

Contributions in Cultural Resource Management
No. 14-1

NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBES OF THE
NORTH CASCADES NATIONAL PARK,
ROSS LAKE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA,
AND LAKE CHELAN NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

by
Allan H. Smith

Report prepared for the North Cascades National Park Service
in compliance with Contract Number CX-9000-4-E076

National Park Service, Seattle
Center for Northwest Anthropology
Washington State University
Pullman

March 1987

For S. D. M.: through the turning of countless seasons
a warm, caring, and constant friend.

ABSTRACT

The ethnographic and ethnohistorical data clearly indicate that in late protohistoric and early postcontact times four Native American tribes claimed and made regular seasonal use of segments of the mountainous country now within the boundaries of the North Cascades National Park, the Ross Lake National Recreation Area, and the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. These were the Upper Skagit of the middle Skagit drainage, including the Ross Lake sector; the Chilliwack of the Chilliwack drainage, astride today's international boundary; the Lower Thompson of the Fraser River canyon and the mountains south into the Skagit River country of Washington; and the Chelan of a short reach of the Columbia River and of Lake Chelan and the Stehekin drainage.

A brief foreword lays the foundation for the report. It makes explicit the more important goals of the study, identifies the native groups involved, and briefly characterizes the four tribes in broad linguistic and cultural terms.

The principal section of the report summarizes in considerable detail the total-culture configuration of each tribe. Each of these four chapters is introduced by a brief, evaluative survey of the main ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources of information, a summary of the names variously used for the tribe, a definition of its territorial borders, a description of its linguistic and cultural affiliations, and a review of the early population estimates for the group. The principal body of each chapter describes in some depth the traditional culture of each tribe: its subsistence quest, material culture and technology, settlement characteristics, travel and trade patterns, social and political structure, life cycle, religion, diversions, and what may be termed its cognitive culture. Special attention is paid to data relating directly or indirectly to the group's utilization of the varied resources of the mountainous regions of its homeland and describing the social, religious, and other segments of its life mode in its high elevation country. This information is most complete for the Thompson, though even here far from rich, comprehensive, and detailed, and is most wanting for the Chilliwack and particularly the Chelan. Each chapter closes with a section drawing together and discussing the implications of these scattered mountain data.

A brief epilogue presents the conclusion that the data collected in this present study is insufficient in scope and detail to allow a meaningful comparison of the highland adaptations of the four tribes. They are likewise inadequate to support an assessment of the relative importance of biogeoclimatological factors as against factors of cultural background and orientation in setting the pattern of a group's adaptation to its mountain terrain. A tentative design for further research is suggested.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of several organizations, institutions, and individuals in the preparation of this study. The National Park Service and Dr. James Thomson, Regional Archaeologist, Pacific Northwest Region, made it possible by providing funding through a contract awarded to the Center for Northwest Anthropology, Washington State University. The Service has been singularly understanding in granting extensions in the contract deadline as a consequence of unforeseen interruptions and as the full scope of the project became more apparent. To the Center I express my gratitude for allowing me to participate in the Project and for permitting me a more lengthy research period than originally contemplated. Dr. Kenneth C. Reid, Center Director, and Mr. Robert R. Mierendorf, Staff Archaeologist, who served as Project Co-Principal Investigators, have been very helpful in providing support and encouragement in many ways. The tedious chore of preparing my manuscript for submission has been largely in the hands of Mrs. Lorna Elliott, whose never-failing good nature and expert attention to detail I have come increasingly to appreciate. Washington State University has provided me with office facilities and with the library resources without which much of this report could not have been assembled. Finally, I am most deeply indebted to the early explorers, fur-men, and travelers of northwestern Washington and adjacent Canada who have left us records of their journeys and observations concerning the geography, natural history, and Indian groups of the region; to the historians who have devoted attention to the area; to the anthropologists who through the past century have carried out field research in the region and published their findings and who have analyzed, synthesized, and interpreted their own ethnographic data and those of others; and perhaps most particularly to those caring members of the regional tribal groups who have shared with field ethnographers their knowledge of their old lifeways.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
FOREWORD	1
CHAPTER	
I. UPPER SKAGIT	3
Data Base	3
Introduction	3
Ethnonymy	3
Tribal Territory	6
Cultural and Linguistic Affiliation	9
Demography	11
Subsistence	12
Fishing	13
Hunting	15
Plant Collecting	16
Food Preparation	17
Technology	18
Rigid Containers	18
Basketry, Matting, and Weaving	18
Clothing and Ornamentation	20
The Settlement	21
Dwellings and Associated Structures	21
Residential and Task Sites	23
Village and Camp Arrangement	44
Domestic and Tamed Animals	44
Travel and Transportation	45
Trails	46
Trade	50
Intertribal Relations	51
Intertribal Marriage	52
Hostilities	52
Social Structure	54
Kinship Bonds	54
Property and Inheritance	57
Social Classes	58
Potlatches	60
Intragroup Relations	62
Economic Structure: Division of Labor and Specialization	63
Political Organization	63
Life Cycle	65
Pregnancy and Childbirth	65
Naming	66

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. (Continued)	
Childhood	67
Puberty	68
Marriage	69
Old Age and Death	71
Religion	72
Guardian Spirits and Spirit Power	72
Lay Spirits	74
Shamanistic Spirits	75
Criteria of Spirit Ownership	75
Acquisition of Guardian Spirits	75
The Shaman	76
Shamans as Ritual Leaders	79
Winter Spirit Dance	79
The Soul	80
Religious Sanctions	81
Magic	81
Diversions	82
Art	82
Music	82
Mythology and Folklore	82
Cognitive Culture	85
Conception of the World	85
Calendrical Concepts	85
Secular Medicine	85
Use of North Cascades National Park and Ross Lake National Recreation Area	85
Subsistence Use	87
Village/Camp Use	88
Trail Use	89
Other Uses	90
II. CHILLIWACK	93
Data Base	93
Introduction	94
Early Chilliwack History	94
Ethnonymy	95
Tribal Territory	95
Linguistic and Cultural Affiliation	98
Demography	100
Physical Attributes	101
Subsistence	102
Fishing	104
Salmon	104
Sturgeon	108
Trout	109
Other Fish	109
Hunting	110
Plant Collecting	113
Roots	113

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
II. (Continued)	
Berries and Other Fruit	114
Minor Plant Foods	116
Meal Patterns and Preparation	116
Food Ceremonialism	118
Technology	118
Artifacts of Fibers, Hide, Wood, Stone, and Antler/Horn	119
Weapons	122
Clothing and Ornamentation	124
The Settlement	125
Structures	126
Semisubterranean Dwellings	126
Plank Dwellings	127
Temporary Summer Shelter	128
Subsistence-Related Structures	129
Sweat Lodge	130
Puberty Hut	130
Grave Structures	130
Residential and Task Sites	131
Village and Camp Arrangement	145
Domestic and Tamed Animals	145
Travel and Transportation	146
Trails	149
Trade	154
Intertribal Relations	156
Intertribal Marriage	166
Warfare	166
Social Structure	168
Kinship Bonds	168
Kinship Structure	168
Names and Naming	169
Property and Inheritance	170
Hospitality and the Potlatch	171
Socioterritorial Units	174
Extended Family	174
Village	174
Tribe	177
Social Rank	178
Slavery	180
Secret Societies	181
Life Cycle	181
Birth and Infancy	181
Youth and Puberty	183
Marriage	184
Old Age	187
Death, Burial, and Mourning	188
Political Organization	191
Leadership	191
Transgression and Punishment	193
Religion and the Supernatural	193
Guardian Spirits	194

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
II. (Continued)	
Shamanism	195
Status and Role of the Shaman	198
Illness and Curing	199
Guardian Spirit Song and Dance	201
Winter Spirit Ceremony	204
Clairvoyants	205
Controllers of Magical Formulae	206
Prophets	207
Souls and Ghosts	208
Unnatural Beings	209
Diversions	210
Art	210
Dance	220
Music	222
Games	225
Smoking	226
Cognitive Culture	227
Time and Distance Units	227
Astronomy	227
Myths, Legends, and Tales	227
Miscellaneous Beliefs	230
Use of the Park Complex	230
Subsistence Use	230
Village/Camp Use	234
Trail Use	235
Other Uses	235
III. LOWER THOMPSON	237
Data Base	237
Introduction	240
Ethnonymy	240
Tribal Territory	241
Cultural and Linguistic Affiliation	245
Demography	246
Physical Characteristics	249
Subsistence	250
Fishing	251
Hunting	256
Plant Collecting	263
Roots	263
Berries	265
Minor Plant Foods and Masticatories	266
Food Preparation	267
Technology	268
Fire Generation and Uses	269
Technological Processes and Artifact Material Types	270
Stone Artifacts	270
Artifacts of Wood	274
Antler, Horn, and Tooth Artifacts	274

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter	Page
III. (Continued)	
Bone Artifacts	276
Artifacts of Fibrous Materials	278
Hide Artifacts	284
Artifacts of Other Materials	286
Pigment Substances	288
Clothing	289
Personal Adornment	293
Body Care and Beauty Standards	295
The Settlement	297
Structures	297
Dwellings	297
Temporary Shelters	304
Menarcheal and Menstrual Shelters	305
Sweat Lodges	305
Attendant Structures	307
Residential and Task Sites	308
Domestic and Tamed Animals	310
Travel, Transportation, and Intertribal Relations	311
Trails	312
Trade	321
Intertribal Marriage	323
Hostilities	324
Social Structures	327
Kinship and Its Cultural Associations	327
Kinship Bonds	327
Family	328
Names and Naming	328
Property and Inheritance	329
Hospitality and the Potlatch	330
Socioterritorial Units: Village, Band, Division, Tribe	330
Social Rank	332
Life Cycle	333
Pregnancy	333
Birth	333
Infancy	334
Childhood	335
Puberty	336
Girl's Puberty	336
Boy's Puberty	337
Marriage	339
Division of Labor	341
Death and Burial	341
Political Organization	343
Transgression and Punishment	345
Religion and the Supernatural	346
World View	346
Prayers, Beliefs, Prescriptions, and Proscriptions	347
Guardian Spirits and the Winter Spirit Ceremony	348
Shamanism	350
Magic	354

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
III. (Continued)	
Omens and Related Notions	355
Prophets	356
Souls, Ghosts, and Unnatural Beings	356
Diversions	357
Art	358
Dance	360
Music	361
Feasting and Social Visiting	362
Games and Athletic Events	362
Smoking	364
Myths and Legends	365
Cognitive Culture	366
Time and Distance Units	366
Gestures, Signs, and Signals	367
Ethical Concepts and Conduct Codes	368
Secular Medicines and Medical Treatments	369
Use of North Cascades National Park and Ross Lake National Recreation Area	373
Mountain Food Plants of the Thompson	393
IV. CHELAN	411
Data Base	411
Introduction	426
Ethnonymy	426
Tribal Territory	428
Cultural Affiliation	430
Linguistic Affiliation	431
Demography	431
Subsistence	433
Fishing	433
Hunting	440
Plant Collecting	445
Food Preparation and Meal Patterns	447
Food Ceremonialism	447
Technology	448
Weapons	449
Clothing	450
Body Care and Ornamentation	451
The Settlement	452
Dwellings and Associated Structures	452
Dwellings	452
Sweat Lodge	454
Parturition and Menstrual Shelters	455
Residential and Task Sites	455
Village and Camp Arrangement	463
Domestic and Tamed Animals	463
Travel, Transportation, and Intertribal Relations	463
Trails	465
Trade	475
Intertribal Relations	477

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
IV. (Continued)	
Social Structure	478
Property	478
Cycle of Life	479
Birth	479
Infancy and Childhood	480
Naming	481
Puberty	481
Marriage	481
Death	483
Political Organization	484
Religious Beliefs and Practices	485
Guardian Spirits	485
Shamanism	486
Illness Causation	487
Curing Procedures	489
Religious Ceremonies	490
Magic	491
Miscellaneous Beliefs	491
Diversions	492
The Arts	492
Games	495
Smoking	495
Cognitive Culture	497
Use of the Park Complex	497
Subsistence Use	498
Village/Camp Use	499
Trail Use	504
Other Uses	504
EPILOGUE: A LOOK TO THE FUTURE	505
REFERENCES CITED	509

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1-1.	Traditional territory of Skagit and their neighbors to east and south	4
1-2.	Traditional territory of Skagit and their neighbors to west and north	5
1-3.	Boundaries, settlement locations, and principal subsistence areas of Upper Skagit and Siuattle-Sauk	7
1-4.	Upper Skagit villages and village clusters	24
1-5.	Location of easternmost Upper Skagit villages	27
1-6.	Location of Upper Skagit villages on Sauk River	30
1-7.	Upper Skagit village locations, village clusters, and drainage terms	32
1-8.	Enlargement of eastern section of Figure 1-3	34
2-1.	Traditional territory of Chilliwack and of Upper and Lower Stalo tribes of Fraser Valley	97
2-2.	Eastern Halkomelem dialect units	99
2-3.	Technique of basketry imbrication	120
2-4.	Location of Chilliwack villages (Duff)	137
2-5.	Location of Chilliwack villages (Smith)	140
2-6.	Stone human figure with bowl	216
2-7.	Stone mortar from Yale area	217
2-8.	Stone dish from Yale area	217
2-9.	Stone carvings	218
2-10.	Stone sculptures from Yale area	218
2-11.	Stone sculpture from Sumas area	219
3-1.	Territorial limits of Lower and Upper Thompson and of Athapascan Nicola	243
3-2.	Fishing bag-net	252
3-3.	Fish spear with detachable points	252
3-4.	Three-pronged fish spear	252
3-5.	Five bow varieties	259
3-6.	Stone hammers	272
3-7.	Stone "axe"	272
3-8.	Hafted stone adz	272
3-9.	Stone adz with "D" type handle	272
3-10.	Large stone vessels	273
3-11.	Large wooden tray	273
3-12.	Wooden spoons	273
3-13.	Antler wedge	275
3-14.	Antler arrow flaker with dot and circle ornamentation	275
3-15.	Bone fleshing tool with wrapped end-handles	275
3-16.	Handled spoon of deer skull-cap	277
3-17.	Weaving a coiled basket	279
3-18.	Open-work basket	280
3-19.	Four basket types	282
3-20.	Three mat varieties	283
3-21.	Birch-bark basket	287
3-22.	Poncho of sagebrush bark	292
3-23.	Two semisubterranean dwellings, Nicola Valley	298

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
3-24.	Construction details of semisubterranean dwelling	300
3-25.	Framing details of six summer lodges	302
3-26.	Framework of two summer lodges	303
3-27.	Framework of two sweat lodge types	306
3-28.	Sculptured stone bowl	359
4-1.	Traditional territory of Chelan and neighboring tribes . . .	412
4-2.	Chelan territory and the North Cascades Park Complex	429
4-3.	Location of winter villages and summer camps	457
4-4.	Tobacco pipe bowls	496

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1-1.	Correlation of Two Upper Skagit Village Lists	35
1-2.	Number of Dwellings in Village Clusters by Season and Size .	38
1-3.	Population Estimates of Dwelling Aggregates by Season	40
1-4.	Upper Skagit Village Clusters as Reported in Five Different Sources	43
2-1.	Chilliwack Villages at and above Vedder Crossing (Duff) . . .	138
2-2.	Chilliwack and Cultus Lake Villages above Vedder Crossing (Smith)	142
2-3.	Composite Roster of Chilliwack and Cultus Lake Villages at and above Vedder Crossing	143
3-1.	Items Traded by Lower Thompson	382
4-1.	Mammalian Distribution within Chelan Territory	502

FOREWORD

The chapters that follow represent a first attempt to achieve three principal, related goals. In brief, these are:

- (a) To determine the American Indian groups--"tribes" in a loose technical sense--that claimed, occupied, and made use of those land areas that today fall within the boundaries of the North Cascades National Park and the Ross Lake and Lake Chelan National Recreation Areas, and to establish their tribal limits within and in the vicinity of this Park Complex as of the early contact period.
- (b) To assemble from the ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature and from such other sources as may be located data descriptive of the lifeways of these native groups in late protohistoric and early postcontact days, the "traditional" period as this term is employed in this study, and to present this information in an organized, scholarly, but non-technical fashion.
- (c) To ascertain to the degree possible from the data at hand the specific ways in which these tribal entities made use of the natural resources of their high country, in particular those of the Park Complex, and, more broadly, to describe their life patterns when in these elevated valleys and on these lofty mountain slopes.

As the following chapters indicate, it has been found that four different tribes aboriginally claimed territory within the present Park Complex: the Upper Skagit in the Skagit Valley and surrounding mountains from the southwestern corner of the Complex upstream through today's Ross Lake region to the vicinity of the international boundary; the Chilliwack in the upper Chilliwack Valley and the mountainous terrain in its vicinity, including the northwesternmost segment of the Park; the Lower Thompson in the upper Skagit Valley and neighboring high country south to the Canadian line and down through the Ross Lake area almost as far as Big Beaver Creek; and the Chelan east of the Cascade crest in the upper Lake Chelan and Stehekin River sector of the Complex.

The claim of the Chelan to its territory is uncontested and that of the Chilliwack essentially so, though Lower Thompson parties and hunters from other neighboring groups sometimes entered the mountains within the tribal boundaries of the Chilliwack. As intimated above, that segment of the Skagit Valley now under the waters of Ross Lake and the flanking mountain masses, however, represented at least in traditional times disputed hunting and gathering grounds, frequented by parties of both Upper Skagit, coming up the river from Newhalem and below, and Lower Thompson descending the valley from their tribal lands north of today's international border. These overlapping tribal claims in this Skagit region, protected on occasion by hostile action on the part of both groups, call for no adjudication by the ethnographer in terms of time priority, extent and manner of utilization, or any other standard or basis, for the claims of the two groups appear on the surface equally valid, though the Upper Skagit had an appreciably shorter trek to the area than did the Lower Thompson. As noted below, this overlapping multiple

land use is simply reported as an ethnographic reality of the traditional time period.

