physician in a letter dated, January 6, 1894, notified the Acting U. S. Indian Agent, Captain John Bubb, that smallpox had broken out in Seattle. He requested 2000 fresh vaccine doses for the Indian population (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 35a).

It can be construed from the above narrative that life was hard psychologically as well as materially for the Indians. We do not hear from them, but certain events reveal the stress. The life and career of Skolaskin or Kolaskin, referred to above, reflected the pressure of white incursion.

Verne F. Ray - The Kolaskin Cult: A Prophet Movement of 1870 in Northeastern Washington

Kolaskin (or Skolaskin) started a cult of the general Prophet Dance type, which flourished among the Sanpoil, Spokan, and Southern Okanogan between 1870 and 1880. Kolaskin was the youngest of three sons in his family. He had gained a guardian spirit, but not a powerful one, but he was affable, and well-liked (Ray 1936b).

About the age of 20, he was taken ill. His body swelled and he developed sores. His legs became flexed and he could not straighten them. Herbal cures and shaman's cures did not work. At the end of two years, he lost consciousness and people thought he had died. He was staying among the Spokan at the time because his parents were dead. While preparations were being made for burial, he "came to life." He began to sing a song no one had ever heard. His pain was gone and he declared that he had a great revelation while he was dead. He began to preach that people must not drink, steal, or commit adultery, and they had to pray to the new god. They had to pray before bed, on arising in the morning, and before meals. Every seventh day had to be devoted to praying and singing. No work could be done. No dancing or gambling could be done on Sunday. One should be friendly and kind to everyone. His listeners gave their allegiance to "the newly revealed god" and to Kolaskin as prophet and leader (Ray 1936b).

Kolaskin made only a few converts among the Spokan. He returned to the Sanpoil and took up residence at Whitestone. He regained the ability to walk, but his knees were permanently flexed, so he walked in a stooped position with a hand on each knee. His success in gaining converts among the Sanpoil was phenomenal, and he was hailed as a great messiah. Most Sanpoil became converts and he became chief at Whitestone. He married two women, and later others. He had a total of at least five wives (Ray 1936b).

Meetings were held once or twice on Sunday during which Kolaskin taught prayers and songs addressed to the deity, Sweat Lodge. He repeated the story of his miraculous recovery and eventually it was an instantaneous recovery in the retelling.

He built a structure at Whitestone to hold the meetings. Then he received a second revelation He saw a great flood coming in ten years. To avoid destruction, a sawmill was built near the church and lumber was produced for making a boat. A male and female of every animal and bird would be included. All in the boat would be saved (Ray 1936b). The lumber was cut but the boat was never built, for his activities began to interest federal agents.

In 1873, he predicted that some kind of disaster was going to happen. A major earthquake did occur soon after, on Nov. 22, 1873. It was preceded with tremors and followed by tremors until the following spring. This event enhanced his reputation and increased the number of followers, including the Protestant Indians on the Spokane Indian Reservation.

Kolaskin had a jail built for those who failed to live up to his standards. This consisted of a pit covered with boards. Men and women were forced to spend some of their time doing his bidding, but ill will started when he imprisoned people for minor offenses and gave them a starvation diet while in jail. He appointed policemen who acted as judges as to who should be imprisoned (Ray 1936b).

The Indian Agency at Fort Spokane (the Colville Indian Agency) did not know what to do. In the meantime, two of Kolaskin's prisoners escaped, and searchers were sent after them. One of the escapees was found. When the policemen started to tie him up to take him back, the uncle of the prisoner tried to intervene. He railed at Kolaskin and told him he was always making trouble. Kolaskin had him tied up too and taken to jail (Ray 1936b).

When another nephew heard about this, he got into a dispute with Kolaskin's policeman, and they fought. The policeman shot the nephew dead. When the policeman confessed to Kolaskin, Kolaskin did nothing. Friends of the dead man took the body to Whitestone to be buried. Then they broke down the jail door and released the uncle and nephew. They decided to burn the jail, but they had no matches and so destroyed the cover of the pit (Ray 1936b).

Because of this incident, Kolaskin and the murderer were held in custody. The actual murderer was released after a hearing, but Kolaskin was sent to the prison on McNeil Island for three years.

After his return, Kolaskin tried to disband his organization. He told his people that his teachings were wrong, but many remained faithful to the new religion. The cult finally died in 1930. Kolaskin remained chief during his lifetime, and remained unfriendly toward whites. He advised the Sanpoil to accept nothing from the whites or they would lose their land. He practiced as a traditional shaman after his return from jail and was successful at it. He died in 1920 (Ray 1936b).

Land Pressures

Other incidents demonstrated the unease and even turmoil on the reservation. There were a whole series of cases dated 1883, which consisted of letters and telegrams to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from settlers who had settled on land inside reservation boundaries. They begged for an exception in their case. Some were ordered off, but some exceptions were made. For instance, withdrawals of Indian lands were requested for wagon roads and railroads, and these were granted. Special Case 65 (1880) was devoted to mineral claims on the former Columbia Reservation. Certain citizens petitioned that mineral lands there be set aside by executive order, and the superintendent recommended in favor of it (National Archives Special Cases 61-70). Exceptions were also made for the erection of church buildings on the Colville Reservation (National Archives - Special Case 102).

One case in Chelan County involved Long Jim and Cultus Bob, who had homesteaded land while the rest of the Chelan people had moved to the reservation. A white man, Enos Peaslee, had a dispute with Long Jim over land. Peaslee received a letter, dated Dec. 2, 1890, from J. C. Lawrence, Registrar of Chelan County. He notified Peaslee that his claim to land was in conflict with land claimed by Long Jim, an Indian, who resided in his vicinity. A hearing was ordered to obtain the correct status of the land in question (Peaslee: various dates).

On letterhead labeled, Lake Chelan Lumber Company, Peaslee wrote the register office at Waterville, Washington on Jan. 6, 1891. He declared that he wished to reside on the land on which he had filed on July 14, 1890, but it was perilous to do so. He asserted that Long Jim, a local Indian, was threatening him. He had not supposed that any Indian had a claim when he took the land; nor was the land office in Yakima aware of it. He cited threats by Long Jim and Cultus Bob on the lives of several citizens. He claimed the local newspaper was inciting the Indians to violence. He saw a lawyer who agreed to take the case (Peaslee: various dates).

Another lawyer in Seattle suggested that while he could not defy the government in its support of Long Jim, he should hold on to the claim so as to make it clear that he left the land only under compulsion (Peaslee: various dates).

The Acting Agent of the Colville Reservation, Capt. John Bubb, wrote Long Jim and informed him that he should not enter into negotiations with Peaslee with a view of relinquishing the land. Peaslee in turn was advised by the Registrar of Chelan County to write the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with his complaints. Other lawyers advised Peaslee to hold on to the land, and not allow himself to be ejected by the Department of Interior; only the courts had to be obeyed (Peaslee: various dates).

Captain Bubb of the Colville Indian Agency attempted to remove the whites from the lands allotted to the Indians, according to the agreement of 1883 (July 7). The Secretary of the Interior directed Bubb to notify the white claimants that the Indians had superior rights in this case. When Bubb tried to do so, A. W. La Cheppelle filed a bill for injunction in U. S. Circuit Court. The court restrained Capt. Bubb from removing the whites from the allotments of Long Jim and Cultus Bob, and made the injunction perpetual. The entire matter was laid before the Department of Justice to institute an action of ejectment against La Cheppelle and others in possession of the lands allotted to these Indians. These allotments were made under the Moses Agreement on July 7, 1883. The General Allotment Act was approved Feb. 8, 1887 (Peaslee: various dates).

The whites lost the case, and Cultus Bob and Long Jim retained their lands. A newspaper account on Feb. 21, 1891 detailed the testimony (Peaslee: various dates).

Further Land Loss and Cultural Pressures

In 1892, the North Half of the reservation was sold under duress by the Act of July 1, 1892. Six hundred sixty Indians were allotted a total of 51,653 acres in the North Half before it was thrown open to the public domain. The Indians were supposed to get $1,500,000 in five annual installments of $300,000, but the Act was never ratified by Congress, and they did not receive the money. The North Half was opened to settlement by Presidential Proclamation on October 10, 1900. The affair was declared a farce by the Indian agent, Hal J. Cole, who greatly regretted taking part in the agreement. The Indians could not see how the agreement could be broken by the government, while they were held to their side. The Indians never had an opportunity to air their views on the sale of the North Half of the reservation (Bloodworth 1959:44-46; Royce 1899:944).

The Indian allotments in the North Half did not last long. Many Indians were driven out or made so uncomfortable that they had to leave for safety's sake. This followed the same pattern when white men had taken possession of the lands on the Columbia Reservation illegally that had been homesteaded by the Indians (Bloodworth 1959:44-46).

The diminished Colville Reservation was opened to mineral entry in 1898. Twelve thousand mining leases, many on reservation land, were issued in Ferry and Okanogan counties. Instead of conducting mining, towns were built on placer mining claims and all kinds of business was carried on except mining. Abuses included saloons illegally flourishing in the heart of the reservation. Most of the placer claims were fraudulent--the idea was to hold them for farming or fruit growing when the remaining reservation was thrown open to settlement (Bloodworth 1959:46).

In 1905, the adult Indians of the Colville Reservation signed the McLaughlin Agreement relinquishing all rights to the lands within the South Half; in return receiving the promise of allotments of eighty acres to each Indian. The Act of March 22, 1906, authorized allotments for the Indians and the classifying of the remaining lands. Two thousand five hundred five Indians were allotted 333,275 acres by 1914, and the allotment rolls were then closed. The rest of the land in the South Half was opened to settlement in 1916, excepting only timber and mineral lands, totaling 422,144 acres. The money from the sale of the "surplus" lands was supposed to be deposited for the benefit of the Colville Indians (Bloodworth 1959:46-47).

In the meantime, another controversy came to light. After John McAdams Webster became Superintendent at the Colville Indian Agency, he wrote a letter to the Department of Interior, U. S. Indian Service, dated February 6, 1905. He notified them that he had discovered that A. M. Anderson, his predecessor, had taken over the guardianship of many Indian children who had property or moneys, and these assets were unaccounted for. The Wenatchi felt that they had been swindled by the man. He was not supposed to represent anybody on the reservation and had done so (Webster n. d.: folder 4).

Much detail surfaced on how Anderson defrauded the Indians. He told women married to white men that they had lost their reservation status, but he could fix it with some money. He illegally rented Indian land to white men. There were many letters from Indians asking for protection from whites who ran cattle on their land, without result. Webster also reported that the so-called placer claims were fraudulent, the purpose being to hold the land for agricultural purposes when the reservation was opened (Webster n. d.: folder 4).

Webster took a census, and said that this one was accurate.

Columbias	279
Colvilles	330
Okanogan, H. 1/2	548
Sanpoil	350
Nespilem	41
Okanogan, S. 1/2	144
Nez Perce (Wallowa)	89
Lake	305
Wenatchi	93

He noted in another report that miners were illegally swarming onto the reservation, hoping that in time they would be considered settlers or "old pioneers." The town of Keller was built this way. It became a flourishing community (Webster n. d.: folder 4).

Webster detailed how Indians were cheated out of their allotments. They were persuaded to sell them, and never received the money. Anderson was active in this (Webster n. d.: folder 12).

Allotting land was not a simple task. Special agents were appointed to complete it. One, Harry Humphrey, notified the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington that 520 allotments would take eighteen months to complete. There was a great deal of political pressure to get the work done, so whites could move in. Two assistants were hired. One indignant letter from a would-be settler was very critical because land was being given to half-breeds and "blonds" (National Archives, Colville Indian Agency: Special Case 147). Inquiries were made about adoption into the tribe, so one could be eligible for land. Others claimed Indian inheritance, but had only a small percentage of Indian blood. Another problem was the eligibility of women married to white men to receive allotments (National Archives, Colville Indian Agency).

Even senators and congressmen wrote letters for their constituents, asking when the reservation would be open to settlement. On October 17, 1914, a rather sarcastic letter from the Spokane Chamber of Commerce to the Secretary of the Interior was sent, saying in regard to the reservation that they wanted to open up "good, agricultural lands in such a way that they can be utilized by several hundred families . . . the biggest work we are trying to do is to encourage the right type of agricultural development." They said there would be little agricultural development unless there was a change of policy in classifying these lands. In an accompanying letter of the same date, they urged that the timber lands be cleared by homesteaders and opened up to agriculture. The Indians would be better off, they continued, if "bone fide" settlers developed the land. The Indian Commissioner wrote back that he had no authority to dispose of timber lands (National Archives, Tribal lands: Box 308).

Several letters were received regarding the Long Jim and Cultus Bob case. The letters said that these Indians should be removed to the reservation as the settlers felt threatened by them. There was also a letter from a local minister who wrote that the whole affair was being manipulated. The Indians in question, he said, were hard-working dependable men, while those who hoped to replace them were of questionable character (National Archives, Special Cases 147).

There had been thirty-seven allotments made originally in connection with the Moses Agreement. The Wapato Irrigation Company asked for the sale of some of these lands for their irrigation project about 1908. The Indians did not want to sell all, but only part of their land for the irrigation project, as they were interested in the water too. This was done, but the irrigation company, when finally in business in 1911, refused to deliver water to the Indian lands (National Archives, Special Cases 147).

A file (Appendix 5) consists of a list of patents in fee for Indian allotments in Ferry County (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 239a). A complete list of allotments made for the Act of 1887 was copied (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 353), a list of inherited Indian lands offered for sale was copied (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 354), and a census of reservation Indians in the years 1909 to 1914 was copied (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 355) and forwarded to the National Park Service in Seattle, Washington.

In the fall of 1913, the Colville Indian Agency finally moved from Fort Spokane to Nespelem (Gough 1990).

Social Pressures and Cultural Impacts

The Indians had to cope with the chaotic social climate of land disputes, cultural misunderstandings, and governmental pressure. For instance, Thomas McCrosson, "Additional Farmer," suggested to Superintendent Webster that he remove Joe Moses as a judge of the Indian court, as he tried and found a shaman not guilty (February 4, 1907). The defendant tried to cure a sick man and have a medicine dance. The other judge declared him guilty, but in the case of a tie, the defendant was let free. McCrosson complained that Joe Moses approved of these "superstitious practices" and wanted him removed (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 331a). This was a prime example of the cultural pressure that the Indians had to deal with.

McCrosson further observed that the judges would not punish a friend or relative and were afraid to punish those with a bad reputation. They also set free a prisoner who promised to do better (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 331a), which fits into traditional practice. The Indians believed that a man could truly reform, and the society was small enough to accurately judge if a person was sincere in reforming.

McCrosson also complained about two white miners, who got drunk and tried to break into the house of an Indian woman while her husband was gone. He asked if there was some way of getting rid of these people (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 331a).

There were many disturbances on the reservation; like fighting, knifings, and shootings. Children ran away from school, and it was McCrosson's duty to find them and take them back. His duties included writing letters to the Superintendent for the Indians.

He also pressured a young man who had a wife and child on the Yakama Reservation not to live with another woman on the Colville Reservation because he was not "entitled" to do so (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 331a). The man was "entitled" by Plateau Indian custom, for by leaving his wife, he was considered divorced, and free to remarry. This was not as callous as it sounds, for women could and did easily support themselves and their children. If reservation officials understood the custom of Indian divorce, they obviously did not approve of it.

McCrosson addressed a letter to "friend Joseph," apparently a young man from the tone of the letter. McCrosson heard that Joseph had been drinking hard along with his mother, and cajoled him to better behavior. Apparently, he valued the young man enough to exhort him to avoid self- destruction (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Box 331a).