Accordingly, there are four chapters in this report, one devoted to the Upper Skagit, Chilliwack, Lower Thompson, and Chelan respectively, ordered thus rather arbitrarily in a geographically clockwise fashion. To the degree that information is available, each chapter provides the same subject coverage and follows the same data organization and presentation. This comprises a brief "data base" appraisal; a short introductory, background section; a substantially more extended summary of what is known of the life patterns of the tribe with particular attention to its diverse associations with its higher country; and a final, unfortunately necessarily rather brief and general section collecting, integrating, and interpreting such information as is known or can be reasonably inferred regarding the tribal utilization of its mountainous regions and of its homeland inside the boundaries of the Park and Recreation Complex.

It is important to the theoretical interests of this report to note that, though their territories joined or, in the case of the Chilliwack and Chelan, were almost contiguous, these four tribal entities differed in important linguistic and cultural respects. Although all four spoke dialects of the Salishan language family, their dialects were mutually unintelligible. Further the speech of the Upper Skagit and Chilliwack belonged to the Coast Salish division, while the Lower Thompson and Chelan were members of the Interior Salish group. Culturally, the Upper Skagit were an inland Puget Sound people as the Chilliwack were a hinterland Fraser River folk, both with obvious though rather dilute Northwest Coast cultural affiliations. The Lower Thompson of the Fraser Canyon country followed a basic Plateau life pattern, but with a considerable tilt in certain cultural domains toward a weak and modified coastal life style. The Chelan, in contrast, were an out-and-out Plateau group, but somewhat atypical in their unusual lake and towering mountain environment and in their life mode in adaptation to this special ecological configuration. Yet in spite of these substantial differences, all utilized extensively their part of the highlands of the Park Complex and the nearby mountains and forests. Obviously there are here opportunities for an intensive comparative ethnographic inquiry of some considerable interest.

It is hoped that the data of this report will be useful to the interpretive corps in the Park and Recreation Areas in their continuing efforts to share with the public information concerning the aboriginal life patterns of those Indian groups that identified themselves with geographical segments of the Park Complex, and particularly the ways in which these tribes were intimately bonded in their subsistence quest and many other life domains to the valleys and mountains, streams and lakes, and forests and alpine meadows of the Complex.

CHAPTER I

UPPER SKAGIT

Data Base

The ethnographic information compiled in this chapter has been drawn primarily from June McCormick Collins' (1974a) field study of the Upper Skagit carried out in the 1940s. These data are especially full in the areas of religious and social life, less complete in describing the traditional subsistence base and material culture of the tribe, doubtless because these latter segments of the old ways were both less sharp in the minds of her informants and of a lesser interest to Collins herself.

These data are supplemented by information fragments culled from published ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources. This is particularly the case for those subject areas not dealt with by Collins or considered only cursorily by her.

In this chapter a number of tribes of northwestern Washington and the adjacent British Columbia coast are mentioned. The maps that follow (Figure 1-1 and 1-2) are reproduced here to assist the reader unfamiliar with the local ethnography in placing most of these groups.

Introduction

In this section four matters of a general background nature are briefly considered: the "native" terms by which the Skagit were known, the geographical boundaries of the group's homeland, the cultural and linguistic relationships of the tribe, and such early population data as are available for the group.

Ethnonymy

It is customary to think of the Skagit as comprised of two major population units: (a) the Skagit proper who occupied the area about the mouth of the Skagit River and the offshore islands, and (b) the Upper Skagit whose territory began a short distance inland from the salt water and extended eastward up the Skagit drainage into the high mountains that formed the western flank of the Cascades.

The Upper Skagit are sometimes considered to have had two component segments: the Upper Skagit proper on the upper Skagit River whose subsistence country reached well into the Park Complex, and the Suiattle-Sauk who ranged the Suiattle and Sauk river region to the south of the territory of the Upper Skagit proper. This latter group, however, is at times considered as a third major division of the Skagit or even as a separate tribal entity comparable to the Skagit.

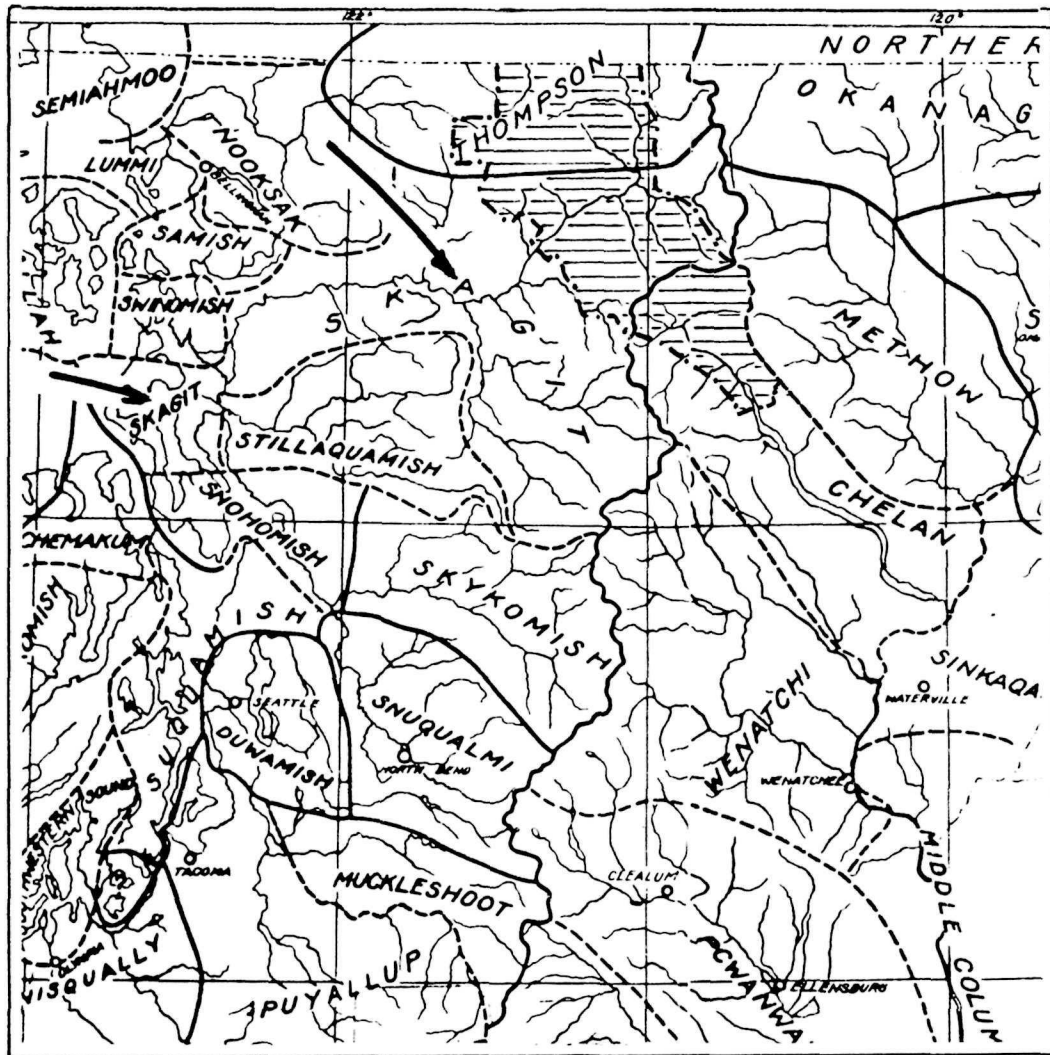
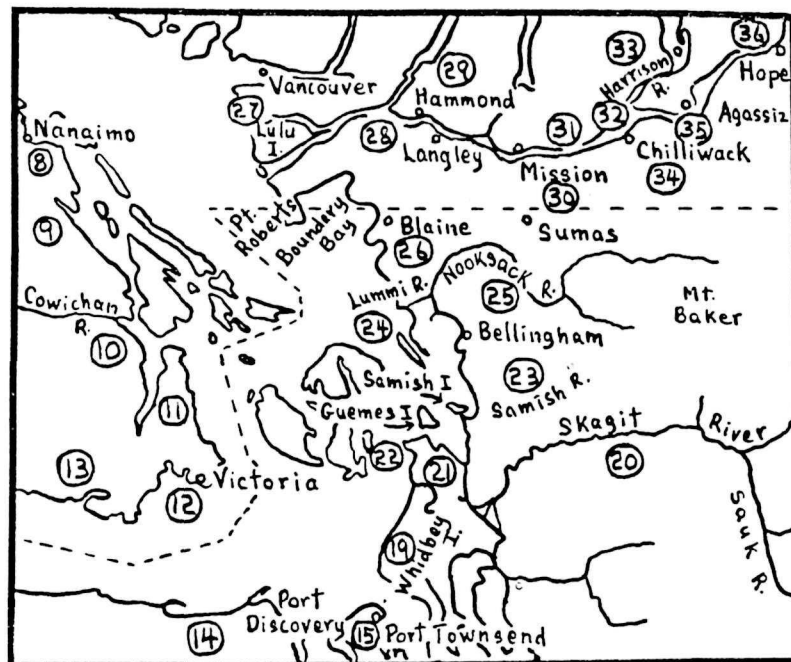


Figure 1-1. Fragment of a tribal distribution map of Washington by Spier (1936:42-43), slightly modified. The two Skagit divisions are shown, but not differentiated by name (see arrows). This and Figure 1-2 locate most of the tribes referred to in this chapter. Approximate boundaries of the North Cascades Park Complex are marked by a dot-dash line and the area is designated by hatching.



- Key:
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 8. Nanaimo | 24. Lummi |
| 9. Chemainus | 25. Nooksack |
| 10. Cowichan | 26. Semiahmoo |
| 11. Saanich | 27. Musqueam |
| 12. Songish (Lkungen) | 28. Kwantlen |
| 13. Sooke | 29. Katzie |
| 14. Klallam | 30. Sumas |
| 15. Chemakum
(non-Salish) | 31. Nicomen |
| 19. Lower Skagit | 32. Scowlits |
| 20. Upper Skagit | 33. Chehalis |
| 21. Swinomish | 34. Chilliwack |
| 22. Samish | 35. Pilalt |
| 23. Nuwaha
(Upper Samish) | 36. Tait |

Figure 1-2. One of two complementary tribal distribution maps by Suttles (1957:158, 159). This map covers the lower Fraser and Strait of Georgia areas, showing the location of the Lower and Upper Skagit (#19, 20) and their western and northern neighbors. Tribes designated by the missing numbers appear on the companion map.

In this study the Upper Skagit and Suiattle Sauk are, for the sake of simplicity, regarded as a single population group. However, because the territory of the latter lay some distance from the Park boundaries, lesser attention is given to it where the data differentiate between it and the Upper Skagit proper.

Whether these three Skagit population components were thought to be individually cohesive units and distinct from one another by the Skagit Indians themselves and possessed their own distinctive names I do not know. Certainly the term "Skagit" has been used in several different ways by Whites as a population unit designator: for example, to refer to (a) the Skagit proper (or Lower Skagit), (b) the Upper Skagit alone, (c) the Lower and Upper Skagit together, and (d) the Lower Skagit and a few of the Upper Skagit villages (Indian Claims Commission 1974:315).

According to Hodge (1910:585) and to Swanton (1952:441) quoting Hodge, the Skagit name for themselves was Hum-a-luh, "the people," information third-hand by the time it reached Hodge. It is unclear whether this designation applied to the Lower Skagit, Upper Skagit, and Suiattle-Sauk or only to some part of this larger unit. All other terms for the Skagit listed by Hodge are obvious variants of "Skagit": e.g., Sachet, Scad-jat, Skagats, etc.

Tribal Territory

There seems to be only a single study based on field research that attempts to define in detail the traditional tribal boundaries of the Upper Skagit. This is a map (Collins 1974c: facing 760) printed as an annex to Collins' (1974b) report of 1946 concerned with the nineteenth century shift of the Skagit from their aboriginal religion to Shakerism (Figure 1-3). It shows the territorial limits, settlement locations, and major subsistence use areas of the Upper Skagit as defined in this study, as well as these data for two neighboring tribes. The authorship and date of this cartographic document are not identified with the map, but in the 1960 Indian Claims Commission (1974:317) findings of fact concerning the Upper Skagit land claims litigation, the map is attributed to Collins. As printed, this map is unfortunately a small-scale, reduced, and therefore cluttered cartographic effort. Nevertheless, it must be used as the primary source from which to define the aboriginal homeland limits of the Upper Skagit.

The Upper Skagit, according to this map, were divided into the Upper Skagit proper and the Suiattle-Sauk. The eastern limits of the country of the Upper Skagit proper, following the line between Whatcom-Skagit counties on the west and Okanogan-Chelan counties on the east, coincided with the sinuous crest of the Cascades southward from the Canadian border to the vicinity of Lizard Mountain (USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955). In this distance the boundary was broken by a number of roughly east-west passes, among them Castle, Woody (just west of Barron), Harts, McBee, Methow, and Cascade, to mention only those marked on the USGS Concrete quadrangle (1955). Just below Cascade Pass the Upper Skagit border left the North Cascades National Park and moved on south to the Lizard Mountain region.

Figure 1-3. Tribal boundaries, settlements, and subsistence areas of the two Upper Skagit divisions (Upper Skagit proper and Suiattle-Sauk) and of the Skykomish and Snoqualmie, comprising a second major grouping. This map, printed anonymously with Collins' (1974c) Upper Skagit religion research, is apparently extracted from her still unpublished study submitted in connection with Upper Skagit early land claims litigation.

From the Lizard Mountain area the territory of the Suiattle-Sauk division continued down the Cascades watershed over Ross Pass, now following the Snohomish-Chelan county boundary, and Suiattle Pass, soon bending to the southwest to run just south of Glacier Peak to White Pass, where it veered sharply to the south again until it reached a point about due east of Monte Cristo. There it turned abruptly to the west immediately south of the 48th parallel. Now at last well south of the Park Complex, we need not trace its limits beyond this point.

The northern border of Upper Skagit country, as defined by this map, proceeded along the international boundary to the watershed between the upper Skagit River (now Ross Lake) and the Chilliwack drainage. Obviously to some uncertain degree this following of the Canadian border is painting with a broad brush, for the straight line political separation along the 49th parallel bears no appreciable relationship to the topographic realities that were major considerations in determining the limits of tribal use areas. Leaving the Canadian boundary it proceeded to the southwest along the water-directing crests to circle the headwaters of Baker River, to climb over Mount Shuksan, and then to move southwesterly above the western source streams of Baker River and to pass just east of Mount Baker. Here we are significantly west of the Park limits, making further plotting of the Upper Skagit northwestern boundary, as indicated in this map, irrelevant for this study.

Similarly, the dividing line between the Upper Skagit and Skagit tribes lay well down the Skagit River to the west and so well beyond our Park concerns.

The border between the traditional territory of the Upper Skagit proper and the Suiattle-Sauk ran roughly west and slightly northwest from the general Lizard Mountain environs to reach the Skagit River just east of the mouth of the Sauk River. This means, as already indicated, that the entire country of this small Suiattle-Sauk group lay some distance outside the southwestern perimeter of the North Cascades Complex and that it and the people themselves are of lesser interest to this report.

Especially notable is the fact that there is a considerable territorial overlap between the northeastern country claimed by the Upper Skagit as plotted here and the traditional country of the Lower Thompson as described by Teit (1900:166) (Figure 3-1). As remarked in greater detail below, this overlap region was to some degree subsistence resource terrain of both the Upper Skagit and the Lower Thompson. Yet it is surely not without significance that on Collins' map (Figure 1-3) no Upper Skagit game and fish resources are specifically marked for the region southwest, east, and west of Ross Lake, a portion of which Teit claims for the Lower Thompson. From these map data it is likewise clear that the Upper Skagit maintained no settlements on the Skagit River above Newhalem, some 11 miles downstream from Ross Dam (see Residential and Task Sites section below).

The Upper Skagit boundaries as described by Collins (1974a:5) very sketchily and in a slightly muddled fashion down in the Sauk country do not differ materially from the above delineation. She reports only that the eastern border followed the Cascade divide, that the northern line abutted the territory of the Thompson, who hunted in the upper Skagit River country

in Canada, and followed the ridges between the Skagit and Nooksack basins, and that the southern boundary fell along the ridges separating the waters of the Skagit from those of the Stillaguamish.

The boundary of old Upper Skagit territory is also specified in the tribe's 1958 claims petition against the federal government. That portion relating to the back country in and near the Park borders reads as follows:

. . . [from] the crest of Mount Baker and along the divide separating the waters of Chilliwack River and Skagit River, to the International Boundary line . . . ; thence eastward on said . . . Line to the crest of the Cascades Mountains; thence southward along the crest of said mountains to the most eastern point of the divide separating the waters of Sauk River from the headwaters of Skykomish River; thence westward, northward, and again, westward along said divide, said area including the watershed of the Sauk River and the Skagit River, to a point on said divide approximately due south of the present town of Ehrlich, Washington; . . . (Indian Claims Commission 1974:318-319)

This line, when plotted, follows exactly or as nearly as I can determine the boundary as defined by Collins' (1974c) map (Figure 1-3). This is not surprising since the map was a petitioner's exhibit in this litigation.

Cultural and Linguistic Affiliation

Culturally the Upper Skagit were at root a Northwest Coast group. Still, much of their territory, extending eastward to the very crest of the Cascades, was excessively mountainous. Accordingly, they also possessed traits that were in keeping with the biophysical properties of such interior terrain. Collins (1974a:4, 6-7) summarizes this Janus-like situation as follows.

Like coastal peoples, the Upper Skagit relied on salmon as a staple; used red cedar in making their large winter dwellings, canoes, containers, and other objects; resided in permanent winter villages and in summer camps with smaller movable shelters; carved and painted the inner posts of their houses to symbolize guardian spirits and placed some carved wooden figures in and near their villages; were structured into upper, middle, and slave classes; possessed little political organization; practiced the potlatch; divided the year into a winter season of religious ceremonies and a summer period when the food quest was the paramount concern; and possessed the Raven and Mink as important mythological figures.