It is evident that many employees of the reservation were ethnocentric, and it is equally evident that many of the same people tried to do their best, as they saw it, for the Indians in their charge. This is especially noticeable during the period just before and after the allotment period when reservation officials were being bombarded with letters from would-be settlers. They were inundated with letters from all over the country asking for details on the available land, the amount of water available, and the nature of the soil (I. A. Knutsen to "The Indian Reservation Information Bureau" Sept. 10, 1914). A private entrepreneur took it on himself to sell booklets regarding the sale of reservation lands and he asked for pictures and information to fill it (F. B. Freeland to J. M. Johnson, Superintendent, Oct. 16, 1914). The Northern Pacific Railway Company on Feb. 27, 1915 asked essentially for the same information so they could distribute it to potential settlers in other parts of the country, who would be using their railway line to travel to the reservation.

The reaction of reservation personnel to this bombardment was a strained patient politeness, since the reservation was not yet open. At the same time, they were exerting themselves to find potential unallotted members of various bands that would be eligible for allotments. They included Smohalla's band of Columbia River Indians, Soch-hoppy's band, also on the Columbia, Jim's band of Snake River Indians, a band of Palus living at the mouth of the Palus River, and Black Wolf's band of Klikitat living on Rick Creek. The employees expressed anxiety when several Indian groups or families wanted to stay in their traditional homelands, regardless of the problems they would face living outside of reservation boundaries (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency.)

While allotment was going on, reservation officials were trying to deal with the smaller matters that make up people's lives. It was sensibly concluded to recognize Indian custom divorce (Appendix 6), but not Indian custom marriage (see Appendix 7), and they erred in attempting to terminate or at least curtail Indian celebrations as late as 1930 (see Appendix 8) (National Archives, Seattle, Colville Indian Agency, Letters).

Mourning Dove gives us a more intimate look into the lives of the people during this period. She was born about 1885 and died in 1936, before the revitalization of Plateau culture took place on the Colville Reservation. Due to missionary influence, she believed that if a woman became a shaman, her powers were never equal to those of an influential man. Further, she continued, the woman in Indian life was never up to standards equal to those of men (Mourning Dove 1990:35). Such statements were the result of social pressures emanating from Euro-American culture. In Plateau culture, traditionally, female shamans were as powerful as male shamans, and women had equal status in these societies. Mourning Dove had been exposed to Catholic teaching, and this is the source of her comments. She also did not interpret parts of her culture correctly, though she was perceptive in other aspects. For instance, she believed that the whipman whipped children "for his own amusement." On the contrary, this was a

post appointed by the chief. The whipman in the past was the only disciplinarian in the tribe, for parents were never allowed to strike their children. This institution lingered on at least the Nez Perce and Colville Reservations during the lifetime of elders living in the 1990s (Ackerman 1971; 1982).

Mourning Dove's father objected when her mother wanted her to go on a spirit quest. He said she should be like whites. While her parents were discussing this, her mother waved her hand at her, and she was obliged to leave, clarifying that it was her mother who had the final say. Mourning Dove followed the traditional rituals in the hills (Mourning Dove 1990:44), but, as she commented later, the Jesuits won out, and in her time, these cultural practices fell into disuse. Mourning Dove failed in her spirit quest, that time and several other times, because doubt had been planted. Her adopted grandmother finally gave her her spirit, which was the power of Eagle, and she also gave Mourning Dove the leg bones and breast feathers of that bird (Mourning Dove 1990:45).

Then her mother sent her out again so she could meet the Eagle spirit. Again, her father objected, but her mother won out without much of a fight. Mourning Dove climbed toward the bluffs where the eagles nested. She sat down near a nest and waited for the spirit to appear, but she was again unsuccessful. She was sent out on other quests, and finally saw a dog spirit, but resisted it (Mourning Dove 1990:47-48). She decided at that point to choose the Christian god.

Mourning Dove wrote about other aspects of the culture which were of obvious traditional origin. For instance, she spoke of the virgin cape that a girl wore, indicating her unmarried status. She always wore this in public. Some of these capes went to the knee, others went to the ankle and were used when traveling. She noted that the daughter of a chief usually wore a cape of sheep wool with black bars woven into it that were about ten inches long. This showed her membership in the chiefly class, for each bar indicated a chief in her ancestry (Mourning Dove 1990:49).

By the time Mourning Dove was writing, other customs had changed. Now instead of a marriage trade, the chief presided over an "important" marriage. He passed a pipe around the room, and then gave a speech. This little observance married the couple. The husband removed the virgin cape and that completed the ceremony (Mourning Dove 1990:55). This description is much like Ray's (1932) description of marriage forms among the Sanpoil. Mourning Dove notes that the Colville marriageable girls always had a chaperone so they were not bothered by men. Ray (1932) also mentions this trait for the Sanpoil, but he finally doubts that such behavior existed very long since it was incompatible with a foraging lifestyle. By the time I first worked on the Colville Reservation in 1978, elders did not mention the chief's ceremony, as most groups no longer had chiefs. They described the marriage trade and alternate marriage forms for the traditional period (Ackerman 1982). Perhaps the chief presiding over a marriage was an attempt to substitute for a priest. Mourning Dove (1990:52) does mention elopement by some "romantic" couples as another form of marriage. An interesting fact she mentions is that a man never openly shows affection to his wife in public unless he means to mock her (Mourning Dove 1990:58).

Mourning Dove reports that each tribe took its home identity from the site of the winter villages (1990:147). When the Colville (her people) had to go to the reservation, they had to move across the river from east to west, to much less fertile lands (Mourning Dove 1990:226).

Gender Status

Professor L. A. Ackerman (1982) investigated gender status for the period between 1872, when the Indians were placed on the reservation, and 1938, when the termination of the Indians' native political system occurred and the Indian Reorganization Act took effect on the reservation. Between these two dates, people followed their annual round and pursued farming and ranching at the same time.

The traditional gender division of labor continued throughout the period. Farming was adopted, but there was no gender differentiation in work roles. Women fixed farm machinery, pitched hay, plowed, etc. The Indians were actually farming before they were given allotments, but the farms were communal and both genders worked it. They used any piece of land that was good for crops, several people worked on it, they jointly put up a fence against deer, and they harvested communally (Ackerman 1982:82-86).

Marriage partners continued to be chosen by the individual, and divorce was initiated by either gender. Reservation officials called this Indian custom marriage and divorce, and they were terms adopted by the people themselves. The economic situation, however, was very different from that in the past. Though farms were

conceived of as being held jointly by a couple; in divorce, the man would leave the farm to the ex-wife and children. This became an informal law, enforced by the chiefs when necessary (Ackerman 1982:94).

Gender equality continued during this period despite the influence of missionaries and government agents who, whether they were aware of it or not, discouraged it (Ackerman 1982).

Political and Cultural Factors before 1938

After allotments were completed in the early twentieth century, many people lost their land due to bad weather, and not being able to obtain bank loans. Further, fishing and hunting was curtailed by law. Still the Indians were able to integrate both economic modes and one consultant defined it as an unhurried relaxed kind of life (Ackerman 1982:87-88).

Hunting, fishing, and gathering leaders continued to be chosen before Grand Coulee Dam was built, for the resources were still available. Women were considered the owners of food as in the past, and everything was managed by them. Money brought into the household was managed by the woman. The work of both genders was equally valued, and both genders sought outside employment from time to time (Ackerman 1982:91-92).

Village government was still in effect until 1938, even though people were scattered on allotments. Chiefs met often to consult on how to protect their mutual interests against the Euro-Americans. Assemblies still met, with men and women having equal voices. Husbands and wives did not necessarily vote the same way. Contemporary elders were members of assemblies in their youth (Ackerman 1982:97, 100)

Shamans still practiced and guardian spirits were still sought by youngsters despite the presence of the Catholic Church. Vision quests were less frequent, as they were frightening experiences, and the Christian influence was used as an argument for avoiding them. Many elders today deeply regret their rejection of the guardian spirit experience when they were young. Sometimes, a spirit was bequeathed by a dying relative to a youngster. A few people were able to integrate both guardian spirit and Christian traditions in their philosophical beliefs (Ackerman 1982:102-103).

The Indians could not make a living on allotments, especially as the population grew. The land was not suitable for agriculture, but it was good grazing land, and raising cattle was feasible. There were now both Indian and white cowboys. Sheep as well as cows were raised. There were herds of wild horses available through the 1930's, which served as a source of riding stock and income (Gough 1990).

The Indian Reorganization Act

The Departmental Orders of Sept. 19, 1934, and Nov. 5, 1935, temporarily withdrew further sale of undisposed lands--818,000 acres. These were held back in the expectation that the Colville Indians would organize under the Indian Reorganization Act and that the undisposed lands would then be restored to the tribes. The Colville Reservation members, however, rejected the IRA in a vote on April 6, 1935 (Bloodworth 1959:47). The strongest opposition came from the Nespelem district and from older leaders and chiefs. The Colville Indian Association members were for the IRA. Their interests were different, as they were younger people whose families had lost their allotments (Bloodworth 1959:48, 50).

A council with representatives from the various districts was selected to consider a constitution. An election on June 20, 1936 was held to vote on the adoption of the proposed document. Only about 24% of the membership voted, so the vote was not approved by the central office (Bloodworth 1959:49).

Three districts favored the adoption of a constitution and so continued its efforts. At a meeting in Nespelem in 1937, all nine delegates from Inchelium, Keller, and Omak voted in favor of having a constitution. Three out of four delegates from Nespelem voted against it. (Bloodworth 1959:47).

An election was held on Feb. 26, 1938, which ratified the constitution agreed upon by the delegates. The Colville Business Council was formed to run tribal business. It has fourteen members from four voting districts. Each district has four councilmen except Keller which has two. Enrolled members living off the reservation may also participate in elections by voting absentee. Factionalism and disagreements over particular issues abounded, especially regarding enrollment (Bloodworth 1959:50-51).

Another source of tension was the disappearance of consensus democracy, which prevailed in native polities, and the institution of majority-rule democracy, which was alien to Plateau culture. In the past, no one was required to submit to majority decision. If someone did not agree with the general consensus, they could leave the community. This was no longer possible in the reservation era, and led to considerable frustration (Ackerman 1978-1995).

Grand Coulee Dam

The year after the Colville Confederated Tribes accepted their new constitution, a new problem arose. Ground was broken in 1939 to build Grand Coulee Dam, which adversely affected the use of the Colville lands by the Indians. The Dam's principal proponent was Rufus Woods, the publisher of the *Wenatchee Daily World.* Woods first proposed the dam on July 18, 1918, with the purpose of providing irrigation for 1,029,000 acres of farming land in the Columbia Basin. Most of these lands were privately owned by white farmers, and the rest was owned by the government. From 1890 to 1910, rainfall was above normal in the Columbia Basin, encouraging agricultural development. When a drier climate prevailed, much of the land was abandoned, but a high percentage remained in private hands (Rufus Woods Papers, n. d.).

The farms were to be laid out by the Bureau of Reclamation. The dam was situated in the Columbia River Canyon near the head of the Grand Coulee. The Coulee was fifty-two miles long, one and one-half to 5 miles wide, with perpendicular walls rising nearly 1000 feet (see Fig. 30) (Rufus Woods Papers: n. d.).

Some objections were made against the federal government running the dam. It was noted that the Republican Party would be interested in selling Grand Coulee Dam to private interests. Woods countered that privately owned dams were far more expensive to run than government run dams. The dam was retained by the government when Harry Truman became president in 1948 (Rufus Woods Papers:n. d.).

The building of the dam was an exciting event in the white community. The newspapers avidly quoted statistics regarding its size, and printed articles about the people to be flooded out. The *Spokesman Review*, a Spokane newspaper, noted on Dec. 15, 1938, that the village of Gerome, founded about 1900, was to be flooded. The town of Peach was to be under 235 feet of water, Gifford under 90 feet and several bridges would be flooded (Harry Webb Marsh Papers 1918-1966:154). Included in the inundation were 12,500 acres of tribal and allotted lands (Gough 1990).

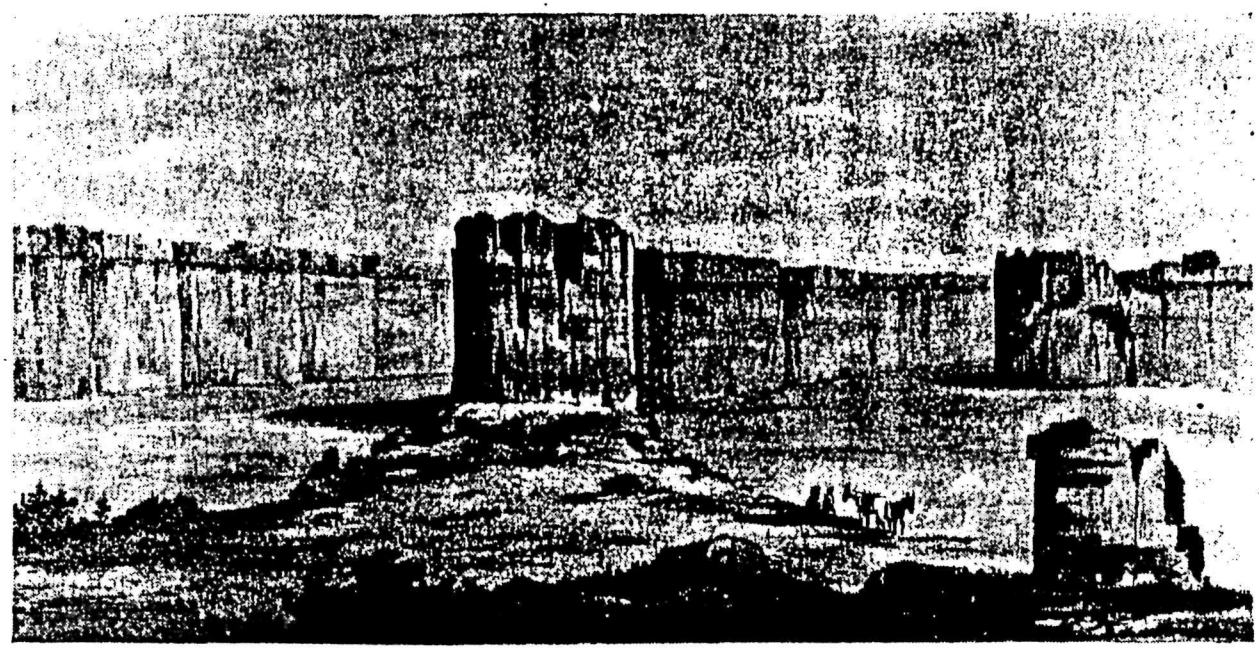
The same *Spokesman Review* article noted the "1310" level, that is the water was to rise 1310 feet above sea level in the canyon behind Grand Coulee Dam. Ten towns would be flooded, including Marcus and Kettle Falls. If the line had been a little lower than the 1310 level, these two towns would have been saved. Title to the lake bed cost ten million dollars (Harry Webb Marsh Papers 1918-1966:156).

On January 1, 1939, the *Spokesman Review* reported that the first towns covered by the rising water would be Peach and Keller on the Sanpoil River. They would be flooded by the summer of that year. In June of 1941, Kettle Falls would disappear. The lake was expected to reach its normal level in 1942, eight years after construction began. Eighteen thousand acres of the land in Ferry County consisted of Indian allotments. Inchelium, home of the large Indian subagency with school and hospital, would be moved four miles north (Harry Webb Marsh Papers 1918-1966:158).

The government bought portions of allotments for the right of way for the Grand Coulee Reservoir (see Appendix 9 for samples.)