Like the people of the nearby Plateau, the Upper Skagit made extensive use of deer, elk, and other land mammals as food and of baskets as containers, and they told myths with Coyote as a principal figure. As with typical Plateau groups, they possessed no secret societies and held few slaves. Especially the people of the villages farthest upriver made coiled watertight baskets, wore skin clothing including moccasins, used snowshoes, and relied strongly on individual guardian spirits though these were inherited within the family.

This special combination of cultural traits, some facing west and some representing high, backcountry adaptations and practices, was recognized as early as the mid-1800s. In 1854 George Gibbs (1855a:432) wrote:

. . . besides the tribes, or bands, inhabiting the shores and the lower part of the rivers, there are on the headwaters of the latter, along the whole course of the Cascades mountains, another range of tribes, generally independent of the former, who rarely descend from their recesses, but are intermediate in their habits between the coast and mountain tribes; except the Taitinapam [who were Sahaptian speakers related linguistically to the Plateau tribes east of the Cascades], however, they all belong to the general [Salishan linguistic] family upon whose borders they live. Those in the neighborhood of the passes own a few horses, which subsist in the small prairies skirting the base of the mountains.

These cultural differences, comprehended at a general level by Gibbs and specifically for the Upper and Lower Skagit by Collins as already noted, formed the base upon which Smith (1941:205-206) formulated a cultural subarea--the Foothill Culture--distinct from the subareas on the salt-water shores. This proposed subarea consisted of a tier of small tribes against and on the western face of the Cascade Mountains, of the Upper Skagit and their inland neighbors to the north and south. It also had its counterpart among the Plateau Indians on the eastern flank of the Cascades. This formulation is discussed more fully in the later Chilliwack chapter of this North Cascades study. It is sufficient to note here that the Upper Skagit shared with the other foothill people a negligible use of clams, seals, and other salt water products, a hunting pattern almost equal in importance to fishing, cross-country travel by land as well as movement by canoe, social gatherings without the potlatch exaggeration, a prestige pattern based on behavior and achievement rather than on inherited class, and individualized guardian spirit power (Smith 1941:206).

The important point is that the Upper Skagit had, in a way, two lines of cultural affiliation. One was down the Skagit River to the Lower Skagit and other nearby salt-water groups, with whom they shared one block of cultural traits. The second, running north and south, was with other tribes possessing this backcountry "foothill" culture. This foothill proposition has been criticized by Suttles (1957) as poorly documented, as it surely was, and even illusory, as it definitely was as a tightly structured cultural subarea. But certainly these high-area tribes on the western slopes of the mountains shared some special environmental adaptations that brought them into a common cultural fold, and, as a group, lacked some particular maritime adaptations of their western neighbors.

According to Collins (1974a:8), both traditions and linguistic evidence in the form of place names suggest that Interior Salishan speakers once occupied the Skagit Valley. Other traditions tell of recent migrations into the Skagit Valley from the Washington Coast and Vancouver Island as well as from the Plateau. However, linguistic evidence and especially traditions of these kinds should not necessarily be accepted as proof of an historical fact.

Upper Skagit speech was a dialect of Looshootseed (Puget Sound Salish), a language that included the dialects of the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and other neighboring groups. Looshootseed, in turn, belonged to the large Coast Division of the Salishan language family, one with member languages from southern Vancouver Island south to the Oregon coast. Upper Skagit was mutually unintelligible with Nooksack and with Chilliwack, and substantially more different from the Interior Salishan speech of the Lower Thompson and Chelan (Suttles 1957:163, 1985; Thompson 1979:693). Bilingualism, however, was common in the area (Indian Claims Commission 1974:323).

Slight dialectic differences occurred from one Skagit extended village to another (Indian Claims Commission 1974:323).

Demography

Population estimates for the Upper Skagit made in precensus times must be considered only rough approximations. As George Gibbs (1877:181-182) so perceptively points out for the area tribes in general:

I am well satisfied that none . . . [of the estimates made to my time] can be taken as . . . accurate calculations In arriving at any [demographic] conclusion, it is necessary to regard not merely the actual facts of increase or mortality known to us, but the capacity of the country to furnish subsistence, the modes of obtaining it followed by the Indians, their general character and habits, their fecundity, their wars, and various circumstances directly or indirectly bearing upon life.

With these cautions in mind, Gibbs (1877:433) in 1854 estimated the Skagit (evidently wholly or principally the Lower Skagit) at "about three hundred all told; and there are other bands upon the headwaters of their river [plainly wholly or in large part the Upper Skagit], amounting probably to as many more" (cf. also Gibbs 1855a:436). Wilkes' (1841; in Stevens 1855:435) earlier 1841 estimate for the Scatchae (Skagit) tribe was 650. Whether this includes both the Lower and Upper Skagit or only the former is in question, conceivably exclusively the former with the difference between 650 persons and Gibbs' 300 (assuming that both figures were reasonably accurate) being the consequence of population decimation in the 13 year period. At any rate, the figure of about 300 persons has generally been taken as close to the population of the Upper Skagit in the mid-nineteenth century.

Other population estimates for about 1780 and later have been made in which the Skagit--Upper and Lower divisions together--are submerged in still larger tribal groupings, e.g., by Mooney (Swanton 1952:442) in the early 1900s and by Taylor (1963:161-162, 163). There is, however, no way to extricate from these approximations the figures for the Skagit specifically, let alone the Upper Skagit.

The effects of Western epidemic and other diseases--smallpox, respiratory ailments, etc.--upon the Upper Skagit in the late 1700s and early 1800s must have been great. The tribe, incidentally, termed smallpox "Nooksack sickness," because it spread to them from that group (Smith

1950a:332). In 1961 Taylor (1963:162) calculated "that the population of the Puget Sound area declined about 50 per cent in the period from 1780 to 1840." In his careful study of the influence of these diseases in the late 1700-early 1800 time span, Carroll Riley arrived at a population reduction estimate for the Puget Sound tribes of between 70 and 90 percent. Based on Gibbs' Upper Skagit approximation of 1854 and Riley's depopulation figure, the Indian Claims Commission (1974:326-327) concluded that the "Upper Skagits may have numbered 880 members at the beginning of the nineteenth century."

Consistent with the focus of this study on the aboriginal and early postcontact Upper Skagit, population estimates and census figures for the period after 1860 are not considered here.

Subsistence

The Upper Skagit food quest involved an extensive exploitation of the fish, game, and plant resources of their territory (cf. Figure 1-3). The data, however, are unfortunately very thin. Especially regrettable is the fact that virtually nothing is said except obliquely about the subsistence use of the higher terrain and nothing at all specifically concerning the streams and mountains within the Park boundaries. I have yet to ascertain how far up the Skagit River anadromous fish were able to negotiate in aboriginal and early postcontact times. We may be certain that they reached at least the Newhalem area since the uppermost Upper Skagit village was sited there. But whether they ascended farther into the present Ross Lake region I do not know. Chapman and Turner (1956) designate the Skagit as a salmon river only up to about the Nehalem sector, but I am unsure whether this is a pre-or post-dam plotting.

On evidence of the purportedly factual tradition referred to elsewhere in this study, salmon ascended to the headwaters of the Cascade River (Collins 1974a:14).

The subsistence-quest strategy of the Upper Skagit was patterned in a very special way--quite differently, for example, from that of the Chilliwack--that had its effect upon the group social structure. As Smith (1941:201) explains the situation:

[The] houses of the local units [of the "extended village"] were erected on suitable sites near important salmon fisheries; the buildings were at the same time homes and smoke houses; and if the population cared to live only on its food staple it needed never leave its headquarters. When the units dispersed, families went in opposite directions and at . . . berry and root fields often joined families from units which belonged to other extended villages. Socially, these people who met during the summer were as closely knit as were those of the contiguous winter quarters of the extended village.

These data seem to underscore the political insignificance of the extended village and also of its component individual villages.

Apparently food was not invariably available in necessary amounts to the Upper Skagit, as it said to have always been to the Lower division. According to John Fornsby (in Collins 1949:302), an Upper Skagit born in 1855, the Upper Skagit "used to have hard times." He recounted one supposedly specific instance in his grandmother's day when the downriver region was visited by a number of upriver Skagit who were so weak from hunger that they could hardly paddle their canoe. They had come down for clams, because "they had nothing to eat" back home. Fornsby then added:

[S]ome of those [Upper Skagit] people never did much hunting, and they couldn't get any fish. There weren't many fish up-river. They couldn't catch them They got berries in the mountains. They generally got meat: they made a trap and caught beaver, bear, deer meat Just the up-river Indians were poor. They had a hard time to get blankets up there before the White people came. It was pretty hard to catch goats. You had to have a good gun. (Fornsby in Collins 1949:302-303)

Though Upper Skagit born, Fornsby had spent his life among the Lower Skagit. It is hard to know the extent to which he exaggerates the difficulties and country-cousin status of the upstream people. But there is little doubt that their food supply was less secure than that of the downriver Lower Skagit.

Fishing

Of the three principal food sources, fish contributed most to the Upper Skagit diet. This is evidenced, Collins (1974a:45) reports, by the location of most villages "where . . . the maximum amount of fish [could be secured] during a run." Certain difficulties in understanding this statement are discussed at a later point (see Residential and Task Sites section).

Three fishing areas are plotted by Collins on her subsistence-marked map (Figure 1-3): one on the lower length of Baker River, one on the upper Skagit River in the Marblemount sector, and the third--for "sockeye and other salmon"--in the mountains between these two which I fail to comprehend.

The only fish mentioned ethnographically as having been important to the Upper Skagit are anadromous types: specifically, five kinds of salmon (chinook, pink, sockeye, chum, and coho) and steelhead trout, each with its distinct native name. Of these, the chinook and coho were preferred. Salmon ran from May or June to into the fall; steelhead trout ran as late as November. Trout were also caught, but seem to have been comparatively insignificant in the native diet.

Salmon were netted, taken in weirs and with hook and line, and were speared, all techniques used when the fish were swimming upriver. Three kinds of nets are described.

- (a) A seine, with ends attached to poles and long enough to reach nearly across a stream, was stretched vertically by men from two poled or paddled canoes in the light of torches. This was regarded as the most productive fishing method.

- (b) A net with a closed end was set for some hours in shallow water near a river bank.
- (c) A woven willow-bark or grass (Indian hemp?) dip net was "used to scoop fish from a canoe, a platform, stones in the river, or from the bank." The bag net was suspended from a vine maple hoop attached at right angles to two long pole handles that were tied together at their upper ends. Between these poles immediately above the bag net was stretched a net baffle to prevent fish from swimming between the handles.

Apparently several weir types were in use. One variety, employed in July and August, was constructed by as many as 20 men, under the supervision of an expert, across a tributary stream where it was narrow and shallow and the riverbed rocks were small. The frame consisted of a row of single fir poles firmly set vertically into the stream bottom and tied together by two or three rows of horizontal cedar poles. The top one, above the water level, served also as a walkway to the weir platform. Between these vertical poles, tripods were placed at intervals, two legs of which were placed so as to assist the vertical poles in supporting the fence. This fence was fashioned on land, and was rolled out against and tied to the vertical poles and tripods. Above an opening in this fence a platform was constructed; on this the fishermen stood with their dip nets. All men who, as volunteers, had helped build the weir were allowed to fish from it. According to Collins (1974a:50), the fishing continued all night, but whether it was exclusively a night activity is not specified. At the close of the season the fence was removed to be used the following year when the weir, carried away in the late spring floods, was rebuilt.

At riffles a watersoaked log was placed diagonally across part of a stream. Salmon, leaping this barrier, fell on an upstream stranding platform from which they could be easily taken.

Other fishing methods involved spearing salmon with a leister, consisting of an ironwood pole and three prongs of ironwood, deer antler, or mountain goat horn, and angling for them with a line twisted of women's hair and baited with salmon eggs.

Although fish were eaten fresh, most were smoke-dried for winter. To be prepared for eating, salmon (a) were covered with wet moss and steam-baked whole in an ash pit; (b) were cut into pieces and stone-boiled in a box or basket; (c) were split, spread with small splints, skewered onto sticks, and roasted in a slanting row around a fire; and (d) prepared in small slices, were grilled over a fire. Salmon eggs were wrapped in alder bark and either roasted in hot ashes or hung over a small fire to dry for later consumption.

Shellfish--clams, oysters, mussels, barnacles, and crabs--were secured on the coast when the Upper Skagit traveled there to visit relatives or by exchanging dried venison for them smoked.

There is no ethnographic information reporting Upper Skagit fishing sites within the Park Complex boundaries. Mentioned incidentally by Collins, however, are dip net sites on the Cascade River and on the Skagit near the town of Concrete, a chinook salmon fence-weir locality on the Sauk River, and a pink salmon spearing site on the Skagit above Marblemount.

Special guardian spirit power played an important role in fishing activities. Power was required, for example, in making effective dip nets, and in supervising and carrying out specialized tasks in weir construction. (Collins 1974a:45-52, 76)

Hunting

Collins (1974a:52) states:

Second in importance in the diet were land animals. The Upper Skagit hunted deer, elk, mountain goat, black bear . . . , grizzly bear, beaver, snowshoe rabbit, fisher, raccoon, and land otter. Deer and elk were the most highly sought Among the Indians of their area, the Upper Skagit maintain that they tended to specialize in hunting.

For what it is worth, on Collins' subsistence map (Figure 3-1) eight hunting areas are shown. The four deer areas are on the lower Skagit River in the Burlington sector, in the stream valley above Big Lake, on the upper Cascade River, and on the middle Suiattle River. The two elk sectors are the mountains southeast of Newhalem and the middle Suiattle. The four mountain goat regions are all in the high mountains: one northwest and one northeast of Baker Lake, one southeast of Newhalem, and one on the upper Cascade River. The areas where bear were killed are shown to have been in the country above Big Lake, in the upper Cascade sector, and once again on the middle Suiattle vicinity. Ducks were taken in the Big Lake district. It will be noted (Figure 3-1) that in four cases more than one animal is shown to have been killed; hence the total number of only eight separate hunting localities.

Game was taken with bow and arrow, though the detailed techniques followed are not reported. Bows were of yew or alder, had recurved ends, and were sometimes sinew backed; they varied in length up to about five feet depending on the size of the game for which they were to be used. Bow strings were of sinew. Arrows had an ironwood shaft, fitted with a two-shouldered point of white stone "obtained from a rock slide at . . . [a] place on the main Skagit" (Collins 1974a:52-53).

Deer and bear were caught in log deadfalls, set in their trails to water. Animals were also taken in baited spring traps. Deer were driven over cliffs or into ravines, both by single hunters and by hunting parties.

Meat was cooked by being cut into pieces and then stone-boiled in coiled baskets made watertight by an overnight soaking; sometimes roots (e.g., wild onions) were boiled with the meat. Meat was also roasted and broiled. Deer and other meat was dried for winter use, an important cold season food.

Many birds--especially waterfowl including geese and ducks--were hunted. Ducks were shot with bow and arrow and caught at dusk in nets stretched between two vertical posts. Duck grease, particularly valued, was caught in a clamshell as it dripped from a bird cooking on a spit over a fire.

Upriver Upper Skagit rarely if ever hunted sea mammals. But downriver villagers, when visiting relatives near the Skagit mouth, hunted seal and porpoise (but not whales) with harpoons with their shore-dwelling kinsmen.

Mammals and birds were hunted not only as food but also for some of their parts--like deer skins and bird bones--that served other purposes. These will be mentioned in later sections. (Collins 1974a:52-55)

Plant Collecting

Many plant varieties were gathered for food as well as for other purposes. As dietary constituents these were important, providing the starch and sugar otherwise lacking in their high protein foods. Still, vegetable eatables were not available in sufficient quantities for them to be consumed even once daily through the year.

Two root plants--the tiger lily and sweet wild carrot--were to judge from Collins' (1974a:55) data, the most significant food plants. They were semicultivated on the prairie at bakálb village on the Sauk River as well as on two meadows in the lower Skagit River area; on Collins' subsistence map (Figure 1-3) tiger lily root grounds are shown on the middle Suiattle River but none on the Sauk. The land was divided into marked plots--each three or four acres in size at bakálb--that were owned by women and passed down to their daughters irrespective of where the latter might later live. During "the late summer, women with . . . [harvest] rights came from widely distant villages to the plot of their mother" (Collins 1974a:55). With a three-foot vine maple digging stick sharpened and fire-hardened at both ends, women dug the roots in August when the blossoms died, replanted the stems, and weeded the plots.

Camas also grew in the tiger lily and carrot plots and were collected, but whether these plants were also semicultivated is uncertain.

Roots of several kinds of ferns were also eaten. These plants grew near Birdsvew in the Skagit Valley, as well as in lower Skagit River country. Collins' food resource map (Figure 1-3) places a fern root area on the middle Suiattle River. For these plants, however, no individual plots were recognized: any woman with kin at the Birdsvew village, for example, was allowed to dig these roots during her summer visit.

Wild onions were dug for food, for they are mentioned by Collins (1974a:53) in relation to their being cooked with meat. They are, however, not otherwise referred to. The wapato root (Sagittaria spp., arrowroot [Hitchcock and Cronquist 1981:559]) grew in only one Upper Skagit locality, this near the mouth of the Skagit. Evidently it made essentially no contribution to the Upper Skagit diet. Roots "could be found in certain mountain meadows; [but] women preferred not to dig them there if they had a choice" (Collins 1974a:56). This is a revealing observation in terms of the special interests of this report, but would be far more meaningful if we were told the basis for this statement.

Roots were baked in a deep pit or in ashes of the hearth or were stone boiled with meat in a water-filled basket. "Roots were stored for winter use

in a special type of basket which women buried in the ground in September" (Collins 1974a:56).

Tree lichen was gathered and prepared by being placed under ashes all night.

Berries used as food included the blackberry, wild strawberry, salmonberry, blackcaps, thimbleberry, serviceberry, huckleberry, blue elderberry, red elderberry, gooseberry, trailing currant, mountain blueberry, and salal, the list given by Collins (1974a:56-57). Wild crabapples and plums added fruit to the diet. Forest areas were carefully burned to make berries grow more prolifically. Guardian spirit assistance was also sought to encourage berry growth and to control forest burns to improve berry yields. (Collins 1974a:55-57) The only berry ground plotted on Collins' food source map (Figure 1-3) lies on the north side of the Skagit River in the Birdsvew district.

Concerning the preparation of berries and fruits for eating we are told very little. All berries were eaten fresh. Elderberries and blackberries were also boiled until they were nearly dry. They were kept by being wrapped in maple leaves and placed in a hole dug in wet sand. Sun drying was regarded as the best method of berry preservation.

The green sprouts of some berries were enjoyed as spring greens.

The cultivation of the white potato among the Puget Sound Indians began early in the 1800s, the seed potatoes having been secured by salt-water groups from trading vessels. As Suttles (1951) has demonstrated, they spread very rapidly among these coastal tribes. Interestingly, the earliest mention of potato cultivation on the part of these groups appears to be a report of Father Blanchet, the first priest among the Skagit, of having stumbled "onto a Skagit potato patch" in 1840. The following year Wilkes found the Skagit growing these tubers. In the 1850s potatoes were again reported for the Skagit. (Gibbs 1855a:433; Suttles 1951:274, 276, 283) The speed with which this root, together with its simple cultivation techniques, diffused has suggested to some--like Smith (in Rivera 1949)--that the wild root gathering experience of these native groups, the importance of roots in their diet, and their traditional pattern of planting, tending, and harvesting a few native roots, on a small scale, made them especially sensitive to the food potential of the cultivated potato. Moreover, with their traditional concept of family ownership of certain especially valuable wild root grounds, the cultural base existed for ownership of potato patches (Suttles 1951:281).

Food Preparation

Some fragments of information relating to food preparation are reported in the preceding sections. As a supplement to them, the following general data are of interest: fish (salmon and steelhead), game (deer, elk, bear, and other animals), roots (wild carrot, tiger lily, and other forms of the root class), and many different kinds of berries were all dried for winter use (Collins 1977:2).

Technology

The manufacture of canoes and building of the large cedar dwelling are described elsewhere in this chapter. Hunting weapons and devices as well as fishing and plant collecting implements are reported in those sections. In this unit we are concerned with lesser technological processes and the associated items of material culture.

Rigid Containers

Although much less common than baskets used for similar purposes, wooden boxes were fashioned by steaming and bending a flat cedar piece to form four sides; tying the corner joint together with thongs through bored holes; fitting a separate bottom piece in place with corner pegs; and soaking the box until it swelled and the thongs tightened. Water buckets were made by hollowing out a section of a cedar trunk. Rectangular wooden dishes with sloping ends, made of hard wood, were used in serving meals. A canoe answered the purpose of a giant cooking vessel in preparing for feasts. Wooden or cedar bark items were made for religious ceremonial purposes.

Spoons were of hard wood or horn. The horn was softened by soaking in heated water and molded into shape. The handle was sometimes carved into human or animal form. Horn dishes with "carvings and carved lines traced on them, some of which represent faces," were probably made by the Skagit, "who roamed in the Cascade mountains," Eells (1985:231) notes, writing in the late 1800s.

Basketry, Matting, and Weaving

Baskets were very important to the Upper Skagit. Though they were coiled, twilled, twined, and woven in a checkerboard design, coiled cooking, burden, and storage basketry was a speciality of Upper Skagit women. Of particular importance, it appears, and distinctive to the tribe in some ways were the coiled, watertight baskets of cedar or spruce roots that were used in stone-boiling and storage. These roots were not dug but were commonly collected from eroded river banks, sometimes by men who chanced to discern them when in their canoes. The inner root part served as the horizontal element and the outer part as the stitching element. The latter was passed through openings made in the coil below with deer or elk antler awls. The bottoms of these baskets were always round; cooking baskets were round in cross section.

Basket ornamentation was by imbrication: i.e., by doubling a separate colored element under each sewing stitch on the basket exterior (cf. Underhill 1944:104) (Figure 2-4). Used for this purpose was a cream-colored grass not native to Upper Skagit territory but purchased from the Upper Snoqualmie or people living east of the Cascades: it grew abundantly around Snoqualmie Pass and near a lake east of the divide. Also used was the black top of horsetail root and brown bark of the wild sour cherry. Favorite designs were barbecued salmon back fins, fish gills, fish nets, frogs, butterflies, and a little fly. In this listing by Collins the prominence of water-related motifs seems revealing.

An open-work, stiff, twined basket was used in clam digging on visits to the coast, the water draining through the interstices.

Carrying baskets were provided with holes below the top border to receive small buckskin loops to which were attached the braided wool or buckskin carrying band. This band could be arranged to allow the container to hang from the forehead as a back basket or from the side of the waist as in berrying. Soft cedar bark bags, twilled or made in checkerwork pattern, were made and used (e.g., as a baby bag inside the cradleboard) though they were less common in the Skagit Valley than on the coast.

The Sauk River people were reported not to have manufactured baskets until comparatively recently, but to have used deer and mountain goat stomachs, turned inside out, as water containers. (Collins 1974a:67-69) This remark smacks of a folk tradition of doubtful authenticity.

Cedar bark and cattail mats were fabricated by some women but the skill was regarded as a specialty of saltwater people. These mats served as camp shelter walls, as inner wall hangings in permanent dwellings, as occasional partitions in dwellings, and as bedding, canoe kneeling pads, rain capes, and caps.

For cattail mats the reeds were pulled in September, dried, trimmed of their ends, and sewed together side by side. This sewing was accomplished with a bone or wooden needle drawing a nettle string through the reeds individually. While the needle was still in place, the reeds were pressed down crosswise above the needle with a special wooden creaser (cf. Underhill 1944:107-108). (Collins 1974a:69-70)

Even though weaving was considered a "principal craft" of the Upper Skagit, not all women practiced the skill. The basic material was mountain goat wool obtained from skins brought home by hunters. Since goats occurred only in the upriver country, weaving was essentially limited to women of the interior villages. The hair of a special variety of dog, bred for their hair and sometimes kept on river islands to maintain breeding isolation, or goose down or even bear fur in the case of blankets was sometimes mixed with the goat wool in fabricating the yarn. The wool was carded with a wooden comb, spun with a spindle consisting of a cedar disk and stick, and twisted into yarn on the woman's thigh as it came from the spindle. If down was used, it was placed loose in a basket and the yarn was drawn "through two holes in the basket so that it passed through the down. When the yarn emerged from the basket it was covered with down which then became part of the completed fabric."

The loom for making large pieces consisted of two wooden uprights and two horizontal bars. The warps ran around these bars and the wefts were woven in place horizontally to create a tubular fabric that was cut to make the flat cloak or blanket (cf. Underhill 1944:110-113). These blankets, which were not plentiful, were valuable as gifts.

A small belt loom--one end suspended from a tree and the other attached to the weaver's waist--was used in weaving narrow belts and shoulder pads from which baskets were hung. (Collins 1974a:70-71)

Clothing and Body Ornamentation

In dressing skins, a woman's task, the hide was soaked for a week in a solution of cooked and mashed deer brains, twisted until pliable, and hung to dry. It was then stretched beside a fire by being pulled this way and that. Finally it was hung over a stick frame and smoked to a golden brown over a small fire of bark from rotten logs.

In the clothing fashioning process, likewise a woman's activity, holes were punched with an awl of a deer ulna split and sharpened on a stone. The sewing was accomplished with an eyed bone needle and thread of deer sinew that had been dried, pounded, and stripped.

Two types of clothing were worn, one a coastal style of cedar bark, furs, or wool and the other a tailored skin style like that of the Plateau. The temporal relationships between these two modes and the extent and specific form of the early post-White influence on them are not wholly clear.

When men wore clothing--they frequently went naked--their garments consisted as appropriate of a sleeveless "vest," a cloak of bearskin or woven goat or dog wool fastened over one shoulder with a bone or wooden pin, and a cattail matting rain cape. Women wore a thick, ankle-length skirt of cedar bark strips, hanging from a woven cedar bark girdle. In summer women preferred a "kind of black apron, presumably woven of bark." Like the men, they protected themselves from rain with the matting cape. Woven cedar bark hats were sometimes worn, but whether by one or both sexes is not reported by Collins. Basketry hats were not made but were occasionally received from kinsmen in the Plateau.

Both sexes also wore skin clothing--buckskin in winter and doeskin in summer--when the weather was cold in the mountains or on trips into the forest. Both sexes wore breechclouts and shirts, the latter (sometime of bearskin) open down the front and sewed up the sides with the sleeves left unsewed, sometimes trimmed with mink and marten. In winter the hair side was against the body. Both sexes wore mink hats; men also affected peaked caps with the animal tail hanging behind. In upriver villages both men and women wore gloves. Moccasins, one-piece and extending up nearly to the knee, were worn only in the woods or mountains. Clothing of some sort was likewise made of fox fur, for men were reported to have captured these animals and kept them for their peltries. (Collins 1974a:71-73)

Upper-class persons had their heads flattened so they "rose from the forehead to a peak at the back." This deformation was achieved by placing a cedar bark pad on the infant's forehead and binding it to the cradleboard. (Collins 1974a:73-74)

Both men and women wore their hair parted in the center, men with theirs tied in the back with a beaver skin thong and women with theirs braided on each side and bound with a thong. Combs were of wood or fish backbone. (Collins 1974a:73)

Body ornamentation was fairly extensive. Red earth mixed with grease and "cooked" served as a facial paint, both for decoration and as protection from the cold. White paint was applied by women to their faces and to their

infants. During guardian spirit dances red paint was put by women in their hair. Black paint was used only by men on raids. While labrets, ornaments worn in the lower lip, were not the custom, a bone was worn through the nasal septum. Women had small tattooed designs pricked into their faces, arms just above the wrist, legs, and ankles. The patterns were made with a bone needle and black scrapings from coal. To their person women applied perfumes of fern and other ingredients secured from groups east of the Cascades. (Collins 1974a:73-74)

The Settlement

As used in this study, the "settlement" consists of four principal elements: (a) the physical units--dwellings and ancillary structures--that comprise the settlement; (b) the grouping of these into villages or communities (winter or summer, fishing or otherwise, and so on), the location of these communities, and the clustering of them into larger "extended villages"; (c) the placement and relationships of the component physical units within the boundaries of the single settlement; and (d) the domestic and tamed animals held within or near the village as living but nonhuman components of the settlement. These matters are reviewed in the pages that follow.

Dwellings and Associated Structures

Of the components of the typical permanent village only the dwellings are reasonably well described in the ethnographic literature. Nothing is said, for example, concerning such common settlement components as food drying racks, food and article caches if these existed apart from the storage areas within the dwellings, canoe beaching areas, and food processing and artifact manufacturing areas. Of the seasonal settlement components only the winter dwelling and winter ceremonial house, and the small, temporary dwelling for visiting kinfolk in summer, and the warm season, temporary lean-to are so much as mentioned. Of the units occasionally found in village association only the sweat house is described even in a fragmentary way. And of the special ancillary structures used under particular and relatively unusual conditions only the girl's puberty shelter is referred to. In short, we have a very imperfect picture of what a traditional Upper Skagit winter village and warm season fishing settlement looked like and no notion whatever of the appearance of a typical temporary hunting and plant collecting camp.

Upper Skagit structures were of three types in terms of the materials from which they were fashioned: wooden houses, mat shelters, and brush sweat houses. Subterranean and semisubterranean houses were not made, though known among other tribes both on the Coast and in the Plateau.

The structures of wood included "permanent" winter and summer dwellings, small temporary summer shelters for relatives visiting to fish, and structures used exclusively for winter dance ceremonials.

Dwellings of wood--at least the largest of them--were built, under the supervision of a hired specialist, by the men whose related families were to reside in them and own them, sometimes assisted by hired workers. Huge cedar

trees near a river were felled, trimmed, and floated down to the site. Selected trees were squared for the six posts and their tops grooved to support the roof beams. The two tallest were slipped into holes in the ground about 18 feet apart and fitted with the ridgepole. Two shorter posts were placed about 10 feet in front of the main pair and the two rear posts were slid into their holes about 40 feet behind the main two. These six posts created a rectangular ground plan and a double-pitched roof, a short section in front and a long one sloping from the ridgepole toward the back posts. Although not mentioned by Collins, a cross beam must have joined the two front posts and another the two back posts. Stringers connecting the three post pairs are not mentioned and I gather were not used.

The walls were of wide cedar planks lashed either horizontally or vertically, overlapping, both to one another and to the house frame. Cracks were stuffed with moss. Vertical side planks were kept in place by heavy stones set against the base of each plank. The roof was of similar overlapping planks, laid on the ridgepole and cross beams. Near the ridgepole was a smoke opening that could be closed by a board moveable with a pole from inside the house. A small, round entrance was cut in a plank at one end of the structure, generally facing a river or lake. It was raised slightly above the ground and sometimes closed by a small plank.

The interior of the house was normally without partitions. Fires were on the hard-packed earthen floor and were differently arranged depending on the number of occupant families: e.g., down a center line or one toward each corner if there were four families. A sleeping platform, covered with skin robes, mountain goat wool blankets, and matting, was built against the wall around the open center. Above this platform was a continuous storage shelf and still higher up pegs for hanging clothing. On and hanging from the beams were dried meat and other articles.

House posts were carved and painted with the sacred guardian spirit designs of the dwelling owners. These posts were sometimes inherited as a special honor, the transfer formalized by a potlatch. Occasionally the house front around the entrance was painted to represent an owner's guardian spirit. Outside, self-standing totem poles were not a feature of Upper Skagit culture.

Larger dwellings of this type, as much as 120 feet in length, were provided with more than six supporting posts. Some were built in 40 foot sections with three ridgepoles.

Houses of the above kind were "permanent," the wall planks being moved--by canoe--only to a new "permanent" location. (Collins 1974a:59-63, 83, Figure 3)

Similar but much smaller shelters of this variety but no more than 15 or 20 feet long were erected in two or three days at the best fisheries along the Skagit and its tributaries. Relatives "who came to visit and fish at the height of fish runs were partly accommodated in such houses (Collins 1974a:64). I gather that this is the small, detached plank house that was, according to Smith (1947:258; cf. Duff 1952:49), the only dwelling "type used on the Sauk River and the upper reaches of the Skagit River [0]ne of

these occasionally held four families, many of them were built for two families, and others were so small as to house but one family."

A second kind of post, beam, and plank house is described by Collins (1974a:63) as "built of separate wooden sections joined together." It is not otherwise detailed and in any event appears to have been rarely in use among upriver villagers. Presumably this was the dwelling, described for the middle Fraser, consisting essentially of small, independent houses erected side by side and against each other.

Lean-tos covered with cattail mats were used as temporary shelters in summer. When traveling to places where they planned to stay for a time, as when going to the salt water to clam, people took folded mats with them. (Collins 1974a:64)

Sweat houses were far less important and common than in the Plateau. Some Upper Skagit, however, made and used for this purpose small, circular structures consisting of a pole framework covered with brush. (Collins 1974a:64)

Special, small, well-built shelters were constructed for a girl to occupy during a six-week period at the time of her first menses and the three to follow. Typically they were constructed near water where she could dive morning and night. (Collins 1974a:225-226)

Residential and Task Sites

The Upper Skagit occupied a number of permanent villages, most on the Skagit River near the confluence of tributaries. A few, however, were located on the larger lateral streams (e.g., the Sauk River) and a very few were on lakes draining into the Skagit. Villages changed their location only as a river shifted its course. (Collins 1974a:3, 15-16)

Villages were grouped by the Upper Skagit into named "village clusters" (Collins' "extended villages") occupying a stretch of the Skagit River several miles long and in some cases also areas along tributary streams. The section of the drainage system made use of by the people of such a village was ordinarily upriver from the village site (Smith 1941:206). According to Collins, ten of these clusters were recognized by the Upper Skagit. Typically a cluster consisted of one or more winter villages of varying sizes and, in the case of four of the ten clusters, also of one or more summer villages. These summer settlements--more strictly, I presume, warmer weather villages--evidently served as bases for exploiting seasonal subsistence resources in their vicinity. (Collins 1974a:3, 15-20)

Three maps are known to me which plot the settlements of the Upper Skagit, each compiled by Collins: one (1974a:17 map 2) in her Upper Skagit ethnography (Figure 1-4); a second (1974b:622) accompanying her Shakerism paper written in 1946 (Figure 1-7); and the third (1974c:facing 760) evidently prepared as a petitioner's exhibit in the Upper Skagit land claims case of the 1950 period (Figure 1-3). Of these three maps, that reproduced here as Figure 1-3 can safely be assumed to be the most accurate. It evidently incorporates research conducted subsequent to her Shaker study and