Termination

The 818,000 acres that were not disposed of under the Homestead Act were never subject to state taxes, but their acquisition by the Tribes prevented them from ever being taxable. Therefore, Okanogan and Ferry counties opposed the restoration of the land unless the federal government paid them in lieu of taxes. The federal government refused to do so. Instead, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Congress, federal, state, and county officials forced the Tribes to agree that the only way to get title to the 818,000 acres was for the Tribes to pay estimated taxes out of its pocket. This agreement was reached on April 24, 1954. The Tribes had to pay $40,000 per year total, to both Ferry and Okanogan counties. This was an arrangement no other tribe in the country had to endure. The



GRAND COULEE AS IT WAS DRAWN IN 1846 from a survey made for the U. S. Pacific Railroad. This is probably the earliest drawing made of this physical feature.

Fig. 30. From Rufus Woods Papers.

contract was deemed unconstitutional later, but in the meantime, the Tribes had paid out $680,000 to the counties (Colville Confederated Tribes 1972).

Public Law 772 was approved on July 24, 1956, and restored the 818,000 acres of undisposed lands dealt with by the Act of March 22, 1906 (34 Stat.80) to tribal ownership. Section 5 of the Act of July 24, 1956, provided that the Business Council had to submit a termination plan within five years from the date of enactment of the Act of July 24, 1956. The assets arising from this action were to be divided among tribal members (Bloodworth 1959:51; Colville Confederated Tribes 1972).

Public Law 280 allowed the State of Washington to assume complete civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Reservation. Washington Territory's Enabling Act required it to disclaim jurisdiction over all Indian lands before it would be admitted to statehood. Therefore, there was some question as to whether the Tribes could delegate the responsibility for law and order of its members to an outsider, even though the council voted for it seven to six. The Business Council sought retrocession of this Act for many years after. From 1965-70, the tribe paid $86,986.90 to Okanogan County and $50,584.97 to Ferry Country for maintenance of law and order. The exercise of this function was spotty at best. The Colville Confederated Tribes claimed that county police officials slighted their responsibilities to the reservation (Colville Confederated Tribes 1972). The Tribes fought and finally won retrocession in the 1980s so they could retain their funds and maintain their own police force (Ackerman 1978-1995).

There was a controversy over water rights as well. Tribes have a superior and prior claim to use all waters that arise upon, traverse, or border their lands --this was decided in the Winters Doctrine Rights case of 1908. The State of Washington contended that the United States Government held title to ownership of the bed and shores of the Okanogan River in trust for the future state--claiming that Washington Territory had the same legal status as an Indian tribe with regard to the federal-Indian trust relationship. The Tribe asserted its claim to the bed and shorelands of those portions of the Okanogan River, Columbia River and Lake Roosevelt Reservoir that borders the boundaries of the Reservation. In other cases elsewhere in the country, the courts had decided that the beds under the lakes and rivers did not belong to the states, but to the Indians on whose land it was. The Washington Enabling Act of February 22, 1889 prevents any claim by the State of Washington. The Okanogan and Columbia rivers play important roles in the lives of the Tribes (Colville Confederated Tribes 1972). The reservation also won this case (Ackerman 1978-1995).

Several groups favored the termination plan, including the Colville Commercial Club. The main reason why many groups favored the plan was the exploitation of reservation assets by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and outside business interests. If termination occurred, they could get rid of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and obtain the benefits from the sale of reservation resources. Others contended that the Indians who had sold their allotted land should not have a say on the reservation or have tribal rights. Only people who still had their land should have the say on withdrawal of federal trusteeship. The Business Council agreed that withdrawal of Federal trusteeship was inevitable and wanted the Bureau of Indian Affairs to set up a withdrawal program and survey the physical assets and human resources of the tribe. Factions developed within the council as well as among other tribal members (Bloodworth 1959:52).

The Colville Indian Association was organized in 1930 in the Inchelium area. It supported termination to stop alleged misuse of reservation moneys. It also hoped to fend off outsider exploitation, especially that of the timber companies. This group split in two, one becoming the Colville Indian Commercial Club. Other groups arose and faded away (Ross 1967).

The depth of misinformation that the Indians harbored was not revealed until the termination hearings held by Congress. Hearings were held in Washington, D. C. on June 18 and August 13, 1965; in Spokane, Washington, on November 3, 1965; and in Nespelem, Washington, on November 4 and 5, 1965. In 1965, the Business Council voted 10-4 for termination. Representative Foley believed that the majority of the 4600 tribal residents wanted termination. Seventy-five percent lived off the reservation. There was 52% unemployment. The average income was $2500 to $3100 per year. Stewart Udall, then Secretary of the Interior, testified that under the circumstances, it would be unlikely that termination would relieve the conditions of poverty. He anticipated a repeat of the Menominee Indian experience, with individuals turning to the state for welfare after termination. Senator Jackson doubted that the views of tribal members had been sought on the subject of termination. He suggested a majority vote be sought, and not just a majority who voted (U. S. Congress, n. d.).

Public opinion changed, or was finally heard. New council members were elected who voted against termination. The government gave up its attempts to terminate the Colville Reservation, the decision being made in 1970 (Ackerman 1978 - 1995).

The Reach for Self-Sufficiency

Since 1970, the Colville Confederated Tribes have embarked on many business ventures, instituted a job program, and in general has tried to improve the lives of tribal members. The tribal administration prints brochures to attract businesses to the reservation. In one, several kinds of partnership are offered, with favorable benefits to the businesses settling there. One of the businesses already established is the Colville Tribal Enterprise Corporation, which manages the Colville Indian Precision Pine Company and the Inchelium Tribal Wood Treatment Plant (Colville Confederated Tribes n. d., but probably about 1980). The purpose of the initiative in attracting businesses is to provide jobs for tribal members.

A memorandum issued by the reservation's Planning Department to the Chairman of the Colville Business Council describes the Colville Tribal 1992 Overall Economic Plan. As of 1991, the tribes numbered about 7400 people. After the yearly plan is submitted to the Colville Business Council, it is adopted by them and used to allocate resources. The priorities for 1992 were established and ranked as follows:

tourism
light industry
retail trade
service trades
wood products
agriculture
hydroelectric
aquaculture
minerals
other (Colville Confederated Tribes 1991).

These priorities were based on data gathered continually from meetings, state and federal staff, reservation residents, and others. Economic data were also gathered from newspapers, magazines, and special reports (Colville Confederated Tribes 1991).

Tourism is one of biggest businesses in the nation and the world. The memo points out that the reservation has attractions for tourists and foreign visitors who are interested in Indian culture. Existing enterprises include bingo, houseboats and marinas, and the museum (Colville Confederated Tribes 1991).

The category, "other," includes projects that are not economic in nature, but which relate to community improvement. These include alcohol and drug treatment centers, day care centers, the museum in Coulee Dam, the jail, the community college, and similar projects (Colville Confederated Tribes 1991).

The Superintendent of the Colville Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, W. Sherwin Broadhead, noted in 1972 that in the previous two years, that is, since the termination question was settled, the Bureau assumed a true advocate's role in carrying out its responsibility towards Indians. Broadhead noted that the Tribes made much progress in overcoming the inertia of the previous fifteen years of total non-development. He noted the existence of the Tribes' housing program. They were also looking forward in getting police jurisdiction back to the Tribes and in establishing and protecting their water rights (Colville Confederated Tribes 1972).

Education

A new era emerged for the education of Indian children with the enactment of the Indian Education Act in 1972. At that time, the Colville Indians began to exert some control and direction over the schools of their children. The reservation has a Career Development Center which is responsible for problems relating to education, scholarships, and financial aid (Brod and Brod 1981:1-2).

Brod and Brod (1981:8-11) studied the education achievement and needs of Colville members. Students were not performing well, and the lack of achievement became evident by the third grade. There were deficiencies

at the Paschal Sherman School and the Grand Coulee Dam School, while, in contrast, the students at the Inchelium school were performing nearly at the appropriate grade level, with virtually no dropouts. Dropouts also did not occur at the Nespelem Elementary School. The high schools available for reservation children graduated only about half of the Indian students.

Despite the relatively low levels of achievement by many students; about 41% aspired to graduate from college; 24% wanted some college work and another 29% wanted to finish high school. Thus, 93% of the students hoped to go through high school or beyond. Indian students do not receive much support for their aspirations from the teaching staffs. Further, the schools appear to support males less than females. Males also feel they do not receive familial support for their aspirations. Parents tend not to know much about the schools (Brod and Brod 1981:23).

Males have lower grade point averages than females, and their aspirations are lower than the females. Girls aspire to higher status occupations, report higher occupational statuses for their mothers, and are more likely to take advantage of job information distributed by the schools. Both sexes show similar vocational needs and attitudes (Brod and Brod 1981:27-30).

Contemporary Culture

The contemporary phase of Colville Reservation culture began in 1938-1939. In 1938, the modern political structure of the Business Council was established. It was designed to manage affairs for the entire reservation, putting aside the traditional village chief and assembly institutions. In 1939, Grand Coulee Dam was started. By 1941, the dam destroyed the fish runs on most of the reservation. Foraging was no longer easy. Hunting was curtailed by state laws, fishing was limited due to canneries at the mouth of the Columbia River and the dams in-between, and Grand Coulee Dam flooded many of the camas grounds and other gathering areas. People were forced to turn to wage work to support their families. Traditional foods became luxuries or feast foods due to their little and uncertain availability (Ackerman 1982:82, 84, 85, 106-107).

Presently, the reservation administration controls the hunting on the reservation and the herds are increasing (as of 1979-80). Hunting parties typically hunt on holidays like the Fourth of July. Meat continues to be shared with elderly relatives and others. Women are unable to sustain themselves and their families with gathering any longer, so they need to do wage work when available. Consequently, they do not gather roots often because of employment, but some will dig roots on weekends (Ackerman 1982:106-107).

Women appear to have equal economic power in the new world of wage employment, so long as they are working on the reservation. They fill conventional female jobs, such as typists, secretaries, etc., but they also run offices and branches with both men and women under their supervision without trouble (Ackerman 1982:111). Women direct parking and organize camp locations during tribal celebrations, and they scale trees and use chain saws for the timber industry. When a mine was planned, women were being trained as miners. The integration of women into the mining work force was one of the tribal administration's demands that they required from the mining company in order to get access to the reservation. In these jobs and others, women are accepted as colleagues by males without comment. Thus, work is not as gender-typed as in Euro-American culture (Ackerman 1982:113-114).

The work of both genders is equally valued. Women get equal pay for equal work if they work for the tribe. The decision to work is autonomous; women do not seek their husband's permission to work, or vice versa. Colville men are not threatened if their wife earns more than they (Ackerman 1982:115-116).

When the economic situation was good in 1979, 90% of reservation women worked, according to the perception of consultants. Eighty-two percent was documented by a Colville Reservation survey, but such things as private child care services were not recorded, though much of it was going on (Ackerman 1982:116).

In the domestic sphere, the tradition of women managing all the assets of the household has survived. Many people see women as dominant, which is a correct perception in the domestic sphere. Women are culturally perceived as strong, and men seek to marry a strong woman. They are accustomed to having strong mothers and grandmothers, after all. Males are not indecisive in their own spheres, but in the household, they defer to women. In the past, men were not often home. They were away from the family, obtaining food from the land and water. The household was the women's domain and a key institution of the culture. Currently, hunting and fishing where the males prevailed are gone, but the household remains (Ackerman 1982:119,120).

Money is not a source of power in modern Colville Reservation culture. If either partner in a marriage makes more than the other, or one of them is unemployed, it makes no difference in their relative influence. Money is not important for prestige. No one cares if someone makes more than themselves, and they do not care if other people know it, unlike Euro-Americans. Prestige has different bases in reservation culture (Ackerman 1982:121).

Age differences for marriage partners also do not matter. A number of marriages were noted in which the wife was ten years or more older than her husband. This pattern also occurred in the past (Ackerman 1982:123).

Households are still multi-generational. That is, a house may include only a nuclear family, but relatives live next door or down the street, and everyone in the extended family spends much of his or her free time under one roof together, going home only to sleep (Ackerman 1982).

A woman may not borrow her husband's car and vice versa. Cars and other assets are held separately, as exclusive rights. Property, such as houses and furniture, is generally held in low regard in this culture. Allotment property is the exception. On this subject, anxiety exists that such land should remain within the bloodline or extended family. A woman does not want her husband or his children by a previous wife to inherit her family's allotment property. This is a possibility because of the Euro-American laws, in which land is usually inherited by the surviving spouse exclusively. He may then designate his heirs after his death, which could include his children by a former wife. Everyone appears to be concerned about this possibility and tries to avoid it (Ackerman 1982:128-129).

Divorce is still not considered to be an economic handicap. Women expect to support children entirely by themselves. Older women sometimes deride a younger one who seeks support from an ex-husband. This is getting to be a problem, however, since one income is no longer sufficient for a family. Still, most young women who divorce continue the tradition of supporting a family alone (Ackerman 1982:132-133).

In the political sphere, both men and women have equal political influence. They both speak publicly, and are considered to have equal qualifications to serve on the Tribal Council. Both men and women are elected to the Council, and have equal authority. The two most prestigious people on the council in 1979 were two women, who were instrumental in defeating the pro-termination movement. At that time, they were the only women on the council, but there have been others before and since (Ackerman 1982:136-137).

A woman is handicapped, not in getting elected, but in serving on the council. A council member must do much traveling and it is not possible to take young children along. Young women with children are therefore reluctant to compete for these offices. Those women who do serve on the council have children who are in high school or older. Participation in the political process, in the form of voting and talking, is still possible for young women (Ackerman 1982:138-139).

Husbands and wives still vote independently of each other. They are so independent that neither knows how their partner votes at any time. (Ackerman 1982:140).

Several religions exist side by side on the Colville Reservation today. Sometimes two or more are practiced by the same person. The religions include the Catholic Church, the traditional Plateau guardian spirit religion, and the Methodist Church. The peyote religion (the Native American Church) has made some converts, and the Indian Shaker Church is very active. In all of these religions, women are equally active with men. The possible exception consists of the Christian churches, which require subordinate roles for the women (Ackerman 1982:140-142).

The overall conclusion is that the tribes of the Colville Reservation practiced gender equality during all of their history, including the present, with only minor deviations (Ackerman 1982).

Much of the traditional social culture remains and new native traditions have evolved, such as the powwows. The huge economic resource areas are gone, but Plateau people still have seasonal surges of population between and among reservations, when ceremonies and powwows are held. Entire extended families visit each other during these events, and new marriages are made. The ceremonial round held throughout the Plateau on all reservations allows relatives to meet each other several times a year. While attending these events, individuals may

decide to live with other relatives for awhile at other locations, just as they did in the past. Younger people particularly may visit a week, a year, or indefinitely, thus actually changing residence (Ackerman 1994:291).

Descent groups or extended families survive and continue to recruit new members. Half-siblings move in with each other, or people visit aunts and uncles on other reservations and stay indefinitely. There are examples of full siblings belonging to different tribes or reservations even today. This occurs when an individual decides to join the descent group of a mother's or father's relative with whom they have not been living. One contemporary example on the Colville Reservation involved an older sister who was raised in her father's group, the Chelan. Consequently, she considered herself a Chelan. Her younger sister was raised in her mother's group, the Moses-Columbia, and so considered herself part of that group. Thus, the personal identity of the Plateau individual is not set at birth. His or her ethnicity and residence can both change at the individual's pleasure, and even the name can change. These changes do not estrange individuals from their former descent group (Ackerman 1994:294, 305).

The Plateau definition of "residence" or "home" is very different from that of a Euro-American. This was evident in a recent U. S. Census study on the Colville Reservation. It was discovered that a major discrepancy in census count arose because of a conflict between the Euro-American definition of residence and how residence is experienced by the Indians. Both aboriginally and today, Indians of all of the Plateau reservations keep in contact with each through kinship networks and a yearly round of ceremonies and celebrations, as noted above. This enables mobility of two kinds: one to follow the annual round while staying with kin, and the other a mobility of residence, facilitated by the right to move permanently into the households of extended kin. Sometimes following the annual round causes a more or less permanent change of residence on an impulsive basis (Ackerman 1989).