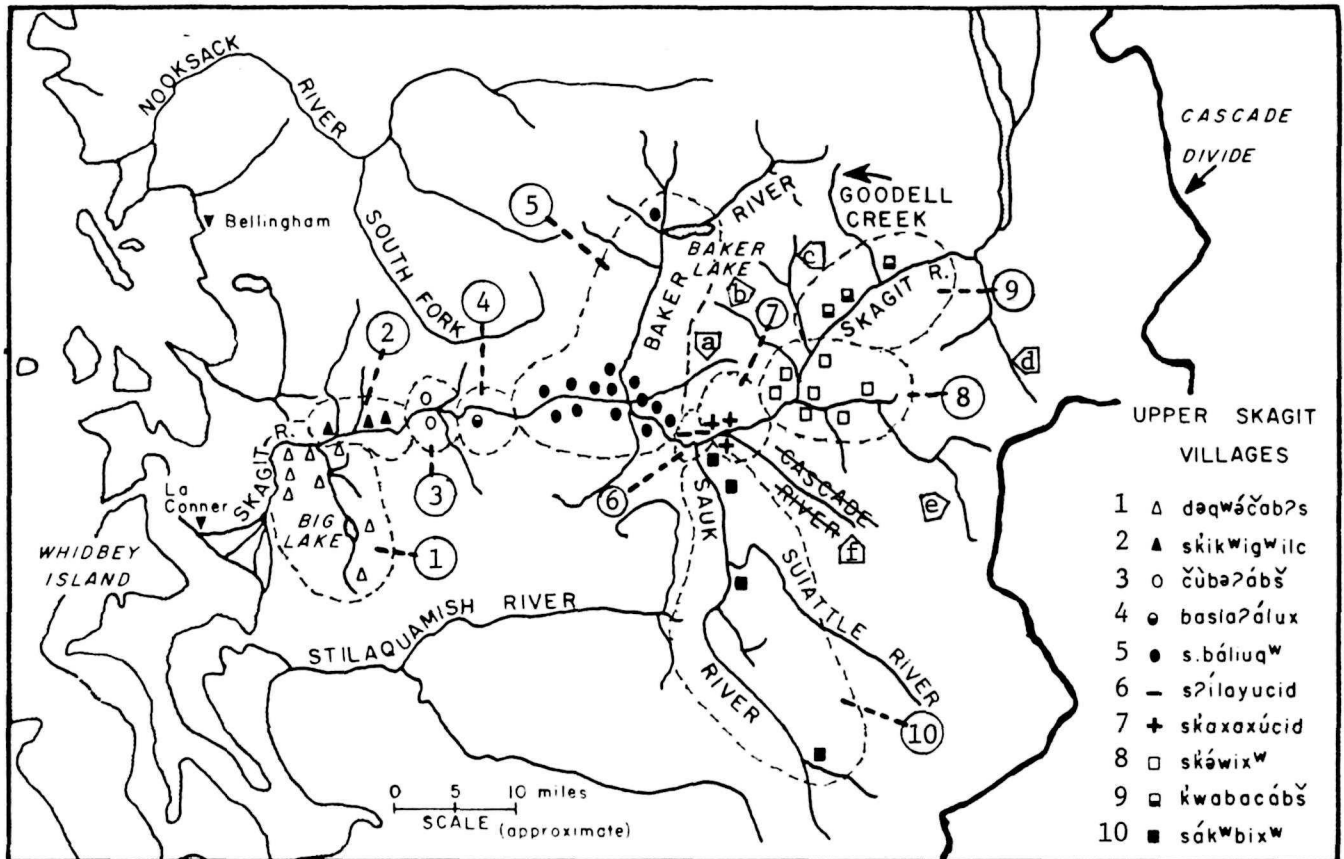


Figure 1-4. Upper Skagit "extended villages" ("village clusters") as reported by Collins (1974a:17 map 2 [modified]). Six stream identifications have been added: (a) Jackman Creek, (b) Diobsud Creek, (c) Bacon Creek, (d) Thunder Creek, (e) Cascade River, (f) Illabot Creek. "Cascade River" has been corrected. Village clusters have been numbered and encircled for clarity. The two uppermost clusters of skəwixʷ and kʷabacábš are of particular interest.

(Note: If this study is published, permission to reproduce this figure must be secured from the University of Washington Press, copyright holder.)

is the most informative as a cartographic product. On the other hand, the geographically more casual (and even inaccurate) map of Figure 1-4 is accompanied by settlement descriptions, rough demographic data, and seasonal use details. These materials form the basis of the village discussion that follows. All three maps, however, are on so small a scale, at least in their published form, that it would be impossible to locate the individual occupation sites except in the most general manner were it not for Collins' (1974a) textual data.

A total of 47 villages, grouped into the 10 clusters, is enumerated and located by Collins (1974:16-20). An additional village is shown on her map (Figure 1-4) for the Sauk River Valley but not mentioned in her text and so is not included in the considerations that follow. Of these 47, 35 were winter villages; nine were summer villages; and three were settlements for which the season of occupancy is not indicated. Two of the summer communities are reported to have occupied the sites of winter villages, reducing the total number of occupation localities to 45. These winter and summer data raise an interesting problem. Inasmuch as there were so many more winter than summer villages and since at least 25 of the winter settlements were large or very large, as classified by Collins or deduced by me from her descriptive data, and only one of the summer settlements was certainly large--five at most for there are four summer communities the size of which is not noted--one may ask where many of the Upper Skagit were following the seasonal withdrawal from the winter quarters? Further attention will be directed to this question at a later point.

Each village--winter or summer--consisted of one or more wooden dwellings. In fact, 26 of the 35 winter settlements and five of the nine summer villages were made up of only a single structure. Thus 31 of the 44 villages for which season of use is reported were one-dwelling communities, as, indeed, were all three of the settlements for which season of occupancy information is lacking. In sum, 34 of the 47 known Upper Skagit communities were single house villages. Of the winter villages, five consisted of two structures, two of three dwellings, one of four, and one of five. Of the summer settlements, one is reported to have contained three houses, one four dwellings, and two five houses. Obviously the typical Upper Skagit village was one of a very limited number of living structures. From these data it is apparent that villages size as discussed in the preceding paragraph relates to population numbers, not to number of constituent residential units. Collins (1974a:19) mentions specifically two dwellings that measured 120 feet in length and 40 feet in width, one of which housed on occasion as many as 20 families, plainly in each case a very considerable number of people.

With these basic settlement data before us, we may now turn to those village clusters and individual communities that were located in and near the North Cascades Complex.

According to Collins (1974a:17 map 2, 19), the easternmost Upper Skagit village cluster--that termed kwabacábš--lay "deep in the Cascade Mountains" (Figure 1-4). This settlement complex, her data indicate, was wholly within the perimeters of the Park Complex, specifically in the southwestern end of the Ross Lake Recreation Area. It consisted of three villages, all on the north side of the Skagit. In downstream order:

- (1) A large winter house at Newhalem.
- (2) A "small winter house with three families to the east of Thornton Creek."
- (3) A large winter dwelling "at Portage, west of Damnation Creek."

On the basis of these brief data, the locations of the three settlements are plotted as closely as possible in Figure 1-5; to this point I have been unable to locate Portage. A river distance of approximately five miles separated villages (1) and (3) above. No summer settlements are noted as parts of this village cluster. This fact--assuming that there were in fact none such--returns us to the question posed above: where were the occupants of these three winter communities during the spring to fall period? At least part of the time scattered in temporary shelters in small fishing camps, too insignificant and mobile to qualify in the Upper Skagit view as villages, along the Skagit and perhaps lower reaches of tributaries? And at times in the mountains pressing their hunting and gathering activities? If so, they must surely have passed some of these months exploiting the subsistence resources of the nearby North Cascades Complex. We return to this interesting question following a review of other village clusters farther downriver.

The next village cluster on the Skagit downriver from kwabacábš was that of skáwix^w (Collins 1974a:17 map 2) or bəsqíx^wix^w as Collins (1974a:14, 19) transcribes the term in her text. Again in downriver order, three separate villages were positioned on the Skagit:

- (4) "A large winter house holding ten families . . . on the south side of the Skagit across from the mouth of Bacon Creek."
- (5) Two small winter houses with two families each, "a mile below Diobsud Creek on the west side of the Skagit."
- (6) A winter village of several families near Marblemount.

On Cascade River, which empties into the Skagit in the vicinity of Marblemount, four villages were remembered by Collins' informants:

- (7) A winter house at bəsqíx^wix^w on the north side of the Cascade River about one mile west of Marblemount; surely Collins' means "east"--not her only apparent east-west mixup. This structure was 120 feet long and 40 feet wide and housed 20 families at one time.
- (8) A summer structure on the south side of Cascade River opposite village (7).
- (9) A summer dwelling on "the south side of the Cascade River at Boulder Creek."
- (10) A large summer house "on the north side of the Cascade River to the west side of Monogram Creek."

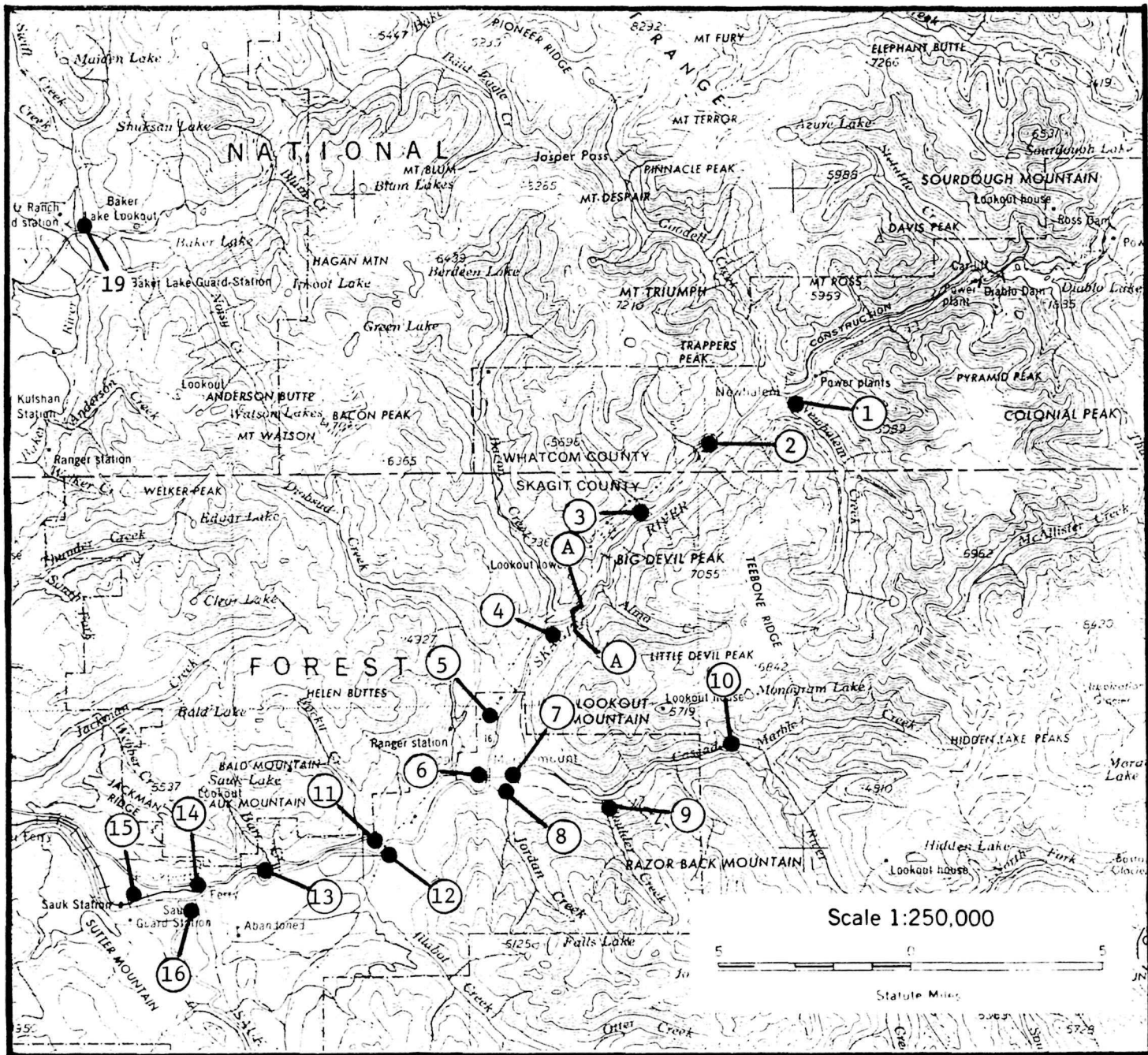


Figure 1-5. Approximate locations of easternmost Upper Skagit villages according to Collins (1947a:17 map 2). Villages #1-3 comprised the *kwabacábs* cluster; #4-10 formed the *skáwixw* cluster; #16 was a member of the *sákwbixw* cluster; and #19 was the northernmost of the large *s.báliuqw* cluster. Line A-A marks the southwestern limit of the Ross Lake National Recreation Area. (Base map: USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955).

The preceding seven villages are located in Figure 1-5 as accurately as the above data and the markers on Collins' map (Figure 1-4) will allow. Monogram Creek drains Monogram Lake (Green Trails, Marblemount n.d.), a stream shown but unnamed on USGS North Cascades National Park (1974).

It is notable that this skə'wix^w cluster included three summer communities, all on the Cascade River, and that all four of its winter villages were either on the Skagit or not more than a mile distant from it. All seven villages of this complex were outside the Cascade Park boundary; however, the northeasternmost winter settlement (4) was less than a mile beyond the point where the southwestern line of the Ross Lake area crosses the Skagit. Whatever may have been the case with the more downriver Upper Skagit village complexes, the people of this skə'wix^w cluster surely must have made some use of the resources within the North Cascades Complex.

Below the skə'wix^w cluster was the village grouping known as the skaxaxúcid with three winter villages (Collins 1974a:18-19) (Figure 1-4):

- (11) A winter village (púk^walícu) near the mouth of Rocky Creek. (Whether to the east or west of this side stream remains unstated.)
- (12) A winter settlement (saxípap) on the south bank of the Skagit opposite Rocky Creek.
- (13) A winter house (sqíx^wucid) at the river bend on the north side of the Skagit "west" of Rockport. (Her village plotting [Figure 1-4] makes it appear that she means "east" of Rockport.) This structure was the largest in Upper Skagit country, 120 feet long and 40 feet wide.

These approximate locations are indicated in Figure 1-5.

Immediately downriver from the village cluster termed skaxaxúcid was the two village complex known as sʔílayucid, differing from most in that the first village consisted of a split site (Collins 1974a:18) (Figure 1-4):

- (14) Two large winter houses, one east of the town of Rockport and the other west of the town.
- (15) A small winter dwelling "at the town of Sauk west of Rockport."

These sites are marked in Figure 1-5.

At this point, roughly 15 miles downriver from the southwestern corner of the Ross Lake Recreation Area, we are sufficiently distant from the Park Complex to make irrelevant an accounting of the numerous Upper Skagit traditional settlements farther downstream. Further, this is a convenient geographical break because we are here at the junction of the Sauk River with the Skagit. The Sauk, with its principal tributary the Suiattle, and the upper Skagit itself served, it appears, as the two main routes from Upper Skagit country eastward over the Cascades.

The southeastern corner of Upper Skagit country includes the drainage basin of the Sauk River and its major tributary, the Suiattle. In the Sauk Valley, Collins (1974a:19, 55) reports, was a village cluster--sák^wbix^w,

'people of digging roots"--with houses in three villages (or four according to her map [Figure 1-4]) along the Sauk banks:

- (16) A large winter village located "at the mouth of the Sauk on the south bank of the Skagit," very close to a major concentration of villages of other clusters that ran along the Skagit Valley from the mouth of Illabot Creek downstream for miles (Figures 1-4, 1-5, and 1-6).
- (17) Four winter houses forming a single village (bakálb) situated on Sauk Prairie, where the Upper Skagit folk "semicultivated wild roots," on the Sauk above the entrance of the Suiattle (Figure 1-6). Sauk Prairie lies between the Sauk and the North Fork of the Stillaguamish River.
- (18) "One summer house . . . at Bedal near the joining of the North and South Forks of the Sauk River" (Figure 1-6). Bedal fails to appear on contemporary maps (e.g., USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955), though Bedal Peak and Bedal Creek are marked. This village in the vicinity of Bedal was on the order of 37 airmiles southwest of the lower limits of Lake Chelan Recreation Area and is presumed to be too distant to be of much interest here.

According to Collins (1974a:19), no winter villages were maintained by the Upper Skagit on the Suiattle River before the 1890 period, although summer camps were made along the stream. However, to how great an extent the region was utilized by hunting, fishing, and foraging expeditions is unclear, except that it is designated a tiger lily and fern root area and a hunting district for deer, bear, and elk on Collins' food resource map (Figure 1-3). In any event, this country, like the Sauk Valley farther toward the coast, was substantially west of the North Cascades Complex border.

Both Suiattle and Sauk were fed from headwater streams on the western slopes of the Cascades crest. At the source of the Suiattle were, for example, Ross and Suiattle passes leading over to the feeders of Lake Chelan, and Buck Creek Pass and High Pass giving access to the upper Wenatchee country (USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955). The North Fork of the Sauk, in turn, has its origin in the White Pass sector, which likewise points southeastward to the Wenatchee basin. Native traders and travelers surely passed through some of these cols, if not all of them, in moving east and west between the Plateau and Upper Skagit territory.