Consequently, residence for a Colville Indian in particular, and Plateau Indians in general is not a spot where a particular house is built, as in the Euro-American concept of home. The dispersed kinship network facilitates residential flexibility, but it is not that the people can reside anywhere, for they have an intense love for their own country. They can live any place in the Plateau in which they have relatives or friends and thus define such areas of the Plateau as their *country* (Ackerman 1989).

The spread of kin over a wide area had a beneficial effect on survival in the past, since it extended political and trade connections. It was noted above that full siblings could resettle with relatives they did not originally reside with, leading to full siblings belonging to different tribes or reservations. With any one individual, however, these changes may evolve gradually. So when the census taker asks if a brother is visiting elsewhere, or has moved, an "incorrect" answer might be solicited. Someone does not know his brother's intentions in visiting cousins for a half-year. The brother *himself* does not know if he is visiting or permanently resettled until sometime after it happens (Ackerman 1989).

This is typical of foraging mobility. The Plateau people are still living by the rules that most hunter-gatherers employ: you have a home territory, loosely defined and encompassing a wide area. You move frequently; not just inside home territory, but often outside it to make a living. Keeping up social connections can be defined as making a living, for the social network facilitates access to economic resources other than your own, providing a fail-safe in times of economic trouble. For instance, some Colville families regularly stay with Yakama relatives so they can work on harvesting crops (Ackerman 1989).

These patterns are still current. People follow the ceremonial round all over the Plateau; not restricting themselves to local ceremonies. At the same time they visit, gamble, trade, etc. Seasonal surges of population in the present recall the seasonal surges in the past (Ackerman 1989).

Certain age sets change residence more than others. The most mobile age set consists of young unmarried men between the time they graduate from high school and the time they contract a stable marriage or serious relationship. They move around to find employment, staying with relatives or girlfriends, or they move around to keep company with groups of other young men. They change residence on impulse and return to a former home on impulse (Ackerman 1989).

Some young women have similar residence patterns to young men, but the analogy is not exact. Many become mothers when quite young. Sometimes a young woman will leave her child with her mother, and go to live with her boyfriend. This is a traditional custom, for often the oldest grandchild was raised by grandparents as a matter of course in the past as well as today, and on adulthood, the grandchild supports the grandparents (Ackerman 1989).

A young woman will shuttle back and forth between the home she makes with her boyfriend and her mother's home where her child resides. It might be concluded that her residence is less ambiguous than that of a young man, but her ties to her mother's home are very strong. One young woman in this situation was asked to define her real residence. She appeared confused and it was not possible to elicit a definitive answer (Ackerman 1989).

Married men and those with a permanent bond seem to settle down to one residence. By that time, they usually have found permanent employment or a trade which allows them adequate income. Some young people say that the only difference between a young man who marries and one with ambiguous residence is a stable income, though this is doubtful, considering the aboriginal behavior. Men usually "settle down" between the ages of twenty-five and forty. Some embrace the role of husband and father so thoroughly that they not only raise their own children by their current marriage, but try to collect their children by former relationships, take in nieces, nephews, and even adopt, legally or informally, unrelated children who need a home. These men still travel. They make the annual rounds of reservation celebrations, visit, and go hunting, taking their families with them most of the time (Ackerman 1989).

Women who marry or establish a continuing relationship also keep a stable home. Women who do not marry also keep stable homes when children are born to them. When such a family nucleus comes into being, other people collect there. Young cousins, nephews, etc. needing a home are integrated into the family. It is not unusual to find completely unrelated children in such a household (locally called "take-ins") (Ackerman 1989).

Young children from a very tender age through adolescence shuttle more frequently than one would expect. In the past, children changed residence by their own choice, having the option of visiting a relative or even moving permanently. This decision could not be overruled by the child's elders. Today, these impulsive visits continue, but with less frequency. Perhaps the need to attend school forces a definition on the length of visits, but this needs verification. It appears that a child may attend the same school, but still shuttles among the homes of its relatives within the school district (Ackerman 1989).

The parents and grandparents are the anchors of the society. They provide the homes in which their adult children and grandchildren shuttle into and out of at will (Ackerman 1989).

Residence is a cultural concept, for it means different things in Colville Indian and Euro-American cultures. The Colville people seem to wither without frequent contact with friends, relatives, and their native land. "Residence" is often a wider term to them, allowing them to rattle around in a home territory, but perhaps having little loyalty to a particular spot within it (Ackerman 1989).

Assessment

My work on gender equality in the contemporary culture has already been assessed above. My work for the U. S. Census (1989) was published by them, but I do not have a printed copy; only my typescript of sixteen pages. The Census work was a pilot project for the Bureau of the Census. After it was completed, it was used as a guide for similar work on other reservations, according to Census officials.

Current Problems

While the Colville Indians live their lives, the tribal administration continues to cope with political problems vis-a-vis the larger society. In a recent issue of the Tribal Tribune (1995, Vol. 21(9):1), is an article entitled, "Important Message to Colville Tribal Members." It notes that the Business Council has decided to open up the Moses Columbia Reservation area to tribal hunting. They have established three seasons in the area for deer, elk, and forest grouse. All other types of wildlife are closed to hunting.

The article relates that if one chooses to hunt on that land, he or she must be aware that the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife does not necessarily agree that this area is open to Indian hunting. If anyone is written a ticket by a game warden, not only the game but the firearm may be confiscated. Tribal members should be aware that the Tribe will stand behind anyone in this situation and will provide legal services and pay any fines. Hunters are urged to obey all state rules to the letter, so that they will do well in court. It is suggested that federal

and state lands are the best areas for hunting. Permission may be asked from landowners to hunt on their property, but hunters are urged to be sure to follow the landowners' boundaries (Tribal Tribune 1995, 21(9):1).

This is an interesting article as it appears that the reservation administration is claiming hunting rights on the old Columbia Reservation. This land was relinquished by Chief Moses before he moved onto the Colville Reservation. The Colville are willing to go to court to claim certain rights over the area.

Another Tribal Tribune article (1994, 20(4):1) of interest is entitled, "Over 2000 Vote on Grand Coulee Dam Settlement." On April 16, 1994, tribal members voted on whether or not to accept a cash settlement offered by the government for the building of Grand Coulee Dam on their lands. The settlement was approved by a vote of 2191 in favor and 154 opposed. The settlement documents have been sent on to Congress. The chairman of the Business Council noted that no amount of money could truly compensate for the way of life that the building of Grand Coulee Dam eliminated, but the settlement will provide benefits for the children. After fifty years of waiting, some compensation will be made. A $53,000,000 lump sum payment is to be made to compensate the Tribes for the use of tribal lands by Grand Coulee Dam, and an on-going annual payment of more than $15,000,000, beginning in 1996, will compensate the tribes for use of the lands in the future. The suit was filed against the United States in the 1950s.

In another article in the Tribal Tribune (Whitelaw and Wilso 1994 20(4):12), entitled, "How Did Your Life Change with the Building of Grand Coulee Dam?" a series of interviews were recorded. Elders were asked to comment on the dam settlement between the Colville Reservation and the United States for the loss of resources caused by the construction and operation of Grand Coulee Dam. The material was gathered at the General Membership Meeting of April 16, 1994.

John Marchand of Omak said, "We all left here when there was no more salmon. We lost our salmon. Before, we went there (Keller/Inchelium area) in the summer and we stayed there all summer. We got salmon every day. Like my mother said, "you could walk across the river on the backs of the salmon" (Whitelaw and Wilso 1994, 20(4):12).

Georgia Iukes of Nespelem said, "There were too many promises that were broken...This has just gone on and on and it got less and less until now it's 53 million....You think it don't hurt? It hurts. We didn't have welfare when we were able to take care of ourselves by the natural foods of the land. We had security" (Whitelaw and Wilso 1994, 20(4):12).

Rita Clark of Omak remarked, "All I remember is the shortage of water and how they started dickering over it then. It caused a lot of hard feelings, a lot of hostility. (My family) complained about the dam being there and the salmon not being able to go up the river anymore...They say when there's no more salmon there's going to be no more Indian people" (Whitelaw and Wilso 1994, 20(4):12).

Nellie Watt of Omak commented, "The dam flooded us out (in Inchelium) when I was about four years old and we had to move to higher ground. My dad (Pete Noyes) used to have a store in Inchelium plus we had a farm with cattle, chickens and pigs. When they moved the town of Inchelium, it divided the town...half of the people moved over to where the agency is now and half moved to where Inchelium is now and it caused a big feud which goes on to this day" (Whitelaw and Wilso 1994, 20(4):12).

Gertie Williamson Toulou of Coulee Dam said, "When I was little, my folks lost two homes in the flood that took out Inchelium and we lost our school house too. We had to move to higher ground and go to school under the trees for a while. I think the claims settlement is wonderful...it lets us old folks get something, after all, we've been through a lot of hurt from this dam" (Whitelaw and Wilso 1994, 20(4):12).

This testimony from the people most affected by Grand Coulee Dam opens up new topics for research consideration. The factionalism or feud referred to above in Watt's testimony, caused by the flooding, has not been recorded so far as is known, nor the shortage of potable water resulting from the flooding, referred to in Clark's testimony. On the other hand, the money from the settlement will allow the people of the reservation to make a fresh start at recreating their lives within Euro-American society, and give them the independence to preserve their culture, and invent new culture that correlates with their own traditions

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Not all of the recommendations below may be of interest to the National Park Service, but as an ethnographer very familiar with Plateau culture in general, and Colville Reservation culture in particular, these seem to be salient in terms of future research.

1. A satisfactory definition of village/extended family, band, and tribe.

2. Land tenure rules. I have written on that subject myself (Ackerman 1994), but I would like much more evidence on the exact rules.

3. A further look into the role of women in the Salmon Ceremony as related by Martin Louie in the Kennedy-Okanogan fishing study.

4. A search for more evidence regarding the "virgin cape" or as referred to in my notes, the puberty blanket.

5. In Wynecoop and Clark's privately printed narrative on the Lakes Indians, they said that men and women had separate entrances into the longhouse. They suggest that men had their own quarters in which boys were trained secretly. Women also may have had a separate residence. The separation of the sexes is very marked in this variation of Plateau culture, and more investigation into Lakes culture on this subject would be interesting.

6. In Wynecoop and Clark's account of the Lakes culture, the dance (undoubtedly a prayer) of fertility is new to me and unique in Plateau literature. It would be interesting and useful to get some verification of these things from an elder before such knowledge is lost.

7. Also in Wynecoop and Clark's description of Lakes culture, men served the first fish of the year to women. Women being served by men is unusual in general Plateau culture.

8. Unique in the literature (before Ackerman 1994) is the mention of totems of the Lakes (Goat) and the Colville (Wolf). It would be interesting to gather more information about this cultural trait before the knowledge disappears entirely.

9. There is a dearth of information on the ideology of masculinity, or how men think, in contrast to their subsistence roles. Field work is planned on the subject.

10. Some evaluation should be made on how the recurrent epidemics in the Plateau must have affected the cultures socially. If 90% of the people in the United States died through some similar disaster, would not the economics and especially the politics change? Who would pay attention to city hall? I see evidence of tighter social structure in the Colville tribes' aboriginal cultures than that compatible with band organization. Chiefs were hereditary, which is not a feature of band organization, there were other political offices among most groups, and I suspect tribal organization was a lot tighter in order to deal with a much larger population before epidemics decimated it.

11 Rock painting in its social context is inadequately studied. I have tried to ask some questions in the field, but did not concentrate on it. Consequently, the results have been indifferent. Perhaps a joint enterprise involving an archaeologist and ethnographer would be fruitful.

12. Ray's 1975 "Interpretative Theme, Vol. 2" has some new material. I was unable to locate Volume 1 of this work. Ray estimates the date of the founding of the Columbia Confederacy, which is new information. He also notes that each tribe within the Confederacy had differential status. In fact, he says that all tribes were differentiated in status. I would like to see confirmation of this information from other sources. I came across no hint of it during my own fieldwork, but basically, I do not doubt Ray.

13. Some leads on the life and career of the female Lakes chief need to be followed up. I tried to do this during my first field research in 1978, but the people I spoke to then did not know. Since then, I have stumbled across two people who have casually mentioned her, and they need to be interviewed on the subject in depth.

14. An investigation of census numbers over time for each of the tribes may give clues to their social health. For instance, the numbers for some tribes were dangerously low in some periods, suggesting they could not even replace themselves. These numbers could be compared over time with the present day census of each tribe. Presumably, gross numbers are available in tribal administration. These numbers will at least provide food for thought. In recent years, I believe, overall tribal numbers have been growing, but perhaps at a differential rate. I suspect that early historical influences have affected that rate, as some groups were far more flexible at adapting to the new conditions than others.

15. Testimony from the people most affected by Grand Coulee Dam opens up areas for research that were not previously known. The factionalism caused by the flooding has not been recorded so far as is known, nor the shortage of potable water resulting from the flooding. On the other hand, investigating these commentaries may only open up old wounds.

More geographically significant topics for research that might be of more interest to the National Park Service may include the boundaries of particular villages, rules of village ownership, and rules of village membership, to confirm data found in Ackerman (1994). Overlapping land use, the location of menstrual hut locations, traditional vision quest locations, other locations with religious significance, and pre-reservation celebration locations, etc., are also among possible topics for future research.

REFERENCES CITED

Ackerman, Lillian A.

1971 Marital Instability and Juvenile Delinquency among the Nez Perces. American Anthropologist 73(3):595-603.

1981 The Equal Status of Colville Indian Women in Traditional and Contemporary Contexts. *In* Northwest Women's Heritage (Conference Proceedings, 1981). Karen Blair, ed. Seattle: University of Washington. Northwest Center for Research on Women, Imogen Cunningham Hall.

1982 Sexual Equality in the Plateau Culture Area. Ph. D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman.

1987 The Effect of Missionary Ideals on Family Structure and Women's Roles in Plateau Indian Culture. *Idaho Yesterdays* 31(1-2):64-73.

1988 Sexual Equality on the Colville Indian Reservation in Traditional and Contemporary Contexts. *In* Women in Pacific Northwest History: an Anthology. Karen J. Blair, ed. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

1989 Residents or Visitors: Finding Motives for Movements in an Indian Population. Paper prepared for the U. S. Census.

1993 The Ideology of Gender in the Plateau. Archaeology in Washington Vol. V:33-38.

1994 Nonunilinear Descent Groups in the Plateau Culture Area. American Ethnologist 21(2):286-309.

1995 Complementary but Equal: Gender Status in the Plateau. *In* Women and Power in Native North America. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, eds. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

1978-1995 Field Notes - Colville Indian Reservation. In author's files.

Anastasio, Angelo

1972 The Southern Plateau: An Ecological Analysis of Intergroup Relations. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 6(2):109-229.

Blandau, Richard Lewellen

1972 The Nez Perces on the Colville Reservation: An Investigation of the Inception and Maintenance of a Socio-Cultural Isolate, 1885-1968. M. A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman.

Bloodworth, Jessie

1959 Human Resources Survey of the Colville Confederated Tribes: a Field Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Portland Area Office, Colville Agency.

Bouchard, R. and D. Kennedy

1984 Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State. Final report prepared for the Colville Confederated Tribes and the United States Bureau of Reclamation.

Boyd, Robert Thomas
1985 The Introduction of Infectious Diseases among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, 1774-1874. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Brod, Rodney L. and Mary Jean Brod
1981 Educational Needs of the Colville Confederated Tribes. LPS & Associates, Rocky Boy's Route, Box Elder, MT 59521. Missoula: University of Montana Printing Department.

Buckley, Thomas and Alma Gottlieb
1988 Blood Magic: The Anthropology of Menstruation. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burns, Robert Ignatius Burns, S. J.
1966 The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press.

Carriker, Robert C. and Eleanor R. Carriker
1987 The Pacific Northwest Tribes Missions Collection of the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus (microfilm). Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources.

Chalfant, Stuart A.
1974a Ethnohistorical Report on Aboriginal Land Occupancy and Utilization by the Palus Indians. *In* American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Northwest, Vol. IV, compiled and edited by David Agee Horr. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

1974b Material Relative to Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy by the Wenatchi Salish of Central Washington. *In* American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Northwest, Vol. IV, compiled and edited by David Agee Horr. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Chance, David
1973 Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 7 (1), part 2, Memoir #2.

1986 People of the Falls. Kettle Falls Historical Center, Inc. Printed by Don's Printery: Colville Washington.

Cline, Walter
1938 Religion and World View. *In* The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Leslie Spier, ed. pp. 131-182. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Colville Confederated Tribes
n. d. Consider the Colville Indian Reservation! Colville Confederated Tribes.

Colville Confederated Tribes
1972 The Year of the Coyote: Centennial Celebration July 2, 1972. Nespelem, Washington: Colville Confederated Tribes.

Colville Confederated Tribes
1991 Memorandum - Planning Department. Sept. 19, to Chairman, Colville Business Council.

Colville Indian Agency
Cage 2053, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Washington State University.

Colville Indian Agency
Cage 2014, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Washington State University.

Colville Indian Agency
1888-1893 Reports of Agents in Washington Territory - Colville Agency. Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C.

Commons, Rachel S.
1938 Diversions. *In* The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Leslie Spier, ed. pp. 183-194. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Cook. S. F.
1972 The Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon. *In* The Emergent Native Americans. Deward E. Walker, Jr., ed. pp. 172-192. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Cox, Ross
1957 The Columbia River, or Scenes and Adventures during Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains among Various Tribes of Indians Hitherto Unknown; Together with "A Journey Across the American Continent" Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Curtis, Edward S.
1911 Salishan Tribes of the Interior. *In* The North American Indian, 7. Plimpton, Norwood.

Diomedi, Alexander, S. J.
1978 Sketches of Indian Life in the Pacific Northwest. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press.

Dobyns, Henry F.
1983 Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Ember, Carol R. and Melvin Ember
1993 Anthropology. 7th edition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall.

Friedl, Ernestine
1975 Women and Men: An Anthropologist's View. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gibbs, George
1978 Indian Tribes of Washington Territory. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press.

Gidley, M.
1979 With One Sky Above Us: Life on an Indian Reservation at the Turn of the Century. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Gough, Stan, ed.
1990 A Cultural Resources Overview, Sampling Survey, and Management Plan, Colville Indian Reservation, Okanogan and Ferry Counties, Washington. Eastern Washington University Reports in Archaeology and Historical Services, Eastern Washington University.

Griswold, Gillett
1954 Aboriginal Patterns of Trade between the Columbia Basin and the Northern Plains. M. A. Thesis, Montana State University.

Hudson's Bay Company
1830-1831 Heron's Journal of Occurrences at Fort Colville. Microfilm IM 37, Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Hunn, Eugene S.
1981 On the Relative Contribution of Men and Women to Subsistence among Hunter-Gatherers of the Columbia Plateau: A Comparison with Ethnographic Atlas Summaries. Journal of Ethnobiology 1(1):124-134.

Kennedy, Dorothy I. D.
1975 Utilization of Fish by the Colville Okanagan Indian People. Typescript at Cheney Cowles Museum, Spokane, Washington.

Kinkade, M. Dale
1967 On the Identification of the Methows (Salish). International Journal of American Linguistics 33:193-197.

Mandelbaum, May
1938 The Individual Life Cycle. *In* The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Leslie Spier, ed. pp. 103-129. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Marsh, Harry Webb
1918-1966 Papers. University of Idaho Archives, MG23, Item 42.

Maxwell, Jean Alice
1987 The Circle of Sharing among Colville and Spokane Indians. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

Miller, Jay
n. d. Ethnohistorical Component of The Chief Joseph Dam Burial Relocation Survey. Typed ms. found in Tribal History Office's files, Colville Indian Reservation.

Mourning Dove
1990 Mourning Dove, A Salishan Autobiography. Jay Miller, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

National Archives of the United States, Washington, D. C.
various Regarding Colville Indian Agency. File Names: Special Cases, Boxes 61-70, Tribal Lands. Box 308 -313

Parker, Rev. Samuel
1844 Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains. 4th edition. Ithaca, New York: Andrus, Woodruff, & Gauntlett

Peaslee, Enos B. Letters
various Regarding court case In Chelan County. Archives and Manuscripts, Suzzalo Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Post, Richard H.
1938 The Subsistence Quest. *In* The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Leslie Spier, ed. pp. 9-34. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Post, Richard H. and Rachel S. Commons
1938 Material Culture. *In* The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Leslie Spier, ed. pp. 35-70. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Raufer, Maria Ilma, Sister
1966 Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company.

Ray, Verne F,
1932 The Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 5. Seattle: University of Washington Press. Reprinted by AMS Press, New York.

1936a Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin. Pacific Northwest Quarterly 27(2):99-152.

1936b The Kolaskin Cult: A Prophet Movement of 1870 in Northeastern Washington. American Anthropologist 38:67-75.

1939 Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America. Los Angeles: Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Vol. 3, Southwest Museum.

1942 Culture Element Distributions: XXII Plateau. Anthropological Records 8(2):98-262.

1960 The Columbia Indian Confederacy: A League of Central Plateau Tribes. *In* Culture in History. Stanley Diamond, ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

1974 Ethnohistory of the Joseph Band of Nez Perce Indians: 1805-1905 *in* American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Northwest, compiled and edited by David Agee Horr. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

1975 Final Report Colville Interpretive Theme, Vol. 2. In Tribal History office on the Colville Reservation. Volume 1 is missing from the files.

Reichwein, Jeffrey C.
1988 Native American Response to Euro-American Contact in the Columbia Plateau of Northwestern North America, 1840-1914: an Anthropological Interpretation Based on Written and Pictorial Ethnohistorical Data. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Roe, JoAnn
1992 The Columbia River: A Historical Travel Guide. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.

Rooney, Daniel J., compiler
1973 Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the BIA, Colville Indian Agency, including the Spokane subagency, 1865-1952. (Record Group 75 at Federal Archives, Seattle).

Ross, Alexander
1986 Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Original publication in 1849, London.

Ross, John Alan
1967 Factionalism on the Colville Reservation.M. A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University.

Royce, Charles C.
1899 Indian Land Cessions in the United States. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Schlegel, Alice
1977 Toward a Theory of Sexual Stratification. *In* Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View. Alice Schlegel, ed. pp. 1-40. New York: Columbia University Press.

Scott, Jerry M.
1992 A History of the Formation of the Colville Indian Reservation. M. A. thesis in History, Washington State University.

Service, Elman R.
1962 Primitive Social Organization: an Evolutionary Perspective. New York: Random House.

Simms, John A.
Papers. Cage 213, 3 boxes. Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

1878 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. August 8, 1878 report by John Simms on Fort Colville Indian Agency. Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

Smith, Allan H.
1983 Chapter 3, "Ethnohistory 1811-1855." *In* Cultural Resources of the Rocky Reach of the Columbia River, Vol. 1. Randall F. Schalk and Robert E. Mierendorf, eds. Center for Northwest Anthropology, Washington State University, Pullman.

1987 Ethnography of the North Cascades. Center for Northwest Anthropology, Washington State University Project Report No. 7, Pullman, Washington.

Spier, Leslie
1938 The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. General Series in Anthropology, No. 6. Leslie Spier, ed. Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology, 2; Santa Fe, New Mexico. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

1974 Tribal Distribution in Washington. Reprinted *in* American Indian Ethnohistory, Indians of the Northwest, pp. 9-23. Vol. IV, compiled and edited by David Agee Horr. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Swanton, John Reed
1979 Indian Tribes of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press.

Teit, James Alexander
1927-1928 (1930) The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus. 45th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The Okanogan Indians, pp.198-294.

1928 The Middle Columbia Salish. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 2:89-128.

Trafzer, Clifford E. and Richard D. Scheuerman
1986 Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest. Pullman: Washington State University.

Tribal Tribune
1994 "Over 2000 Vote on GC Dam Settlement." Vol. 20, No. 4, May 18, 1994, p. 1. Colville Indian Reservation Newspaper, published at Nespelem, Washington.

1994 "How Did Your Life Change with the Building of Grand Coulee Dam?" Compiled by Sheila Whilelaw and Wenono Wilso. Vol. 20, No. 4, May 18, 1994, p. 12. Colville Indian Reservation Newspaper, published at Nespelem, Washington.

1995 "Important Message to Colville Tribal Members." Vol. 21, No. 9, October 3, 1995, p. 1. Colville Indian Reservation Newspaper, published at Nespelem, Washington.

Turney-High, Harry Holbert
1937 The Flathead Indians of Montana. American Anthropological Association Memoir 48. Menasha, Wisconsin.

United States Federal Archives and Records Center, Seattle, Washington
various Letters to Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C. from Indian Agent, Colville Indian Agency.

Colville Indian Agency, Miscellaneous Files. Letters, Census, Land Transactions. Boxes 69-149, 158, 363, etc.

Colville Indian Agency - Allotment Records and other Land Transactions.

Walker, Deward E., Jr., and Sylvester L. Lahren
1977 Anthropological Guide for the Coulee Dam National Recreation Area. Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

1994 Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. *In* Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia. Mary B. Davis, ed. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Walters, L. V. W.
1938 Social Structure. *In* The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington. Leslie Spier, ed. pp. 73-99. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Webster, John McAdams
Papers, Cage 145, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

Wilkes, Charles, U. S. N.
1845 Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842. In five volumes. Vol. IV, Chapter 11. At Eastern Washington Historical Society, Spokane (Cheney Cowles Museum.)

Winans, W. P.
Papers. Cage 147, 9 boxes. Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

Wood, Erskine
n. d. Days with Chief Joseph. Diary of a Fourteen Year Old Boy's Days with Chief Joseph. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort.

Woods, Rufus
various Papers. Archives and Manuscripts, Suzzalo Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Work, John
1825-1826 Journal from June 21, 1825 to June 12,1826. Archives and Manuscripts, Suzzalo Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. No accession number.

Wright, Robin K.
1991 A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Wynecoop, Nancy Perkins and N. Wynecoop Clark
1985 In the Stream: An Indian Story. Published in Spokane, Washington. No publisher recorded.

APPENDIX 1

Locations at the Kettle Falls Fishery

(Kennedy 1975)

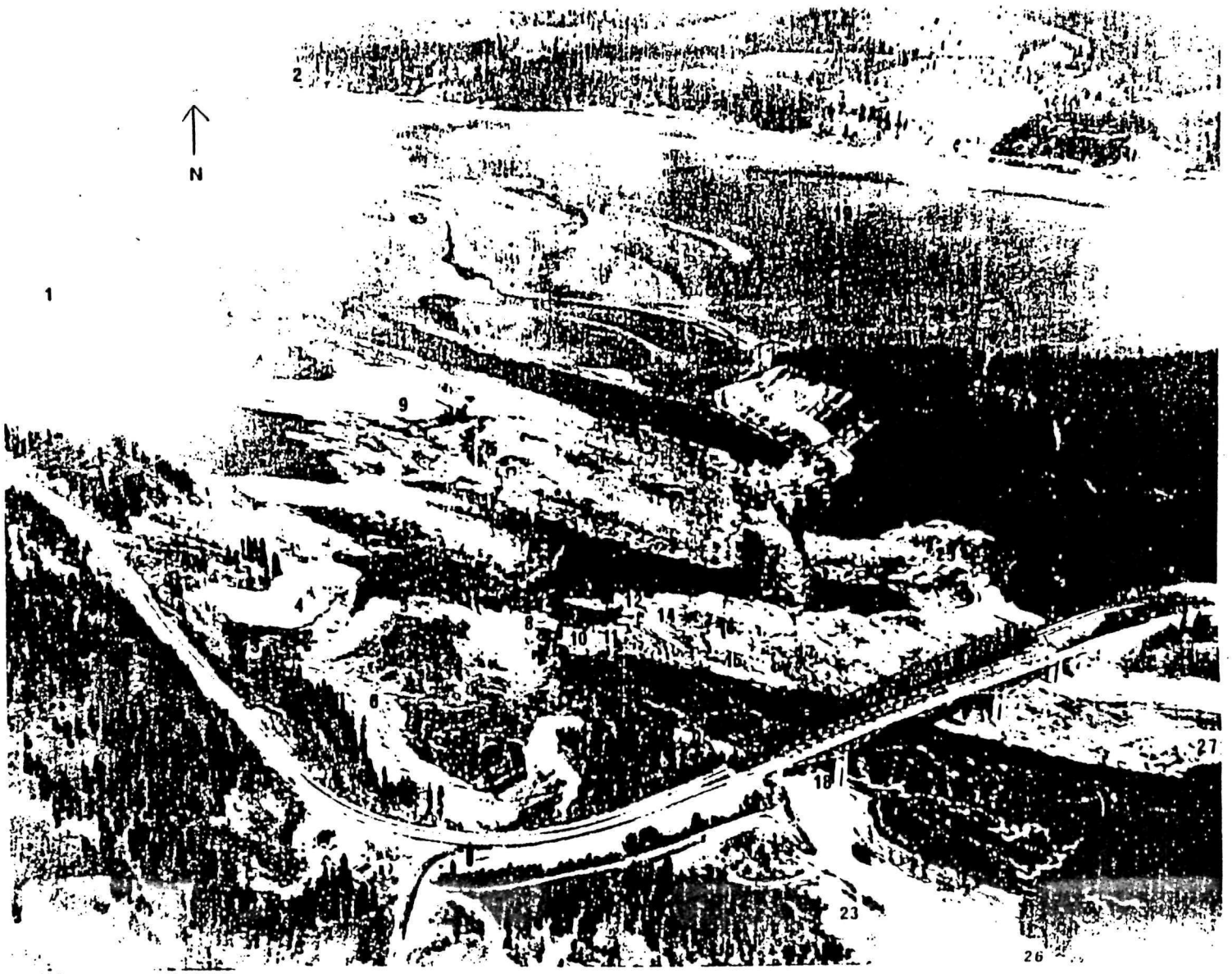


Fig. 5. Kettle Falls Fishery - Locations (Kennedy 1975).

Names of places at the Kettle Falls Fishery are as follows: (Kennedy 1975)

1. Tkekxísxn "water on the rock" - a point of land on the west side of the Columbia River.
2. Sklh7állkwa "reach the river" - the area of land near the old town of Marcus, Washington.
3. Wuyi7stn "bushes on high side-hill" - a large back eddy on the west side of the Columbia River. It is also called Snlhúmin "harpoon place".
4. Senk'eplanwíxwtn "cut line with a knife place" - a high rock cliff on the west side of the Columbia River.
5. Ki7antsútn "stop the fish for a while" - a large rock situated between two water-falls on the most westerly side of Kettle Falls (cf. section 3a, p).
6. Snktixísxntn "king salmon swimming over rock place" - this refers to an area south of Kettle Falls on the west side of the Columbia River.
7. Nkwu7t "back eddy" - a large back eddy on the west side of the Columbia River.
8. Sk'tak' "crossing" - a large rock forming a water-fall directly east of Ki7antsútn.
9. Ksunkw "any island" - Hayes Island
10. N7aw7áwyakn "upside down" - the large rock and a water-fall directly east of Sk'tak'.
11. Nlhelhewíkn "spear on back" - a two-stage fall on the east side of the Columbia River, directly east of N7aw7áwyakn.
12. Snpelstsútn "killing yourself place" - a high rock at the end of a peninsula on the east side of the Columbia River. At this place, it is said, people committed suicide.
13. Stl'ekmtsín "crossing at mouth" - a marshy inlet at the south end of Marcus Flat.
14. Snxexe7iweltn "place of special feast" - the area, at the end of a rocky peninsula on the east side of the Columbia River, where the rock "kettles" were situated, and where the "first salmon ceremony" occurred.