With the eastern and southeastern sectors of aboriginal Skagit territory considered, we may now turn to the northeastern region. According to Collins' (1974a:17 map 2, 18) (Figure 1-4) data the village cluster known as s.báliuq^w occupied the Skagit Valley both upstream and downriver from the confluence of Baker River, settlements of no essential moment to this study. But one winter village (19) comprised of a single small dwelling "was located at Baker Lake connected by a tributary to Baker River." On its face this is a perplexing statement if taken literally, since Baker River flowed through Baker Lake. But Collins' village distribution map makes clear what is intended (Figure 1-4). The village in question was, in fact, situated slightly northwest of Baker Lake on the west side of Swift Creek, which in earlier years flowed into Baker River immediately downstream from Baker Lake (USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955; for the contemporary post-dam construction topography see USGS North Cascades National Park 1974). This village was

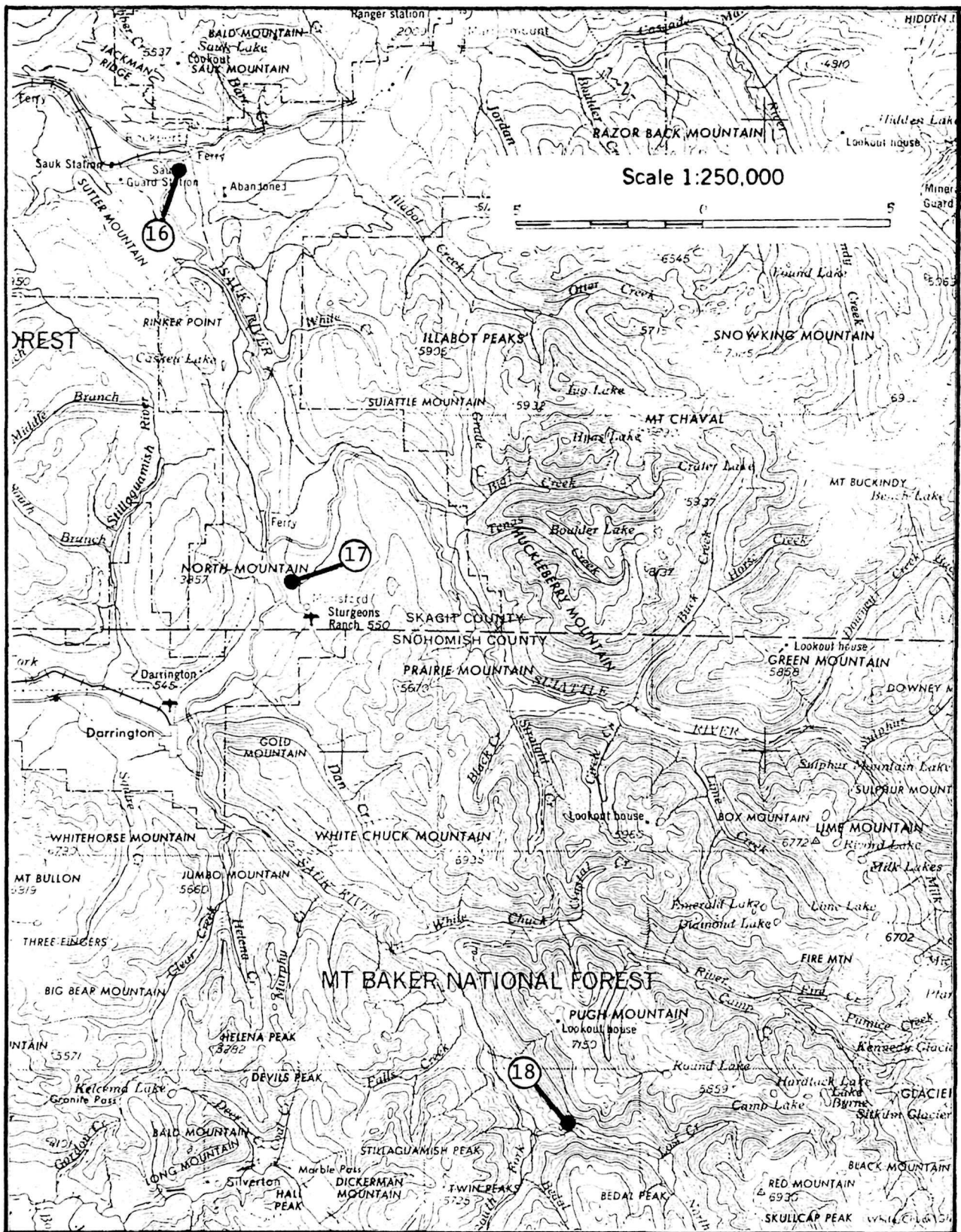


Figure 1-6. Approximate locations of Upper Skagit villages (#16-18) on Sauk River, according to Collins (1947a:17 map 2). These formed the settlement cluster termed sák^wbix^w. (Base map: USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955.)

only about four miles west of south from the southwestern corner of the Park jog around Mount Shuksan; it was approximately 5.5 miles east of the north-south line of the Park east of Baker Lake. More to the point, the people of this rather isolated winter settlement had only to ascend Baker River Valley to reach the Park or, alternatively, to follow the Swift Creek and then Shuksan Creek courses to reach the Mount Shuksan vicinity of the Park from a southerly direction. It would be curious indeed if the occupants of this winter community failed to visit the Shuksan region of the Park Complex.

What were the factors governing the division of the individual winter and summer villages into village clusters, Collins' "extended villages"? A glance at the situation for the second cluster--the skáwix^w--suggests an answer. This village complex extended along the Skagit for some four miles and up the Cascade River for approximately 6.5 miles. Its uprivermost Skagit River village, that opposite Bacon Creek (4), was about four miles below the southwesternmost village of the kʷabacábš cluster, that near Damnation Creek (3), and roughly 2.5 miles upstream from its nearest fellow skáwix^w village below Diobsud Creek (5). Phrased differently, the river distance between villages (3) and (4) was somewhat greater than the river mileage between any neighboring pair of villages within the kʷabacábš cluster and also between similar pairs within the skáwix^w complex. Similarly, the uprivermost settlement of the next village cluster--the skaxaxúcid--below skáwix^w was about four stream miles below the latter's Marblemount village (6), a river gap rather greater than any separating the individual communities of the skáwix^w cluster and, as inspection of Figure 1-4 will reveal, than any dividing the settlements of the skaxaxúcid. All of this suggests the possibility that a proximity factor may have played a role in determining the boundaries of the village complex. Except for the village clusters from the skaxaxúcid down to the Birdview area, a river stretch in which villages formed an all but continuous chain of communities, this hypothesis seems to be generally supported by the spatial separation of the individual downriver complexes.

To what extent do the other two village distribution maps support or offer data differing from the village location information of Collins summarized above? First, Collins' (1974b:622) map (Figure 1-7), printed with her 1946 Skagit religious change paper, is patently a rough effort. It is difficult to read, at least in its published form, mixes unclearly drainage, village cluster (her "extended village"), and individual settlement terms, and is without accompanying text discussion. To some degree, however, it is possible to match village locations with those in her later map (Figure 1-4) and her terms with the village cluster and individual settlement designations provided in her Upper Skagit ethnography (Collins 1974a:17-20).

In this 1946 sketch map no villages of the kʷabacábš cluster are shown. Indeed, the easternmost Skagit River village is marked at Marblemount. This settlement is said to have been termed basqéqwiuq^u (Figure 1-7, village [13]), which, in this early and less skillful transcription, is surely equivalent to her later basqix^w (Figure 7, village [7]), which was on the Cascade River about one mile "west" (Collins means east) of Marblemount. Even she plotted it on the west bank of the Skagit northeast of the present town. This is the only settlement reported on this 1946 map for the skáwix^w

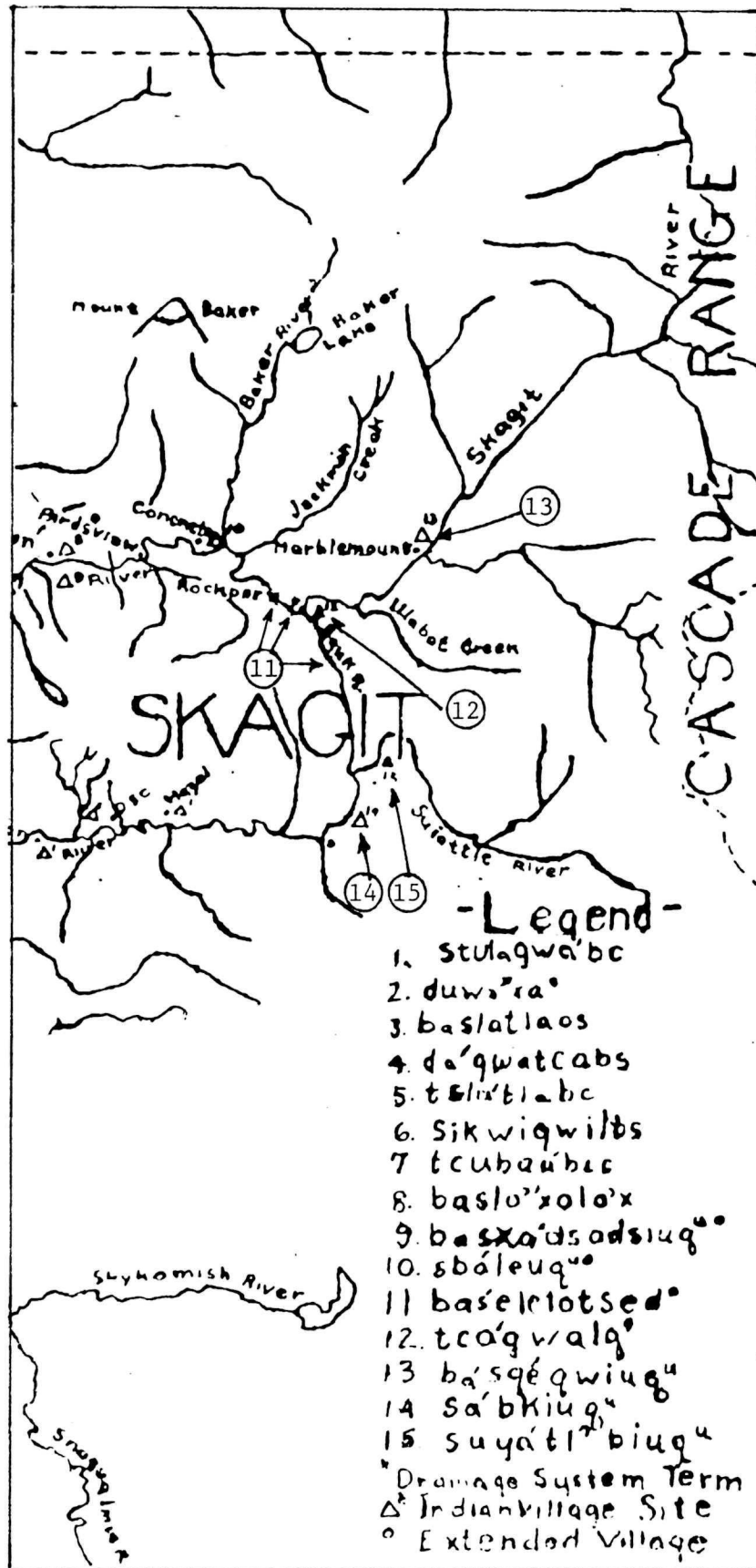


Figure 1-7. Fragment of a rough sketch map of Upper Skagit village sites, "extended villages" (village clusters), and drainage terms, published in Collins' (1974b:622) 1946 study of tribal religious change. For readability Collins' numbers designating separate villages and clusters #11-15 have been replaced by larger numbers.

village cluster of Figure 6, doubtless called to Collins' early attention because of its size (see above).

The next village (Figure 1-7, village [12]) downstream is shown to be on the east side of the Sauk River just above its mouth. It appears from Collins' map key to be given the name tcáqwalq. No village with a designation approximating this transcription is found in Collins' (1974a) settlement roster in this general area. Nonetheless, it is placed in about the same location as village (16) (Figure 1-5) of the sák^wbix^w cluster. Another settlement (Figure 1-7, village [14]) is located on the east side of the Sauk perhaps 2.5 miles north of Darrington (USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955); its name is given as sábkiuq^u. The later Collins' (1974a) study fails to report the native designation of the individual Sauk Valley communities, but this term looks suspiciously like a somewhat mangled cluster term sák^wbix^w (see above) with a transposition of the -k^w- and -b- sound sequence. I suggest that it is to be equated with village (17) of Figure 1-6, unless the settlement placed by Collins (1974b:622) (Figure 1-7, village [15]) on the lower Suiattle and called suyátl'biuq^u is intended to be this village (17). At any rate, one community (Figure 1-7, village [14]) appears to be located on the upper Sauk--but not nearly as far upstream as village (18) in Figure 1-6--and one (Figure 1-7, village [15]) on the lower Suiattle River. No traditional village is shown on the Skagit between the mouth of the Sauk and the present town of Concrete, where we are clearly beyond our geographical area of interest. And no settlement is marked in the Baker Lake region.

We now turn to the Collins' (1974c:facing 760) map that was printed as an adjunct to the 1960 report of the Indian Claims Commission (1974). Although the map (Figure 1-8) identifies no authorship, Commission comment credits Collins. In addition, circumstantial evidence points strongly to a Collins source. This is essentially proved by the data that follow, the perfect matching of the villages of this map, at least in the geographical region of concern here, with those reported by Collins (1974a) in her Upper Skagit ethnography.

Although this map is unaccompanied by descriptive material, it plainly identifies 44 "villages and house sites", to follow the phrasing of the Commission's (1974:317) findings of fact, in Upper Skagit territory together with several other sites that remain for some reason unnumbered. Of these, 41 (settlements 1-41) were in the country of the Upper Skagit proper and three (42-44) were located in the Suiattle-Sauk drainage (Figure 1-8).

As in the case of the second Collins' (1974b) map, we find of interest here only those villages in the eastern segment of the Skagit River region (those numbered 28-41), in the Suiattle-Sauk area (42-44), and in the Baker Lake country (23), three portions of the aboriginal Upper Skagit territory nearest the borders of the North Cascades National Park Complex. The simplest way of examining the details of this map, none too clear in its reproduced and doubtless reduced form, is to compare its village locations with those marked on Collins' 1974a map and to tabulate the correspondences (Table 1-1). The two sets prove to be in a simple one-to-one relationship.

To the results of this matching exercise, only three particular observations seem called for:

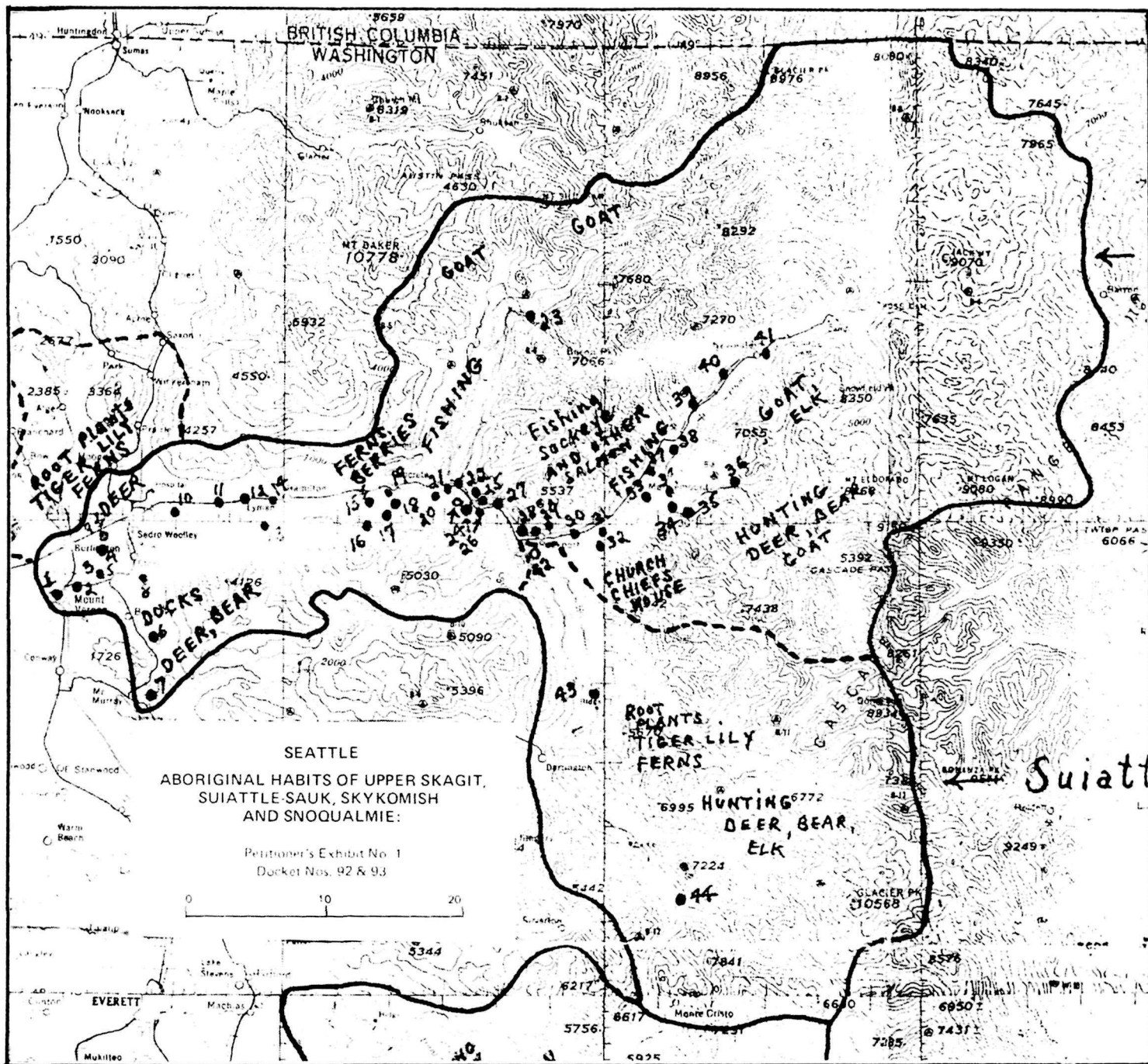


Figure 1-8. Upper Skagit (and Suiattle-Sauk) section of Figure 1-3, enlarged to show more clearly the village and village clusters of primary interest. These clusters are marked in Figure 1-3.

Table 1-1. Upper Skagit Village Locations Reported in Collins (1974c)
 (Figure 1-3) Compared with those Indicated in Collins'
 (1974a:16-20, 17 map 2) Upper Skagit Ethnographic Study
 (Figures 1-5 and 1-6).

Village Clusters per Collins (1974a)	Villages per Collins (1974c)	Villages per Collins (1974a)*
<u>kʷabacábš</u>	41	1
	40	2
	39	3
<u>sḵáwix^w</u>	38	4
	37	5
	3?	7
	36	10
	35	9
	34	8
	33	6
<u>sḵaxaxúcid</u>	32	12
	31	11
	30	13
<u>sʔilayucid</u>	29	14
	29	14
	28	15
<u>sák^wbix^w</u>	42	16
	43	17
	44	18
<u>s.báliuq^w</u>	23	19

*Numbered as in my text.

- (a) the locational dot for village site (41) appears on the south side of the Skagit, not on the north bank as with the identical settlement described by Collins (1974a:19) in her general ethnography and shown on her 1974a map (Figure 1-4, village [1] in my text). In addition, it is placed slightly upstream from the town of Newhalem not "at Newhalem" (Collins 1974a:19). How meaningful these minor discrepancies are is uncertain.
- (b) Village (30) is sited more precisely than in Collins' 1974a description of village (13) as numbered in my text. Here it is placed at or close to the mouth of Barr Creek, while in 1974a Collins wrote simply of its being "at the bend in the river on the north side of the Skagit west of Rockport." The position of this settlement marker confirms my earlier supposition that Collins' "west" should be read "east."
- (c) Village site (23) appears to be placed on Baker River just below the pre-dam lake, not on the small northern affluent of Baker River as shown for site (19) in Figure 1-4 (village [19] in my text) and as described in Collins' (1974a:18) Upper Skagit ethnography.