15. Nptúnxwaks "old lady trail" - a trail used by old women when carrying fish from the traps to the camp.

16. Snkwakw7altán "place of talking" - situated at this place were a number of large striated rocks on which the chiefs would sit when speaking to the people during ceremonies for the first roots, the first berries, and the first meats. However, this place was not used during the "first salmon ceremony".

17. Nlagwtmula7xw "valley in land" - this is a recent place-name (probably from late 1800's) referring to a depression bisecting the peninsula.

18. St'at'ak'emtn "crossing place" - the area on both sides of the Columbia River where the people crossed in their canoes from one side of the river to the other.

19. Snlexak "go around the edge" - Marcus Flat

20. Nyaninkn "narrow ravine" - a narrow ravine on the northeast side of Klhyiyirus.

21. Nkwekwe7ipm "having a little bay" - a small bay on the east side of the Columbia River inbetween the peninsula and a high side-hill.

22. Tkwumakst "conical point" - the peninsula on the east side of the Columbia River.

23. Snkeltina "on the edge campground" - a flat area on the west bank of the Columbia River.

24. Klhyiyirus "little flat round area" - the large flat on which St. Paul' Mission is situated.

25. Kwerkwaru "yellow on the side-hill" - a high side-hill on the east side of the Columbia River directly east of Kettle Falls.

26. Nlhamina7 "close to the side" - a flat area, close to the water, on the west side of the Columbia River.

27. Nemxiynem "calmed down water" - this cove on the east side of the Columbia River is also called Snk'lhutsintn "spear in mid-air place", and Snmuskstn "feeling for salmon place".

(KENNEDY 1975)

APPENDIX 2

Letter (transcript) to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

from the U. S. Indian Agent, Colville Indian Agency

April 30, 1889

Letters 1884-1890
Cage 2014

Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections
Washington State University Libraries
Washington State University

Below is a copy of a letter written by the United States Indian Agent at the Colville reservation.
The year is 1889

Colville, W.T.
April 30th, 1889

The Honourable

The Commissioner Indian Affairs

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that following your instructions, I have visited the Indians on the line of the Spokane Northern R.R. being constructed from Spokane Falls to the Little Dalles on the Columbia River. I found some alarm on the part of the Indians along the line of road, and as far as the Indians are concerned there is cause for alarm.

The whites are swarming into the territory, and every piece of good land is being taken and the Indians are being driven off and gotten rid of by fair or foul means, for in many instances, whites have taken forcible possession, driving the Indians away, whenever the poor Indian refuses to be "persuaded" to leave the home where his forefathers have dwelt for generations.

Some idea of the number of people coming to the territory may be had in the history of Spokane Falls which has advanced in two years from five thousand (5000) to eighteen or twenty thousand inhabitants. I enclose herewith a letter from Mr H.T. Cowley in regard to an Indian having trouble about his ranch. Also a plat of Tp. 32 R. 40 which shows the name of the Indians who have filed upon their land.

There are eight or ten Indians in the vicinity of the Spokane Northern Line who have not filed, and who are in trouble about their land. Among others, as a representative case is the one of (Pa-ock-a lin) Pierri of the Upper Spokane Tribe which was occupied and lived on by his family for seventy ##### seven (77) years (N.E. " of Sec 20 Tp 27N. R. 43 E 7) On May 21 a white man, one Charles R. Parker made homestead entry No 5964 for said land.

No 2

Also case of "Quake-Ka-tom-alo" Chief,(see plat 2 for location) who,notwithstanding his filing upon his land, is driven off it by force,and appeals to me for protection. (See letter M.C.Hopkins attached)in connection with these land cases.

I would respectfully refer to the following letters which have been written upon the subject.

Nellie Garys widowed daughter	Sept 13--88
Moses land claim	Sept 22--88
Kin-Kin-och-in land claim	Nov 10--88
Pal-ot-Kin " "	" 10--88
Phillips Brother	Dec 5--88
Solomon	Mch 22--89
Gary	" 22--89
Nellie Gary's widowed daughter	" 22--89
Charlie Korpah	" 22--89
Moses	" 22--89

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant

U.S.Indian Agent

...ity. May be reproduced without permission.

APPENDIX 3

Letter (transcript) to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

from U. S. Indian Agent, Hal. J. Cole, Colville Indian Agency

October 26, 1889

Letters 1884-1890
Cage 2014

Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections
Washington State University Libraries
Washington State University

C
O
P
Y

Colville Indian Wash.
October 26, 89

The Honorable

The Commissioner Indian Affairs
Washington D. C.

Sir:

Replying to your letter of September 30th '89 I have the honor to state that the Indians belonging to the Spokane tribe under the Colville Agency are making frequent inquiries in regard to a Farmer to assist them in their every day work such as plowing, seeding the ground, building fences, houses etc., I have endeavored to explain to them that the appropriation for the Colville Agency is not sufficiently large to allow a Farmer for them. There is no doubt but a mistake is being made in not allowing these people a competent Farmer to assist them in their good work, my salary as Agent is as you well know insufficient to allow a Farmer's wages to be taken from it and leave proper remuneration for myself; these Indians have frequently called on me to go into the field and assist them with their labors, but my time will not admit of it.

During my late visit to Nespelem I was asked by Chiefs Moses and Joseph to give them a Blacksmith, they have commercial plowing and when anything breaks about their plows or wagons they are compelled to make a trip to the Agency, a distance of 140 miles (round trip) and swim the Columbia River twice in making the trip. The locating of a Blacksmith at Nespelem is much needed for these Indians as they appear to be more determined than ever in trying to raise crops and become self-supporting. Mr. Campbell the farmer for Joseph and Moses bands of Indians is putting forth every possible effort in locating land for these Indians and assisting them in farming etc., but he says if it is possible for the Government to furnish them a Blacksmith it would be of great benefit to them as they could get their implements repaired without making a long journey and loss of time. I would therefore respectfully recommend that the Hon Commissioner consider the necessity of furnishing these Indians with a blacksmith.-

I was called on by Indians of the Spokane tribe to look after sheep men who were driving their flock of sheep across the Reservation during the month of September last and in company with 2 policement spent 5 days hunting them, but the herders had driven them from the reservation. During my visit to Rathdrum, Idaho, to assist the prosecuting attorney in the Paul Henry case I met one of the owners of the sheep, a Mr. McDonald, and collected from him the sum of $115.00 at Spokane, Falls, Wash. giving

my receipt therefore as part payment for trespass done by his flock of sheep on the Reservation, and accounted for this amount on my cash returns for the 1st quarter 1890 under head of miscellaneous Funds class 3.

It was understood between myself and Mr. McDonald that the full amount of trespass was to be $215.00 but, as $115.00 was all the money he had, and being far away from his home and unable to get money, it was agreed, in presence of witness, that he (Mr. McDonald) would remit the balance of the money to me at Fort Spokane, Wash, within one month, it has been over one month since he agreed to pay the remaining $100.00, and have written him to make the payment without delay, that if he did not comply with my request I would be compelled to report this matter to the Department, I respectfully ask to be instructed in regard to the mode of collecting the remaining balance due the United States, the owners of the sheep is Hewitt & McDonald, Pendleton, Oregon.

This is a case where a Farmer's assistance would have been of great service, being required by Regulations to live amongst the Indians on the Reservation, would have taken charge of the sheep and collected the full amount of trespass, while under the existing circumstances I feel that I did the very best I could.

Very Respectfully

Your obedient servant

Hal J. Cole
U. S. Indian Agent

...s. No reproduction without permission.

APPENDIX 4

Letter (transcript) to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

from the U. S. Indian Agent, Colville Indian Agency

March 15, 1890

Letters 1884-1890
Cage 2014

Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections
Washington State University Libraries
Washington State University

C
O
P
Y

Colville Indian Wash

March 15th '90

The Honorable

The Commissioner Indian

Washington D. C.

Sir:

On my arrival from Spokane Falls, Wash., March 7th, 1890 where I had been looking after the interests of Indian land claimants I found letter urging me to visit Marcus, Wash. as soon as possible as an Indian woman by the name of Mary Basaw had been murdered by a half breed by the name of Kootenai Pierce on the Colville reservation opposite Marcus, Wash. I left the Agency on the morning of March 16th, 1890 arriving at the scene of the trouble on the 11th, found the Indians very much excited over the murder. The Indians had given Kootenai Pierce a jury trial and had voted unanimously to hang him, and Chief "Aripailghin" had purchased rope preparatory to executing him but thought they would wait for me to be present until March 12th and if I did not put in an appearance on that day they intended to hang him. I met Chief Aripaughen and others belonging to the Lake tribe of Indians on the 11th and explained to them that they had no right to hang Kootenai Pierce or any other Indian, but that the murderer should be turned over to the civil authorities to be punished. Aripaughen said that Washington had told him many years ago that when a murder was committed that the tribe to which the murderer belonged had jurisdiction over the case, and could dispose of it as they seen fit. After explaining matters to them Aripaughen said he would turn Kootenai Pierce over to me the next day March 12th as that was the day set for the Indians to met and dispose of the case. On March 12th there was a large number of the Indians present and after explaining to them the way Washington punished Indian criminals they consented to turn the murderer over to me, also an Indian by the name of Luke who was an eye witness to the murder; as they were afraid he would leave the country and not be present when the case would come up for trial. I took the murderer Kootenai Pierce and Luke to Colville, Wash. and there turned them over to the sheriff. These Indians were drunk when the murder was committed, they having purchased the whiskey at Marcus. They claim that an Indian bought the whiskey for them from the saloon keeper and there is not a shadow of doubt in my mind but that statement is correct. C. E. Brooks, who was late Agent Gwydir's Farmer at Okanogan is running the only saloon at Marcus and from what information I could gather from the white residents living in and around Marcus he is selling whiskey to Indians every day but of course this can not be proven. Brooks is acquainted with nearly all of these Indians having formed their acquaintance during the time he was the government Farmer for the Okanogan Indians. Marcus is situated on the west bank of the river. The population of Marcus is quite

small and it would appear that the said Brooks had conceived the idea of doing quite a business with the Indians. If there was a small sum of money placed to my credit, say $50 to pay for the services of a Detective, I am satisfied Brooks could be caught and a term in the Penitentiary would do more good than anything else. Chief Aripaughin says he went into Brooks saloon and ordered him not to sell any more whiskey to the Indians.

I trust the Department will take some action in this matter just as soon as possible, for if Brooks can be caught furnishing whiskey to the Indians and sent to the Penitentiary it would have an excellent effect and be a warning to other unscrupulous saloon keepers situated near the Colville reservation.

I enclose herewith voucher in duplicate for traveling expenses incurred in attending to this matter and respectfully request your approval.

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant

U. S. Indian Agent

2 Incls.

...reproduction without permission.

APPENDIX 5

List of Indian patents in fee in Ferry County

sent to the Commissioners of Ferry County from the Colville Agency

November 6, 1917

Record Group 75 BIA
Colville Collection
Numerical Files FY 1914-1926, Box 239a
National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region

142

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

November 6, 1917.

The Commissioners of Ferry County,

Republic, Washington.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to inform you that on September 28, 1917, patents in fee were issued to the following Indian allotments in Ferry County:

C-2, Henry Truman Nelson, Lots 2, 3 and 4 and N½ of Lot 5, Sec. 27 T. 40 N.R.32 E. W. M., 72.72 acres.

C-3, William Benjamin Nelson, Lot 1, Sec. 26, and S½ of Lot 5 and SE¼ SE¼ Sec. 27 T. 40 N., R. 32, E. W. M., 66.78 acres.

H-202, William Desortello, SW¼ SW¼ Sec. 29 and SE¼ SE¼ Sec. 30 T. 37 N., R. 33, 80 acres.

H-240, Melvina Gendron, W½ SE¼ Sec. 33 T. 37 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-301, Robert William O'Brien, Lot 6, Sec. 5, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 85.23 acres.

H-302, Alex Condron, Lot 9, Section 2 and lot 6, Sec. 3, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-303, Mattie Condron, Lot 8, Sec. 2, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-304, Alfred Condron, Lot 10, Sec. 2, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-305, George Condron, Lot 11, Sec. 2, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-306, David Dupuis, Lot 7, Sec. 3, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-310, Grace Emily Warren Keyes, Lot 10, Sec. 6, T. 36 N., R. 34 E. W. M., 79.93 acres.

H-334, Hiram Poono, Lot 5, Sec. 8, Lot 10, Sec. 9, Lot 8, Sec. 16 and Lot 9, Sec. 17, T. 40 N., R. 34 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-372, Frank Marchand, Lot 9, Sec. 27, Lot 4, Sec. 34, T. 36 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80.19 acres.

H-373, Charles Marchand, Lot 9, Sec. 20 T. 35 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 53.41 acres.

H-376, Sophia Overton, Lot 12, Sec. 20, Lot 6, Sec. 29, T. 35 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 78.50 acres.

H-377, Joseph Overton, Tract 39, Secs. 24 and 25, T. 35 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 78.98 acres.

H-379, Louis Overton, Tract 38, Sec. 24, T. 35 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-1186, Thomas Leighton, S½ SE¼ SW¼ Sec. 7, and NE¼ NW¼ and Lot 1, Sec. 18 T. 29 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 99.85 acres.

S-1222, Thomas W. Nee, W½ NE¼ Sec. 11, S½ SW¼ SW¼, Sec. 12, and E½ NE¼ NW¼, Sec. 13, T. 28 N., R. 32 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1223, William Albert Nee, N½ NW¼ and SE¼ NW¼, Sec. 11, T. 28 N., R. 32 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1230, John Kauffman, NE¼ Sec. 23 T. 28 N., R. 32 E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-1351, Eunice Camp, NW¼ Sec. 32 T. 33 N., R. 36, E. W. M. 160 acres.

S-1451, Theodore Gervais, SE¼ SE¼ Sec. 13, E½ NE¼ Sec. 24, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1454, Mabel McClung, W½ NE¼ and E½ NW¼ Sec. 26, T. 33 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-1460, Jessee McClung, S½ NW¼ SW¼ and N½ SW¼ SW¼ Sec. 3, S½ NE¼ SE¼ and E½ SE¼ SE¼ Sec. 4, T. 32 and E½ SE¼ NE¼ Sec. 27, T. 33 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 100 acres.

S-1473, Mae McDonnell, E½ SE¼ NW¼ Sec. 8, and N½ NE¼ and N½ S½ NE¼ Sec. 15, T. 31 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 140 acres.

S-1476, Victor Dupuis, S½ S½ E½ S½ SW¼ and S½ S½ SW¼ Sec. 4, NE¼ NE¼ NW¼, W½ NE¼ NW¼ and NW¼ NW¼ Sec. 9, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M.,120 acres.

S-1484, Gilbert Peone, NW¼ NE¼ and NE¼ NW¼, Sec. 16, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-1576, Octave Gendron, E½ SW¼ and Lots 6 and 7, Sec. 6, T. 33 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 159.85 acres.

S-1582, Elizabeth R. Doyle, W½ W½ E½ SW¼ and W½ SW¼ Sec. 3, NE¼ SE¼ and S½ SE¼ NE¼ Sec. 4, T. 31 N., R. 36, E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-1616, Maggie Hart, SW¼ SW¼ and Lot 3, Sec. 13, and NW¼ NW¼ Sec. 24, T. 34 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 113.65 acres.

S-1620, John Banning, SW¼ SE¼ Sec. 9, and W½ NE¼ Sec. 16, T. 34 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1621, Samuel Banning, E½ SW¼ Sec. 9 and NE¼ NW¼ Sec. 16, T. 34 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1633, James Banning SW¼ NW¼, W½ SE¼ NW¼, NW¼ SW¼ and Lot 4, Sec. 3, T. 34 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 122.03 acres.

S-1656, Edward McCrea, E½ SE¼ and NE¼ SW¼ Sec. 13, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1697, Addie Foster, W½ SW¼ SE¼ and SE¼ SW¼ Sec. 4 and W½ W½ NE¼, NE¼ NW¼ and E½ SE¼ NW¼ Sec. 9, T. 31 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-1735, Virgil McCoy, SW¼ NE¼, SE¼ NW¼ and E½ SW¼, Sec. 11, T. 31 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-2042, Willie Ferguson, E½ SW¼ NE¼, E½ NW¼ SW¼ NE¼, E½ S½ NW¼ SW¼ NE¼, SE¼ SE¼ NW¼ SW¼ NE¼, E½ E½ SW¼ SW¼ NE¼ and Lots 1, 2, 3 and 5, Sec 2, T. 32 N., R. 36, E. W. M., 137.465 acres.

S-2056, Jessie Regent, SW¼ NE¼, E½ W½ NW¼ and Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4, Sec. 20 T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 155.71 acres.

S-2088, George A. Peone, Lots 1, 2 and 3, Sec. 19, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 103.26 acres.

S-2098, Eliza B. Hall, SW¼ Sec. 33, T. 34 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 160 acres.

C-5, Ellen Lynch, Stanton, SE¼ SW¼ and S½ SE¼ Sec. 27 T. 40 N., R. 32 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-239, Josephine Gendron Raymond, E½ SE¼ Sec. 33, T. 37 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-280, Rosa Lafleur Rutherford, Lot 7, Sec. 5, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 84.88 acres.

H-300, Ida Susan O'Brien Seward, Lot 19, Section 6, T. 36 N., R. 33 E. W. M., 64.50 acres.

H-335, Virgil Poone, Lot 4, Sec. 8, Lot 15, Sec. 9, T. 40 N., R. 34 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-378, Josephine Overton, Winger, Lot 7, Sec. 29, T. 35 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-1310, Minnie Rickard, E½ NE¼ Sec. 35 and W½ NW¼ NW¼ Sec. 36 T. 33 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 100 acres.

S-1467, Clive Seyler, SW¼ SE¼ Sec. 4 and W½ NE¼ Sec 9, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-1468, Charles Seyler, SW¼ NW¼, NW¼ SW¼ and Lot 4, Sec. 2, T. 31 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120.56 acres.

S-1483, Oliver Poone, W½ W½ E½ E½ SW¼ SE¼, W½ E½ SW¼ SE¼, W½ SW¼ SE¼ and S½ SW¼ Sec 9, T. 32 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 112.50 acres.

S-1527, Clara Rennie, E½ SE¼ SE¼ Sec. 11, SW¼ SW¼ Sec. 12, and W½ NW¼ Sec. 13, T. 31 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 140 acres.

S-1772, William Seyler, E½ N½ SE¼ NW¼ and Lot 3, Sec. 4, T. 32 and S½ SW¼ Sec. 33 T. 33 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 116.31 acres.

S-1805, Vorp Augustus Toulou, S½ S½ SE¼ Sec. 15, and E½ NE¼ Sec. 22 T. 31 N., R. 36 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-2304, Frederick Reynolds, NW¼ NE¼, E½ NW¼ and Lot 1, Sec. 11 and Lots 5, Sec. 12, T. 27 N., R. 35 E. W. M. 163.85 acres.

Very respectfully,

RS-OVP
CC/EA,
CC/RJH CC/CWL

Superintendent.

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

142

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

November 5, 1917.

The Commissioners of Okanogan County,

Okanogan, Washington.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to inform you that on September 22, 1917, patents in fee were issued to the following Indian allotments in Okanogan County.

C-2, Henry Truman Nelson, N½ NE¼ NW¼ SW¼ and N½ S½ NE¼ NW¼ SW¼ Sec. 16, T. 30 N., R. 25; 7.50 acres,

C-3, William Benjamin Nelson, S½ S½ NE¼ NW¼ SW¼ and SE¼ NW¼ SW¼, Sec 16, T. 30 N., R. 25 E. W. M., 12.50 acres.

C-130, Ella Evans Irwin, S½ NE¼ Sec 22, T. 40 N., R. 27 E. W. M., 80 acres. This patent has been returned to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the reason that there is a charge against this land by the United States for reimbursement for money paid in order to include the land within the West Okanogan Valley Irrigation District.

C-216, William Hill, W½ SW¼ Sec. 33 T. 37 N., R. 29 E. W. M. 80 acres.

S-243, Lula Picard Lambert, N½ SW¼ Sec. 3, T. 31 N., R. 31 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-324, Harriet Cowan, SW¼ SE¼ Sec. 11, NW¼ NE¼ Sec. 14, and SE¼ NE¼ Sec. 15, T. 31 N., R. 27 E. W. M., 120 acres.

H-373, Charles Marchand, S½ NE¼ NE¼, Sec. 15, T. 29 N., R. 25 E. W. M. 20 acres.

S-389, Eugene Laframboys, S½ N½ S½ SW¼, S½ S½ SW¼ Sec 2, and N½ NW¼ NW¼ Sec 11, T. 33 N., R. 27 and S½ S½ NE¼ NW¼ and SE½ NW¼ Sec 27, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M.,

130 acres.

C-395, Flynn Peone, Lot 7, Sec. 2, T. 40 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-530, Angelique Hilleary, E½ E½ NW¼, E½ W½ E½ NW¼ and Lot 2, Sec. 10, T. 29 N., R. 31 E. W. M., 114.85 acres.

S-534, Rose E. Hilleary, SE¼ NE¼ and Lot 1, Sec. 10 and W½ W½ NW¼ Sec 11, T. 29 N., R. 31, E. W. M., 110.50 acres.

S-606, Ruth Cain, S½ NE¼ & N½N½ N½ SE¼ Sec 13, T. 31 N., R. 26 E. W. M. 100 acres.

S-623, Phoebe Brenier, SE¼ SE¼ Sec 8, and E½ NE¼ Sec. 17, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-629, Mary Congro, W½ SW¼ SW¼ Sec. 22 and W½ NW¼ Sec. 27, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 100 acres.

S-669, Philenese Haley, S½ S½ SW¼ NE¼ NE¼, SW¼ NE¼, W½ SE¼ NE¼, NE¼ SE¼ and E½ E½ NW¼ SE¼, Sec. 18, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M. 112.50 acres.

S-720, Mary McDonald, SE¼ SW¼ Sec 8, and E½ NE¼ SEc. 17, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-721, Flora M. McDonald, W½ SE¼ Sec. 17, E½ NE¼ NE¼, E½ W½ NW¼ NE¼, E½ W½ W½ NW¼ NE¼ and E½ W½ W½ W½ NW¼ NE¼ Sec. 20, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M. 117.50 acres.

S-723, Jessie E. McDonald Bremmer, SW¼ Sec 17, T. 33 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-1081, Lawrence Enoch Worrin, S½ S½ N½ SE¼ and S½ SE¼ Sec. 2, T. 31 N., R. 26 E. W. M., 100 acres.

S-1158, Ben Marchand, W½ W½ SW¼ Sec 28 and E½ E½ SE¼ Sec. 29 M. 31 N., R. 27 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-1161, Lena Bedard, E½ NE¼ and E½ E½ W½ NE¼ Sec. 11 and W½ W½ W½ NW¼ Sec. 12, T. 30 N., R. 26 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-2067, Sadie Marchand, E½ SE¼ Sec. 29 and E½ NE¼ Sec 32, T. 31 N., R. 26 E. W. M., 160 acres.

S-2139, Leo Mocmaw, W½ SE¼ and W½ E½ SE¼ Sec. 8, T. 30 N., R. 27 E. W. M., 120 acres.

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

S-2314, Louis Marchand, E½ SE¼ and E½ W½ SE¼ Sec. 32 T. 31 N., R. 27 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-2369, Francis James O'Brien, NE¼ Sec. 3, T. 30 N., R. 26 E. W. M., 160 acres.

C-180, Lizzie McDonald, SE¼ SW¼ and SW¼ SE¼ Section 10, T. 38 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-147, Millie McGinnis Williams, S½ N½ N½ NE¼, S½ N½ NE¼ and S½ NE¼ Sec. 10, T. 31, N., R. 31 E. W. M. 140 acres.

S-242, Eliza Picard, N½ NE¼ Sec 9, T. 31 N., R. 31 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-244, Bert S. Picard, S½ SW¼ Sec. 3, T. 31 N., R. 31 E. W. M., 80 acres.

S-245, William Picard, NE¼ NW¼ and S½ NW¼, Sec. 17, T. 31 N., R. 31 E. W. M., 120 acres.

H-300, Ida Susan O'Brien, Seward, SW¼ SW¼ SW¼ Sec. 1 and SW¼ SW¼ SW¼ Sec 16, T. 30 N., R. 25, 20 acres.

S-619, Elizabeth Margaret Perkins, E½ SW¼ and W½ W½ SE¼ Sec. 15, T. 31 N., R. 27 E. W. M., 120 acres.

S-640, Dora Desautel Rierson, W½ SW¼ and W½ W½ W½ E½ SW¼ Sec. 35 T. 31 N., R. 26 E. W. M., 90 acres.

S-722, Phoebe McDonald Short, E½ SE¼ Sec 17, and E½ SW¼ NE¼, E½ W½ SW¼ NE¼. E½ W½ W½ SW¼ NE¼ and E½ W½ W½ W½ SW¼ NE¼, Sec. 20, T. 35 N., R. 28 E. W. M., 117.50 acres.

S-1085, Eli Raymond, E½ SE¼ Sec 33, W½ W½ W½ W½ SW¼, Sec. 34 T. 31 N., R. 26 E. W. M., 90 acres.

S-2023, John St. Peter, SE¼ SE¼ Sec. 19 and E½ NE¼ Sec. 30 T. 34 N., R. 30 E. W. M., 120 acres.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP
CC-RJH
CC-WAT

142

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

November 5, 1917.

The Commissioners of Stevens County,

Colville, Washington.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to inform you that on September 22, 1917, patents in fee were issued to the following Indian allotments in Stevens County:

H-80, Amelia Perkins; E½ SE¼, Sec. 14 T. 38 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-82, James Perkins; N½ NW¼ Sec. 13, T. 38 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-132, Florence May Toulou Seyler, S½ SE¼ Sec. 28, T. 38 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-134, Julius Toulou, N½ NE¼ Sec 21, T. 39 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80 acres.

H-405, Josephine Merrigeau, Ranahan, NE¼ SW¼ W½ SW¼ NE¼ and W½ NW¼ SE¼ Sec. 23 T. 38 N., R. 37 E. W. M., 80 acres.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP
CC-RJH

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

14.2

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

October 30, 1917.

Mr. Robert J. Hall,

Farmer,

Republic, Wash.

Dear Sir:

I transmit herewith for delivery the following patents in fee.

Henry Truman Nelson	2
William Benjamin Nelson	3
Ellen Lynch	5
Amelia Perkins	80
James Perkins	82
Lizzie McDonald(Haynes(	180
William Hill	216
Josephine Gendron	239
Melvina Gendron	240
Ida Susan O'Brien	300
Robert William O'Brien	301
Alex Gendron	302
Mattie Gendron	303
Alfred Gendron	304
George Gendron	305
David Dupuis	306
Grace Emily Warren	310
Hiram Peone	334
Virgil Peone	335
Frank Marchand	372
Flynn Peone	395
Josephine Merrigeau	405
Francis J.O'Brien	2369

Please take receipts in duplicate from the patentees, returning them to this office.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP

142

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

October 31, 1917.

Mr. W. A. Talbert,

Farmer,

Omak, Wash.

Dear Sir:

I transmit herewith for delivery the following patents in fee.

Harriet Cowan	324
Eugene Laframboys	389
Ruth Cain	606
Lizzie Martin	619
Phoebe Bernier	623
Mary Gongro	629
Dora Desautel	640
Philonese Haley	669
Mary McDonald	720
Flora M. McDonald	721
Phoebe McDonald Short	722
Jessie E. McDonald	723
Lawrence Enoch Morris	1081
Eli Raymone	1085
Lena Bedard	1161
Sadie Marchand	2067
Leo Moomaw	2139

Please take receipts in duplicate from the patentees, returning them to this office.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP
Incls.

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

74307-17

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

October 31, 1917.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The following receipts for patents in fee are herewith submitted:

S-1656 - Edward McCrea.
S-1158 - Ben Marchand
S-1222 - Thomas H. Nee

Duplicates are retained in my files.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP

Incls.

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

September 13, 1917.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

It is my understanding that during the present month it is customary for suggestions to be filed with the Office relative to legislation which is desired for administration of Indian Affairs and there are three things at this Agency which I believe may appropriately be mentioned at this time.

The allotments to the Indians, in accordance with the Moses Agreement, as provided in the Act of March 8, 1906 (34 Stats.,55) are for approximately 640 acres each. The allotment of Ko-mo-dal-kiah, No. MA-33, was in conflict with two homestead entries prior to the issuance of trust patent. After the adjustment was made the acreage of the allotment as covered by the trust patent, No. 572547, issued March 16, 1917, was 551.95 acres (127588-12). The heirs of this deceased allottee should receive not less than 100 acres additional on the South Half of the Colville Reservation to compensate them for the portion of the original selection of allotment which they lost owing to the conflict with homestead entries. In the case of Quelockussoma MA-35, 200 acres additional were allowed to compensate for a similar conflict and in the case of Se-cum-ka-nulla, MA-36, 80 acres additional were allowed under authority of the Act of May 18, 1916. I recommend that Ko-mo-dal-kiah be allotted 100 acres of tribal land on the Colville Reservation to supplement the partial allotment already made to the heirs of this Indian.

The Act of March 8, 1906 provides that allottees or their heirs may sell their land under the regulations except 80 acres, which are intended to be retained in order that a home place may be assured for each allottee. These families, with a very few exceptions, have now removed to the Colville Reservation where the other members of their families have been allotted and where they are making their homes at present. There is no advantage

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

which the Indian may derive by reason of the restrictions placed in this Act and I recommend that the Moses Agreement allottees be permitted to sell all of their allotments in such cases as may be found to be to their advantage and to this end the provision in the said Act should be abrogated.

Several trust patents have been issued to persons claiming a right to enrollment with the Indians of the Colville Reservation whose applications have later been denied. In the preparation of the allotment schedule selections were recorded for any claimants whose applications for enrollment with the Indians were then pending final disposition in order to protect their rights to allotments in case their enrollment should be approved. I have in mind such cases as that of Andy Elwell No. S-2435 whose application for enrollment was denied by the Department July 8, 1916 (Land-Contracts 34820-16). I understand that a trust patent in favor of this claimant has been issued covering his selection for allotment described as SE¼ Section 17, T. 31, N., R. 26, E. W. M. In the same way trust patents issued in favor of Lawrence Butler No. S-2462 and Blanche Butler No. S-2463 should be cancelled since their applications for enrollment were denied by the Department under date of August 18, 1916, Case No. 4(759021-16). There are other cases which the Office doubtless has on record which demand further legislation to have the trust patents cancelled. In all the cases on the Colville Reservation lands should revert to the Tribe and not be made a part of the public domain and not subject to homestead entry as there are several cases where it is desired to adjust allotments so that holdings will be more satisfactory for the Indians, and I therefore recommend for the present that no action be taken to dispose of the lands after the trust patents have been cancelled.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP

142

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

October 20, 1917.