On the basis of her Upper Skagit village roster, Collins (1974a:20) states that:

. . . part of the pattern of the seasonal round of activities can be identified. Other than the winter houses at Sauk, the permanent winter houses were nearly all situated at fishing sites near the mouth of tributaries of the Skagit with a few on the main branches of the river and a few on lakes linked by rivers or creeks to the Skagit. Small wooden houses were built at sites where the fishing was particularly good, to house the visiting relatives who came when the fish were running.

In her village roster, however, Collins makes a point of explicitly locating at or very near creek entrances only 13 of the 49 villages. Perhaps she considered her generalization sufficient on the point to make specific geographic information largely unnecessary. More oddly, she calls attention in her village listing to only one winter village (wácal'əl) at a fishing site and two summer communities (súsutiya and scácuks) at fisheries, all three in the downrivermost village cluster in the Mount Vernon-Sedro Woolley neighborhood. This is difficult to explain unless again, having made her statement regarding village locations and fisheries, she thought it redundant to report such information for most specific villages. Further, only one winter village (q^wəq^wq^wəq^w) of the 37 total is specifically reported to have been occupied as well during the summer months, the fishing season; and only one summer village location (kabálah) of the nine total is said to have been lived in during the winter. This apparent noncorrespondence between winter and summer village sites requires some further examination.

Attention has already been called to the absence of summer settlements in Collins' record for the easternmost Upper Skagit village complex (kʷabacábš) and likewise to their relatively small numbers in comparison to winter villages farther downstream. The question has been raised as to the possible significance of this fact for a comprehension of the warm season subsistence and population distributional patterns of the Upper Skagit. In

this light, it is of interest to review Collins' (1974a:15-20) "house" data more fully and to attempt some rough population estimates for the entire Upper Skagit group.

Table 1-2 presents a compilation of dwelling data extracted from Collins' descriptive text. For the purpose of this present analysis, the five village clusters down the Skagit through the sʔílayucid (Figure 1-4; Table 1-2, #4) and the sák^wbix^w cluster on the Sauk River (Figure 1-4; Table 1-2; #5) may be rather arbitrarily regarded as the upriver Upper Skagit. The five clusters beginning with the s.báliuq^w cluster (Figure 1-4; Table 1-2, #6), located from Faber Ferry (USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955) westward down the Skagit, may be considered to comprise the downstream division of the Upper tribe. This arrangement not only divides the village clusters into two groups of five each, but also places the division line near the geographical midpoint in the cluster distribution along the Skagit.

From the data of Table 1-2, it is apparent that, assuming the essential accuracy and completeness of Collins' information, there were 19 winter dwellings--large, small, and of unspecified size--in the upriver area and 33 in the lower. Likewise that there were relatively more large winter dwellings than small--in a 2:1 ratio--in the eastern region than in the downriver sector (virtually a 1:1 ratio). The situation in regard to the summer dwellings was different: only one summer "house," a large one, in the entire upriver area (plus three of undefined size) as against 17 small and no large summer dwellings in the downriver division (plus one of undescribed dimensions).

In summary, this dwelling catalog tells us that there were only about one-fifth as many upriver summer dwellings as winter. And approximately one-half as many summer houses as winter among the western segment of the Upper Skagit, but practically all of these summer structures were small, whereas only half of the winter dwellings were of small size. Probably some upriver people moved downstream to take advantage of summer fisheries in the lower river sector. At least according to Collins (1974a:20) as noted above, some Upper Skagit visited their tribal kinfolk "where the fishing was particularly good" and "small wooden houses were built at [these] sites . . . to house the visiting relatives who came when the fish were running." I would suppose that the downriver fisheries were, on the average, more productive than those upstream, causing in summer a predominately downriver population movement, though I have no hard evidence that this was the case. If this fisheries supposition is correct, it would also mean that any upriver flow of people from the lower Upper Skagit villages would probably have gone back into the high country and so not show up to a significant extent in the summer settlements in the eastern Upper Skagit territory. At any rate it is obvious that there were not nearly enough summer villages and dwellings to take care of the entire upper Skagit winter population in the lower segment of the tribal homeland. This would surely seem to be so even considering the temporary housing constructed to accommodate the visiting kinfolk mentioned above. Certainly there is nothing to argue for any considerable downstream summer flow of the Upper Skagit population.

It is also probable that some Upper Skagit from the eastern villages left their tribal territory during at least part of the warmer months for the country of other nearby tribes. For example, Upper Skagit with wives from

Table 1-2. Number of Dwellings by Season and Size Based on Information Provided by Collins (1974a:15-20).

Village Clusters*	Winter			Summer			Season Unspecified			Totals
	Small	Large	Size Unstated	Small	Large	Size Unstated	Small	Large	Size Unstated	
1 <u>kʷabacábʃ</u>	1	2								3
**2 <u>sḱéwix^W</u>	2	2	1		1	2				8
3 <u>sḱaxaxúcid</u>		1	2							3
4 <u>sʔílayucid</u>	1	2								3
5 <u>sak^Wbix^W</u>	—	1	4		—	1				6
Totals	4	8	7		1	3				23
6 <u>s.báliuq^W</u>	12	5		7			2		1	27
7 <u>baslaʔálux</u>		1								1
8 <u>čubəʔábʃ</u>		2								2
9 <u>sḱik^Wig^Wilc</u>	3	4								7
10 <u>dəq^Wəčabʃ</u>	1	5		10		1	—		—	17
Totals	16	17		17		1	2		1	54
Subtotals:	20	25	7	17	1	4	2		1	—
Totals:		52			22			3		77

* Because the interest in this study is principally on the upriver settlements, Collins' sea-to-headwaters order is reversed. Dwellings on the Sauk River tributary appear as #5.

**In some cases Collins' term transcriptions differ between her village map (Figure 1-4) and her text, and even in different places in her text (e.g., sḱéwix^W [map] vs. basqix^Wix^W/basqix^Wix^W [text]).

the Lower Skagit and from the Nooksack, Swinomish, Upper Samish, Stillaguamish, and other coastal tribes both to the north and the south and those who were partly from these tribes in descent, visited their relatives in those groups in the summer. Others went to these nearby tribes to trade, especially for marine foods, but also in some cases to dig roots (Curtis 1974a:9-11, 32). Presumably people from the upriver Upper Skagit villages were at times involved in these journeys. But the downstream attraction of better fishing localities and visits to neighboring tribes could hardly have drawn away from the eastern Upper Skagit winter villages a large enough segment of the population to account for their small number of summer settlements. And as already observed, even the lower reaches of the Skagit River had too few summer settlements to account for its winter population.

One of the most obvious explanations for the facts revealed by Table 1-2 is that among both divisions people spent a considerable part of the summer season away from the river and that this was notably more so for the eastern group. This seems consistent with what might be supposed to have been a relatively rich supply of anadromous fish downriver and the relative abundance of game upriver. The people simply were not congregating during the fishing period at a few especially favorable fishing sites.

This conclusion is made still more obvious by converting the dwelling data to population approximations (Table 1-3). Unfortunately, Collins describes houses only as "small" or "large" and provides no average or range numbers for families or persons occupying these two classes of dwellings. Nor does she give average person/family data. The best we can do is to examine the following specific family/dwelling information, some of which is used to illustrate social organizational patterns (Collins 1974a:83-84) and so must be matched with her separate village roster information (Collins 1974a:16-20).

"Large" winter dwellings by Collins' definition:

- (1) $q^w \dot{a} q^w q^w \dot{a} q^w$: four families. (Collins 1974a:18, 83-84)
- (2) $b \dot{a} s q i x^w i x^w$: house 120 x 40 ft; once 20 families. (Collins 1974a:19)
- (3) $b \dot{a} s q i x^w i x^w$: to judge from the location given by Collins (1974a:84), she is again referring to village (2) above, though she here terms it $k^w a b a c \dot{a} b \dot{s}$, which was considerably farther up the Skagit. Five families, which I take to be the occupants in more recent years (Collins 1974a:84).
- (4) $s q i x^w u c i d$: house 120 x 40 ft; therefore presumably about 20 families as in (2) above. (Collins 1974a:19)
- (5) Native name ?. Opposite mouth of Bacon Creek; 10 families. (Collins 1974a:19)

"Small" winter dwellings by Collins' definition:

- (6) Native name ?. Near Diobsud Creek; two houses with two families each. (Collins 1974a:19)

Table 1-3. Population Estimates for Large and Small Dwelling Aggregates and Aggregates of Dwellings of Indeterminate Size by Season, Divided into Upriver and Downriver Groups.*

Village Clusters	WINTER				SUMMER			
	Dwellings		Population Estimate**		Dwellings		Population Estimate**	
	Size	Number	Formula A	Formula B	Size	Number	Formula A	Formula B
<u>Upriver Group</u>								
1-5	Small	4	60	100	Small	0	0	0
	Large	8	560	1,000	Large	1	70	125
	Unstated	<u>7</u>	<u>294</u>	<u>525</u>	Unstated	<u>3</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>225</u>
	Totals	19	914	1,625		4	196	350
<u>Downriver Group</u>								
6-10	Small	16	240	400	Small	17	255	425
	Large	17	1,190	2,125	Large	0	0	0
	Unstated	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Unstated	<u>1</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>75</u>
	Totals	33	1,430	2,525		18	297	500

* Three dwellings of unknown season are excluded.

**Formula A: small dwelling = 15 persons; large dwelling = 70 persons; dwelling of unstated size = 42 persons.

Formula B: small dwelling = 25 persons; large dwelling = 125 persons; dwelling of unstated size = 75 persons.

- (7) Native name ?. East of Thornton Creek; three families. (Collins 1974a:19)
- (8) Apparently wāwalah: three dwellings sheltering one family, three families, and four families respectively. (Collins 1974a:16, 84)

No comparable data are given for "large" and "small" summer dwellings.

From these sparse and not entirely unambiguous data we conclude that "large" dwellings housed from about five to 20 families and "small" dwellings from one to four families. These data translate into approximately 30 to 120 (average 70) people and five to 25 (average 15) persons respectively. Probably these figures are smaller than they were in earlier times before population reduction occurred. But if both estimates are too low, the results of the rough computations that follow and their implications would not be appreciably altered by adjusting them proportionately upward. Where the dwelling size is not reported by Collins, an intermediate population average of 42 people is estimated. Lacking any evidence in the matter, summer large and small dwellings and those of undescribed size are tentatively assumed to have housed populations about equal to those of winter villages. The three dwellings of undesignated seasonal occupation are omitted in this compilation; since at least two of them were small, their exclusion from the data base can hardly affect the results significantly. It turns out that, using this relative size formula (Table 1-3, formula A), approximately 21.4 percent of the winter population (196 divided by 914 persons) among the eastern Upper Skagit is accounted for during the summer months and about 20.8 percent of the winter population (297 divided by 1,430 persons) among the downriver Upper Skagit.

But perhaps the population difference between the small and large dwellings was somewhat greater than in the above approximation. If the estimate for the small house occupant number is increased to 25, that of the large dwelling to 125 persons, and that of those few houses of unreported size to 75 people (Table 1-3, formula B), then the summer/winter ratio for the eastern Skagit segment becomes approximately 21.5 percent (350 divided by 1,625 persons) and that for the downriver segment drops to about 19.8 percent (500 divided by 2,525). From these rough computations it is plain that only about 20 percent of the people of the winter dwellings are accounted for in the warmer seasons.

There is certainly nothing in these data at either formula level to argue for a meaningful movement of upstream people to summer locations downriver. It is likewise apparent that, assuming Collins' findings are substantially accurate, the Upper Skagit did not occupy as many fishing camps along the Skagit as might be expected in view of the reported abundant salmon supply in the river and the importance of anadromous fish as a food resource (Collins 1974a:45-52).

The answer to this problem is not entirely obvious. Having reported that winter villages were generally at fishing sites (Collins 1974a:20), did Collins think it unnecessary to mention the summer settlements at these same localities? But if so, why distinguish between winter and summer communities in her village listing and why call specific attention to one winter village site that also supported summer dwellings and one case of the opposite sort?

Indeed, why were nearly all cold season communities at fisheries as she avers, when the fishing season was during the summer months?

And still more questions are raised by the winter/summer population problem just discussed. Were many Upper Skagit scattered too widely along the Skagit during the fishing season and in too small groups to be considered as comprising "villages"? Did many of the people occupy structures too insubstantial and impermanent to be classified as "houses" by Collins--and presumably also by the Upper Skagit themselves--while at summer fishing centers? Evidently it was not that their fishing season was too brief, in view of both the Fraser River salmon data presented in the following chapter and Collins' own information to be reviewed presently, for settlements of some permanence to form. But perhaps the people were typically drifters in the warmer months, moving back and forth between river fishing localities and food quest grounds up in the hills and mountains back from the Skagit River. At a later point these questions, bearing directly or at least peripherally on the Upper Skagit utilization of the Park Complex area, will be addressed more fully.

In addition to these maps with their village plots, several village cluster or "extended village" lists exist. Collins herself has produced three different versions. Two appear on maps reproduced here as Figures 1-4 and 1-7 and have been already discussed; the third is a text roster. The listing on Figure 1-7 is a mixture of extended villages, individual villages, and geographical designations and is, in addition, too indistinct in its published form for me to read with confidence. Consequently, these data are not considered further here. The third appears in the Indian Claims Commission (1974:316-317) case document. This catalog is a particularly informative contribution because the Skagit terms are reduced to their more popular equivalents. These terms, as well as the ten-item list in Figure 1-4, are given in Table 1-4.

Another recent catalog of Skagit extended villages is that of Smith (1941:209-210). No differentiation is made between Lower and Upper Skagit village complexes, but the separation between the two divisions is clear from Collins' data. In some respects Smith's list differs from that of Collins on Figure 1-4, as shown in Table 1-4. Specifically, it includes two extended villages not reported by Collins: i.e., basxádsadsiuq^u, on the south bank of the Skagit from Hamilton to Birdsvie, and suyátl'biuq^u, in the Suiattle River region. On the other hand it omits two in Collins' series (see Figure 1-4). Since we are concerned only with the uprivermost extended villages of the Upper Skagit, the complete data from Smith's settlement catalog are not reproduced here. Her four upstream communities are as follows, lettered as in her roster: (I) basélelotséd on the Skagit River from Van Horn to roughly three miles above Rockport and on the Sauk River almost to the mouth of Suiattle River, with the village of tcágwalq' at the mouth of Sauk River; (J) basqéqwiuq^u on the Skagit River above Rockport with a settlement of the same name at Marblemount at the mouth of the Cascade River; (K) sábkiuq^u, the Sauk River above the confluence of the Suiattle, with a village of the same name on Sauk Prairie below Darrington; and (L) suyátl'biuq^u, Suiattle River with a village of the same name not far above the Suiattle River mouth (Smith 1941:210). Of special interest is the fact that the differences between the Collins and Smith rosters are almost entirely concentrated in the Upper Skagit back country.

Table 1-4. Upper Skagit Extended Villages, Ordered East to West.

Collins 1974a:16-19, 17 Map 2	Collins in ICC 1974:316-317	Smith (1941:210)	Gibbs 1877:180 ^a	Eels 1985:19
<u>Skagit River Groups</u>				
1. <u>kwabacábš</u>	Kwa-bats-absh			
2. <u>skáwix^w</u>	Shay-wih	<u>basqéqwiuq^u</u> (J)		
3. <u>skaxaxúcid</u>	Shay-ay-ot-sid			
4. <u>sʔilayucid</u>	Say-lay-ot-sid	<u>basélelotsed</u> (I)		
5. <u>s báliuq^w</u>	Sabaliuhk	<u>sbáleuq^u</u> <u>basxádsadsiuq^u</u>	Smali-hu	sab-li-hu sba-le-hu
6. <u>baslaʔalux</u>	Baosloh-a-loh	<u>basloʔ'xaloʔx</u>		
7. <u>čubəʔábš</u>	Cho-bah-ah-bish	<u>tcubáabɿc</u>		
8. <u>skik^wig^wilc</u>	Seek-weeg-gweelts Mee-see-qua-quilch	<u>sikwigwíłts</u>	Miseekwigweelis	
9. <u>dəq^wəčabʔs</u>	Nook-wa-cha-mish Nookachamps Dook-wa-shabs	<u>dʔkacabɿs</u> <u>da'qwatcabs</u>		do-kwa-tcabsh
<u>Suiattle-Sauk Groups</u>				
10. <u>sák^wbix^w</u>	Sah-ku-mehu	<u>sábkiuq^u</u> (K) <u>suyátł'biuq^u</u> (L)	Sakumehu	sak-wi-be-hu

Note: One Collins listing, that on her map reproduced here as Figure 1-7, is too difficult to read with confidence. It is omitted in this table.

^a A number of Gibbs' groups cannot be matched with Collins' extended villages.

Two nineteenth century attempts to itemize the Skagit village groups are known to me. The earliest is that of Gibbs (1877:180) who states, surely based on his 1854 field findings, that the "Skagits" include the "Kikiallu," Nūkwatsamish, Tow-ah-ha, Smali-hu, Sakumehu, Miskaiwhu, Miseekwigweelis, Swinamish, and Skwonamish" (cf. Gibbs 1877:241). The Samish were a separate non-Skagit people. Several of the remaining Gibbs' groups may be identified more or less certainly. The Kikiallu were on one of the northern Skagit River mouths and so are too far from the Park to be of interest in this study (Spier 1936:36). Perhaps the Nūkwatsamish were a subunit of the Samish and the Tow-ah-ha may be equated with the Huwhaha (Upper Samish); if so, these groups likewise fall beyond our concerns. The Smali-hu, however, appear to be Collins' s.báliuq^w around the mouth of Baker River, an Upper Skagit "extended village." The Sakumehu are surely Collins' sák^wbix^w village cluster of the Sauk River country (Spier 1936:36). Gibbs (1855b:472) terms the Sauk River the Sah-kee-me-hu. The Miseekwigweelis are undoubtedly Collins' skik^wig^wilc. The remaining groups itemized by Gibbs defeat me. The population units identified appear in Table 1-4.