Mr. Chas. W. Lawson,

Farmer,

Inchelium, Wash.

Dear Sir:

I transmit herewith for delivery, the following patents in fee.

Julius Toulou	134
Minnie Rickard	1310
Olive Seyler	1467
Charles Seyler	1468
Oliver Peone	1483
Clara Rennie	1527
Virgil McCoy	1735
William Seyler	1772
Vern A. Toulou	1905
John St. Peter	2023
Louis Marchand	2314

Please take receipts in duplicate from the patentees, returning them to this office.

Very respectfully,

Superintendent.

RS-OVP

Incl.

~~84~~ 85

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Washington,

October 16, 1917.

Mr. Charles W. Lawson, Farmer,
Inchelium, Washington.

Dear Mr. Lawson:

I transmit herewith for delivery the following ~~three~~ patents in fee, after taking receipt in duplicate from the patentee in each case, returning receipts to this office:

H-373	Charles Marchand
H-376	Sophia Overton
H-377	Joseph Overton
H-379	Louis Overton
S-1158	Ben Marchand
S-1351	Eunice Camp
S-1451	Theodore Gervais
S-1454	Mabel McClung
S-1460	Jesse McClung
S-1476	Victor Dupuis
S-1484	Gilbert Peone
S-1576	Octave Gendron
S-1616	Maggie Hart
S-1620	John Banning
S-1621	Samuel Banning
S-1633	James Banning
S-1656	Edward McCrea
S-1697	Addie Foster
S-2042	Willie Ferguson
S-2088	George A. Peone
S-2098	Eliza B. Hall
S-2056	Jessie Nugent.

Very respectfully,

RS

Superintendent.

REFER IN REPLY TO THE FOLLOWING:

5—1100

91142

2.

ADDRESS ONLY THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Land-Records.
9834-1910.
J M W

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1917

Transmits patents.

Mr. John M. Johnson,

JUL 21 1917

Supt., Colville School.

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Trust patents numbered 589615 to 589909, issued June 27, 1917, in favor of Colville allottees, numbered:

1231, 1245, 2141, 2142, 1407, 1408, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1425, 1428 to 1435 incl., 1442, 1444, 1446, 1449, 1452, 1453, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1463 to 1466, incl., 1469 to 1472, incl., 1475, 1478, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1485, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1492, 1493, 1495 to 1499, incl., 1506, 1510, 1511, 1513 to 1520, incl., 1528, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1583, 1584, 1592, 1612, 1613, 1648, 1649, 1651, 1655, 1657, 1658, 1664, 1679, 1693, 1702, 1703, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1717, 1720, 1723, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1731, 1740, 1743, 1744, 1760, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1773, 1775 to 1779, incl., 1781, 1782, 1788, 1795, 1800, 1809, 1814, 1818, 1819, 1821, 1827, 1835 to 1842, incl., 1844, 1845, 1846, 1854 to 1871 incl., 1873, 1874, 1875, M.A. 36, 1876 to 1892

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

incl., 1894, 1898, 1915 to 1923 incl., 1926, 1928, 1931, to 1935, incl., 1942, 1943, 1947, to 1951, incl., 1953 to 1959 incl., 1962, 1965, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, to 2012, incl., 2016, 2021, 2026, 2028, 2035, 2037, 2038, 2041, 2044, 2050, 2051, 2057, 2068, 2069, 2072, 2074, to 2080, incl., 2082, 2083, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2089, 2090, 2147, 2149, 2183, 2191, 2192, 2195, 441, 673, 756, 2179, 2188, 2189, 2199, 2201, 2204, 865, 893, 1026, C11, H300, 390 to 393, incl., 472, 545, 686, 801, 861, 953, 987, 1694, 1910, 1927, 2017, 2129, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2208.

are transmitted under separate cover.

Please make the proper notations on the records of your office and deliver the patents to the persons entitled thereto when they have signed the attached receipts in duplicate. Forward the original receipts to this office and retain the duplicates for your files.

Very truly yours,

J. H. Dorrek

Acting Chief Clerk.

7-S-19.

APPENDIX 6

Letter to O. C. Upchurch, Superintendent, Colville Indian Agency

from E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner

February 27, 1924

Record Group 75 BIA
Colville Collection
Numerical Files FY 1914-1926, Box 239a
National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Probate
13200-24
C E T

File 748

FEB 27 1924

Mr. O. C. Upchurch,

Supt., Colville Agency.

My dear Mr. Upchurch:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 11, 1924, stating that "A rather puzzling condition is caused by the ruling of the Secretary that in heirship cases, separation of Indians who have been legally married constitutes an Indian Custom Divorce and prevents inheritance." In this connection you state that one of your forest guards, an Indian boy, was separated more than a year ago from a worthless wife whom he had married by ceremony in accordance with State law. You state further that last Fall he ran away with a nineteen year old white girl and is reported to have married her and to be living in Seattle. You desire to know whether he is guilty of bigamy.

In reply you are informed that you do not state whether his former wife, from whom he was separated more than a year ago, is an Indian. It is presumed, however, that she is. Assuming that he and this wife are both Indians and are members of the Colville Tribe and under the supervision of the Colville Agency, their separation constituted an Indian custom divorce, notwithstanding the fact that they were married ceremonially. Inasmuch as their separation constituted an Indian custom divorce, their marital relations were as effectually dissolved by such separation as they would have been had they been divorced in a State Court. It necessarily follows that both were in a position to contract another marriage. If he has married a white girl ceremonially and is now living with her he is not guilty of bigamy.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) E.B.Merritt

Assistant Commissioner.

2 CS 21

Initialing Copy - For File

APPENDIX 7

Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

from Harvey K. Meyer, Superintendent, Colville Indian Agency

April 11, 1934

Record Group 75 BIA
Colville Collection
File 065, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

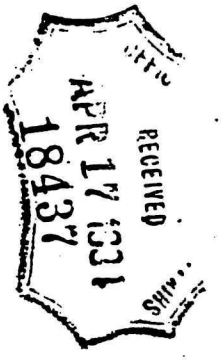
065

5-1142

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

INDIAN FIELD SERVICE



Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.
April 11, 1934.

The Honorable,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Sir:

When I was at our Inchelium station last Friday and Saturday it was again brought to my attention by the Judge there of the Indian Court, Little Aleck, that an increasing number of Indian men and women are raising families of children without the formality of legal marriage.

Each year a number of marriages of such couples are accomplished by personal effort and advice, but there are too many others who will not take action without some compulsory effort.

On account of the Judge's concern and the effect of such cohabitation without legal obligations, I take the liberty to ask what advice the Office can give that will aid in correcting this situation.

Very respectfully,

Harwood K. Meyer

Superintendent.

4/11.

APPENDIX 8

Exchange of letters between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

and Harvey K. Meyer, Superintendent, Colville Indian Agency

June 10 and June 26, 1930

Record Group 75 BIA
Colville Collection
File 59, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

5-1142

File 59

UNITED STATES

A-I
26920-30.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

INDIAN FIELD SERVICE

Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.,

June 10, 1930.

JUN 16 1930
31762

The Honorable,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Sir:

Upon receipt of the Office's letter of May 26, 1930, relative to the Fourth of July celebration at Nespelem, copies of the same were made and mailed to the Indian and white committeemen having the plans for the celebration in charge.

Among the latter there was an inclination to dispense with the celebration for this year, but the Nez Perce members of the committee insisted on going ahead with the plans made and after a number of meetings have come to the decision that they intend to celebrate for seven days instead of the usual ten. In a meeting with some of the Indians yesterday I proposed that they give me the privilege of recommending to the Office that a four day celebration, from July 3 to 6, inclusive, be allowed and that the Indians return to their homes on Monday, July 7. This did not satisfy them, however, and they are advertising events for July 3, 4 and 5 to be financed by the white businessmen of Nespelem, and for the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th to be strictly an "old time" Indian celebration.

As the Indians here have been in camp for ten day periods for a number of years at the Fourth of July time I would like to see them have permission to continue their celebration until the evening of the 6th and then to go to their homes on the 7th, but it is most undesirable that they be allowed to continue with their idleness until the 9th and I would like to be advised what drastic action may be taken if they continue to insist on remaining in camp after the morning of the 7th.

As the Colvilles have usually been reasonable it is believed that very definite instructions from the Office that they must not continue their celebration will enable me to lead them to comply with what is requested, but in their behalf I recommend that they be allowed to have their four day celebration with the understanding that then they will not continue for the additional days.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

File 059

As the time for a final decision is very short, will the Office please advise me soon in this regard. That will give me time to talk again to the leaders and to persuade them that the Office's wishes in this regard must be respected if the Colvilles expect to remain in good standing with the Office.

Very respectfully,

Harvey K. Meyer

6/10. Superintendent.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

L-I
1762-30
E W S

File 59 3

JUN 26 1930

Mr. Harvey K. Meyer,

Supt. Colville Agency.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Your letter of June 10 has been received, and we are sorry to note that the Indians still desire to prolong their 4th of July celebration beyond the time we suggested in our letter of May 26.

It is to be regretted that this great holiday should be made in any way an occasion for a celebration of such length as to be detrimental to the best interests of the Indians. Just at this time of year, when they should be busy with their crops or other forms of industry, it is not a good thing to promote any program which will occupy their time and keep them awey from their home interests, which will undoubtedly suffer because of their absence. As a rule while folks recognize these facts, and restrict the time to a reasonable period, and home industries and occupations are just as important to the Indians as they are to other people.

There is another thing to be considered, and that is the money that folks spend on an occasion of this kind. No matter what the circumstances, it is always more expensive to live away from home, and the longer the period the more money is spent. And it is often the case that more money is spent than really should be spent, when we consider the needs of the family.

You may say to the Indians that anything they may do to shorten the period of the celebration will be much appreciated by us, as we are fully convinced that they will be much better off if they return to their homes within a reasonable time.

Sincerely yours,

Commissioner.

Indian
Action for ~~Secretary's~~ Office

APPENDIX 9

Samples of partial allotment sales for the Grand Coulee Reservoir

1940-1941

Record Group 75 BIA
Colville Agency Collection
Land Transaction File, Box 363
National Archives, Pacific Northwest Region

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

Agt 8/p

ACCEPTANCE AND RELEASE.

Tract Number 2465. Allotment Number ~~1509~~.

Nespelem, Washington, Dec. 12, 1940.

I, Ignace Coyote, Allottee Number 1509 of the Colville Indian Reservation, do hereby agree to accept the sum of $ 225.00 for that portion of my allotment acquired by the United States for the Grand Coulee Reservoir under the Act of June 29, 1940 (Public #690-76th Congress, 3rd Session), described as follows:

SE¼NE¼ & NE¼SE¼ Sec. 25. Twp 33N. R. 36 E.W.M.
For right-of-way for highway.
No. of acres taken 4.3 $225.00

The above sum when paid to me shall operate as a full, complete, and permanent release and satisfaction of all claims in my behalf against the United States on account of this transaction.

Witnesses.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
Ignace Coyote

_____

...Records of the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

ACCEPTANCE AND RELEASE.

RECEIVED JAN 24 1941 COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY Washington

Tract Number 2467 Allotment Number 1523

Nespelem, Washington, Dec. 12, 1940.

I, the undersigned, an heir of Matilda Pichette a deceased Colville Indian, do hereby agree to accept my share (In accordance with the approved probate proceedings) of the sum of $150.00 for that part of allotment No. 1523 acquired by the United States for the Grand Coulee Reservoir under the Act of June 29, 1940 (Public # 690-76th Congress, 3rd Session, described as follows:

SW¼ NE¼ Sec. 24 Twp 33 N. R. 36 E.W.M.
For new Right of way/
1.8 acres to be taken. 150.00

The above sum when paid to me shall operate as a full, complete, and permanent release and satisfaction of all claims in my behalf against the United States on account of this transaction.

Witnesses:

Wm C. Tenday

P-205

Samuel Pichette
Samuel Pichette 1/6
Inchelium, Wash.

Reproduced at the National Archives-Pacific NW Region

Group 75 - Colville - Box 363

ACCEPTANCE AND RELEASE

Tract No. 2452 Allot. Number S-1305

Inchelium, Washington, _____

I, Esther Ferguson Mason, Allottee Number S-1305 of the Colville Indian Reservation, do hereby agree to accept the sum of $ 175.00 for that portion of my allotment acquired by the United States for the Grand Coulee Reservoir under the Act of June 29, 1940 (Public #690-76th Congress, 3rd Session), described as follows:

Right of way for relocated road:

W½ SE¼ of Sec. 36, Twp. 33 N., R. 36 E.W.M.

3.7 acres to be taken.

The above sum when paid to me shall operate as a full, complete, and permanent release and satisfaction of all claims in my behalf against the United States on account of this transaction.

Witness

Peter J. Hanson

James Hanson

Esther F. Mason.
Esther Ferguson Mason

ACCEPTANCE AND RELEASE

Tract Number 2480 Allotment Number 1601

Nespelem, Washington, Dec. 16, 1940.

I, the undersigned, an heir of John Nicholas a deceased Colville Indian, do hereby agree to accept my share (In accordance with the approved probate proceedings) of the sum of $125.00 for that part of allotment No. 1601 acquired by the United States for the Grand Coulee Reservoir under the Act of June 29, 1940 (Public # 690-76th Congress, 3rd Session, described as follows:

NW¼SW¼ & SW¼SW¼, NW¼NW¼
Sec. 25. Twp 34N. R. 37 E.W.M.
For new right-of-way for highway.
No. of Acres to be taken 5.3 $125.00

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1941
COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY
Nespelem, Washington

The above sum when paid to me shall operate as a full, complete, and permanent release and satisfaction of all claims in my behalf against the United States on account of this transaction.

Witnesses:

Eva Nicholas

Victor Nicholas
Victor L. Nicholas 1/2

005
Tract No. 2467
Allot. 1523

COLVILLE INDIAN AGENCY,
Nespelem, Washington,
July 17, 1941.

Pauline Pichette Stone,
Boyds, Washington.

Dear Mrs. Stone:

This will refer to your letter of July 14th relative to the right of way funds due you on allotment No. S-1523, Matilda Pichette Estate, in which you have an undivided 1/6 interest.

This matter has been checked and it is found that objections to the amount of the right of way damages allowed by the Bureau of Reclamation, in the amount of $150.00, have been filed by Joseph Pichette, who holds a 1/3 interest and also by William Pichette, who holds a 1/6 interest. Samuel Pichette, who holds a 1/6 interest has signed, Alice Pichette, who also has a 1/6 interest, has not objected, and you, apparently are willing to accept the damages of $150.00 for the entire allotment or the $25.00 for your 1/6 interest.

Due to the fact that Joseph and William Pichette, who have between them a 1/2 interest, have filed written objections, this office is without authority to pay the damages to any of the heirs. This case, along with several others, is receiving attention in Washington and it is possible that additional damages will be allowed.

With regard to grazing fees on your own allotment, you are informed that there is $5.88 in your account for this years grazing fees which you may draw.

With regard to rental on the Semoe allotment No. H-151, in which you have a small interest, your account shows that you have received $1.84 during October of 1939 and 1940. This lease, held by Adaline Signor expired on Feb. 28, of this year and an application for renewal is not on file.

Hoping that this answers all of your questions,

I am,

Very truly yours,

Roy M. Heth,
Chief Clerk in Charge

eeg 198