Eells (1985:19), who was aware of the Gibbs listing, learned of four Skagit "bands," excluding the Swinomish as with Gibbs above: the do-kwa-tcabsh at the Fraser mouth; the sba-li-hu on the middle Skagit River; the sba-le-hu whose country was on the Baker River; and the sak-wi-be-hu on the southern branch of the Skagit. The first must be Collins' dag^wāčabʔs close to the river mouth; the second and third Collins' s.báliuq^w on the Fraser River in the Baker River area and up that stream (Spier [1936:36] suggests that these two groups must be the same); and the fourth, Collins' sák^wbix^w, the Sauk River people. These equivalences appear in synoptic form in Table 1-4.

Village and Camp Arrangement

Of the components of the typical permanent village only the dwellings are reasonably well described in the ethnographic literature. Nothing is said, for example, concerning such common settlement components as food drying racks, food and article caches if these existed apart from the storage areas within the dwellings, canoe beaching areas, and food processing and artifact manufacturing areas. Of the seasonal settlement components only the winter dwelling and winter ceremonial house and the small, temporary dwelling for visiting kinfolk in summer are so much as mentioned. Of the units occasionally found in village association only the sweat house is described even in a fragmentary way. And of the special ancillary structures used under particular and relatively unusual conditions only the girl's puberty shelter is referred to. In short, we have a very imperfect picture of what a traditional Upper Skagit winter village and warm season fishing settlement looked like and no notion whatever of the appearance of a typical temporary hunting, plant collecting, or other task-focused camp.

Domestic and Tamed Animals

In the traditional period, the Upper Skagit possessed only two domestic animals: the horse and the dog.

A few horses were held by groups with sufficient pasturage (Gibbs 1855a:432; Smith 1941:199). They were of particular value as pack animals on cross-Cascades trading trips to the Plateau.

Dogs of two varieties were kept in far greater numbers. Hunting dogs were of great importance in the constant search and killing of game. The wool-bearing dog was in its way as important, for it yielded, through being periodically shorn, a wool-like hair that was widely employed in weaving blankets and clothing. These dogs, it is reported, were sometimes kept on river islands so they could not interbreed with hunting and camp dogs.

Foxes were captured by Upper Skagit men and kept until killed to convert their pelts into clothing (Collins 1974a:73). Whether other wild animals were likewise held captive in this fashion or were tended, at least for a time, in tamed status is not reported.

Travel and Transportation

The Upper Skagit lived predominately along rivers and to a lesser degree on lakes. They were therefore preeminently a canoe people, carrying out as much of their travel and transportation by watercraft as possible.

Three types of cedar dugouts were manufactured. Of these the shovel-nosed, river form "was by far the most important." Typically it was about four feet wide, two feet deep, and sometimes long enough to provide transportation for ten people. A tree was cut, trimmed, and floated to the maker's home. There, on uprights, it was hollowed out by careful adzing, burning, and steaming. The two ends were identical, both blunt. It was fitted with thwarts to insure that the sides maintained their shape. The second type was a small, one-man canoe with bow and stern sharply cut away. This was used exclusively on swamps in duck hunting. The third canoe was a three-piece saltwater craft, made by some Upper Skagit for sale to shore people. It was not employed on the Skagit River and is therefore of little interest to this study.

Paddles of vine maple with a T-shaped handle were used less frequently than poles in moving canoes. The latter were always employed in propelling canoes upstream. Paddlers knelt on the canoe bottom, sometimes padded with mats. Young people sang, keeping time with their paddle strokes (Fornsby in Collins 1949:310; cf. Mayne 1962:61 for the middle Fraser Indians).

Occasionally when a ceremonial guest had many gifts to distribute, two canoes were "united with a platform of planks placed over them to hold them together" (Collins 1974a:66). The objects were thrown from this platform to the shore where people scrambled for them. (Collins 1974a:64-66)

According to Upper Skagit tradition, Collins (1974a:66) reports, people who once lived in far upriver villages (e.g., on the Sauk) were unacquainted with the making and use of canoes. When the river level was below their heads, they crossed "by carrying a heavy stone on the shoulder. They had trails in the Sauk River for fording in this manner." One must give such "traditions" little credence: they seem preposterous on the surface. It is of special interest that tales of mythical "foolish folk" were widespread in

the nearby Plateau, where informants reported that they were commonly believed--or half-believed--in the old days (cf. Smith 1936-1938).

The Skagit are described by Gibbs (1877:180), drawing upon data probably collected in 1854, as having no horses in the 1850s, as being "altogether canoe Indians." This is undoubtedly wholly or essentially correct for the Lower Skagit. However, the Upper Skagit groups, or at least those closest to the mountains, almost surely had a few equines in the 1825-1850 period, used primarily on over-the-mountains journeys to the Plateau. But for this view I have not yet found historical or ethnographic evidence beyond Gibbs' (1855a:432) general statement already noted that the peoples near the western end of the Cascades passes owned a few horses.

Snowshoes were used by upriver Upper Skagit men and women, though not by the downriver and saltwater villagers. Their form and use are not described except that these headwater people wore them in winter in getting about in the mountains and when crossing the Cascade divide. (Collins 1974a:66, 74)

Trails

In regard to the travel patterns and preferences of the Upper Skagit Collins (1974a:6) provides a brief but very informative statement. She writes:

[The forests of Upper Skagit country were] so dense that travel through them was extremely difficult. Land travel was confined for the most part to places near timberline where the vegetation was relatively sparse. The Upper Skagit making the long trip across the Cascade Mountains to visit relatives in the Plateau preferred to travel on the snow itself.

In light of the above, Gibbs' (1877:169-170; also 180) observations of the mid-1850s are especially informative. Concerning the cross-Cascades trails in general in the Upper Skagit neighborhood and on south, he writes:

In former times, before the diminution of the tribes and the diversion of trade to the posts, there were numerous trails across the Cascades by which the Indians of the interior obtained access to the western district. Of late many of these have fallen into disuse, becoming obstructed with timber and underbrush which they have not industry enough to clear out. In fact all their trails through the forest, though originally well selected, have become excessively tortuous, an Indian riding around the fallen trunks of tree after tree sooner than clear out a road which he seldom uses. . . . the northern trails from the Winatshapam [Wenatchi] and Tselann [Chelan] Lake to the Sto-luch-wha-mish [Stillaguamish] and Skagit seem to be altogether so [abandoned].

These comments suggest at least a three time-level trail-condition sequence: (1) narrow, prehorse, winding trails suitable for foot travel in which obstacles--like fallen trees--were generally detoured around, since the labor of clearing them away with stone tools would have been altogether too great; (2) wider trails required by burdened horses, running over terrain suitable

for mounted horses and cleared to some extent with metal axes; and (3) the very difficult trails described by Gibbs, associated with population reductions through epidemics and other adverse conditions and the diversion of trade to the posts.

The preceding statement by Gibbs speaks of Plateau people visiting the Skagit. The extent of Skagit movement on visits for trade and other purposes eastward over the Cascades is not specified. Referring evidently to the 1850 time frame, Gibbs (1877:180) remarks only that the Skagit "formerly had some communication with the Indians beyond the mountains; but it is supposed to have been discontinued in consequence of obstructions to their trails." I find this observation ambiguous as to the identity of the journeying parties.

While some Upper Skagit certainly traveled as the data of this section clearly demonstrates, some persons, if Smith (1941:199) is correct, were non-journeymen. For the inland tribes as a whole, she reports the "territory visited by one individual in his life-time was normally limited and old men and women of inland villages who have never visited the Sound are still living." In fact, this may well have been correct for many Upper Skagit. John Fornsbey, himself an Upper Skagit by birth, reported that the people of the middle and upper Skagit River areas "never wanted to go down to salt water. [These folk] . . . were scared that somebody would take them for slaves or kill them. Oh, sometimes they went down and dug clams and took some up the river. They were just like wild fellows and stayed up there [on the upper river] all the time." (Collins 1949:302) Still, considering the extent to which the mountain uplands of Upper Skagit territory had to be scoured for game and other resources, it would surely be inaccurate to view these inland Skagit as stay-at-homes. But they evidently moved mainly about within the limits of their own country, not much as traders or subsistence seekers into the homeland of other groups, even of the Lower Skagit.

Certain scraps of information exist in regard to specific overland routes, though these are not always well located. They certainly provide a far from complete listing of the total network of Upper Skagit trails to the territories of the other groups of interest to this study.

One overland trail, Collins (1974a:11) reports, led from a village on the upper Skagit River to a Nooksack community, thus avoiding a long descent of the Skagit River to the salt water, moving along the shore to the Nooksack mouth, and then moving up that stream. Unfortunately neither of these settlements is identified nor are any of the details of the route between the two furnished. Perhaps this trail is that described by Smith (1950a:339) as having run from the uppermost Nooksack village on the South Fork of the Nooksack River above the present town of Acme "over to the upper Skagit River country." This trail is said to have been six miles long. This distance figure, assuming its approximate accuracy, together with the "upper Skagit River country" observation suggest that the route led up the Nooksack fork to about its closest point to the Skagit River and then southward, perhaps to the neighborhood of Lyman or Hamilton, though this is hardly more than guesswork. At any rate it could not have proceeded south from the Acme area to the lower Skagit River sector. Unquestionably there were other cross-country Upper Skagit-Nooksack trails as well (Smith 1950a:331).

Some Upper Skagit went to salt water by ascending the Sauk River, making the short portage over to the Stillaguamish River, and then following it downstream. For some Upper Skagit villages this was a shorter route than straight down the Skagit. Furthermore, the Skagit was blocked in the 1800s by a log jam upriver from Mount Vernon, which required a portage at that point (Collins 1974a:10, 11, 38). Evidently this Sauk-to-Stillaguamish trail is the one referred to by Gibbs (1855b:472): "The Indians state that they have a short portage for their canoes . . . from the north fork of the . . . [Stoluckwamish (Stillaguamish)] to the Sah-kee-me-hu [Sauk] branch of the Skagit."

A land trail evidently ran up the Skagit River to its headwaters, although most Upper Skagit travel was by canoe. How difficult it was to negotiate I do not know, but the upper reaches of the river plainly presented real problems for canoe navigation. On this matter Collins (1974a:38) is worth quoting:

. . . in 1852, . . . [an improved] trail was cut [apparently by or partly by Whites] along the Skagit River. Where it began is not certain but it extended to Ruby Creek [at the southeastern corner of Ross Lake] and also beyond into British Columbia. Here at the head of the main channel of the Skagit, the trail crossed the Niccolum Trail. Even after the trail had been made along the Skagit River, miners used the Nooksack River rather than the Skagit route in order to reach the mines because of the difficulties of navigation in the latter.

Further information concerning the Niccolum trail is not available.

The Upper Skagit are known to have made occasional trips over the Cascades into the Plateau and parties from the eastern slopes of the mountains journeyed westward to the Upper Skagit country. A number of trails obviously united these two regions. Several can be enumerated with reasonable certainty, although hard data describing their early use, by the Skagit or their westside neighbors heading to the Plateau or by Plateau peoples moving westward, cannot yet be cited. Nor can the incentives that led traveling parties to undertake this difficult cross-mountain journey be specified beyond the obvious desire to exchange goods (see following Trade section). (Collins 1974a:13; Suttles 1957:177)

The trip over "the passes which was made in winter on snowshoes took about six weeks. A man or woman (and women took this route less frequently than men) might make this trip only once in a lifetime. (Collins 1974a:13)

The following trails are certainly among those that must have been used to some extent by both Upper Skagit and Plateau parties:

- (a) People living in the villages farthest up the Skagit traveled through at least two passes into eastern Washington (Collins 1974a:13). One must have been that which ascended the Skagit River and then Granite Creek to cross over Rainy Pass to the Methow country. A second trail went up the Cascade River and the North Fork of that stream and over Cascade Pass to the Stehekin headwaters in Chelan country. The Upper Skagit are known

to have "kept a canoe hidden on Lake Chelan for their use" when they arrived at its shores (Collins 1974a:13).

The second of these passes (Cascade) is the one crossed in late August of 1882 by Lt. Pierce (1973:22-24) and his party. As he reports, he made his way over a wide snow bank at the crest of the divide and, heading westward, began a very rapid, winding, and precarious descent through loose rock and a tangle of high alders. Reaching a creek, a headwater of the Cascade River, he wound downward in and out of the stream for "a considerable distance." He came then to giant cedars and a "powerful waterfall." His night's camp was in a magnificent forest of white pines, red firs, and cottonwoods. Over the next four days he followed the Cascade River toward the southwest and then northwest along a serpentine trail through heavy forest, by cliffs, up bluffs, and down canyons to the Cascade River mouth where he found a salmon fishing camp of an old Skagit Indian and his son and their families.

- (b) A trail evidently went up the Suiattle River and over Ross or Suiattle Pass or one or more other passes in the area to the headwaters of streams that flowed northeastward to the Stehekin River or eastward to the west side of Chelan Lake. "Harry Moses, whose father was from Entiat . . . made the trip overland by foot three times during his life" (Collins 1974a:13). Access to the upper Wenatchee drainage from the Suiattle may well have been via Buck Creek or High Pass or some other mountain break in their vicinity.
- (c) A trail ascended the Sauk and over White Pass to the upper Wenatchee area. Presumably it was to this route that Collins (1974a:80) alludes when writing of William Moses' itinerary. In 1852 Moses, "who lived at Sauk or one of the other upriver villages, together with other men took a load of furs to Portland, Oregon, to trade, . . . They went by canoe up the Sauk River, crossed the Cascade divide and went down the Wenatchee River and the Columbia River to Portland."

Similarly Plateau peoples, with different motivations, occasionally went west to Skagit country. Some small groups, attracted by the salmon available in the Skagit River headwaters, crossed with the idea of settling in the area. Collins (1974a:13-14, 66) sees an early settlement of parts of Skagit Valley by Plateau people in search of salmon as the explanation for Upper Skagit traditions reporting that certain toponyms in their country were Interior Salishan in origin. Unfortunately, no examples of these place names are provided by Collins, making impossible a linguistic test of this hypothesis.

The Upper Skagit report a case of a Nespelem man, fearing a Nespelem shaman, who came west over the Cascades in the early 1800s to live among the Snohomish south of Upper Skagit territory. Some time before 1855 his son married an Upper Skagit woman from a downriver village and settled in her country. "Like some other Indians on the Skagit River he occasionally went to see his relatives among the Interior Salish." (Collins 1974a:32-33)

Sometimes Plateau parties traveled the cross-Cascades routes for brief visits, doubtless partly to trade.

What is known of travel by Thompson and Chelan parties over the mountain crest to the Skagit Valley is to be found in those sections of this report dealing with these individual Plateau tribes.

Trade

A general statement regarding cross-Cascades goods exchange is made by Gibbs (1877:170). The trade between the western and eastern sides

. . . was once considerable. The western Indians sold slaves, haikwa [shells], kamas, dried clams, &c., and received in return mountain-sheep's wool, procupine's quills, and embroidery, the grass from which they manufacture thread, and even dried salmon, the product of the Yakama fisheries being preferred to that of the sound.

Writing of trade over the Cascades between the middle Columbia people and their nearest coastal neighbors, Teit (1928:121) states:

A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people.

Without question, the Upper Skagit were active participants in this trade network.

A very early report of the regular exchange of valuable coastal shells for wild hemp is that of Alexander Ross, on information secured from the Sinkaietk (South Okanagan) in 1814. In the years preceding his arrival, parties from this tribe were accustomed to cross the Cascades to carry on this trade. The shells were secured from the Skagit, or at least the journeying parties passed through the Upper Skagit country en route to the salt water. Ross (1956:37) puts the matter this way:

The Red Fox [to whom the "Red Fox road" over the Cascades refers]
. . . was the head chief of the Oakinacken nation and had formerly been in the habit of going to the Pacific on trading excursions, carrying with him a species of wild hemp which the Indians along the Pacific make fishing nets of; and in exchange, the Oakinackens bring back any marine shells and other trinkets, articles of value among the Indians.

The Skagit were also visited by Chelan trading parties (Walters in Spier 1938:77). Undoubtedly these, as well as visitors from other neighboring Plateau tribes, brought to the Upper Skagit the bow string--most probably of the Indian hemp referred to by Ross (cf. Ray 1932:89)--to which John Fornsby

(in Collins 1949:295) alluded: the Upper Skagit "used to have good string from east of the mountains for . . . [their bows]." They also, it may be supposed, carried to the Upper Skagit the cream-colored grass--it grew "near a lake east of the divide" (Chelan Lake?)--for use in imbricating designs on their baskets, the basket hats worn by some women, and the plant perfumes used to enhance appearance (Collins 1974a:68, 72, 74).

In regard to downriver trade there appears to be little specific information. It is reported, however, that the Upper Skagit took dried salmon to the Lower Skagit country to exchange for blankets (Fornsby in Collins 1949:297).

Intertribal Relations

We are concerned here with Upper Skagit relations at a rather general level with other tribes, particularly those who held or at least used on a frequent basis the territory within the Park Complex and its neighboring areas. Relations involving intertribal marriage and hostilities are dealt with in the following two sections.

On the north the Upper Skagit were on a particularly friendly basis with the Nooksack and even the salt-water Swinomish. Similarly with the Stillaguamish immediately to their south. In fact, with this latter group the Upper Skagit shared their root grounds at Sauk Prairie between the Sauk and the North Fork of the Stillaguamish Rivers. (Collins 1974a:9, 11) In the neighborhood of Darrington the two streams, the former turning to the south as one ascends it and the latter bending sharply to the north, are within no more than 2.5 miles of each other. And they are separated here by a lowland area devoid of travel obstacles (USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955).

Occasionally crossing the Cascades to the Plateau, the Upper Skagit visited in a friendly fashion both interior Salishan-speaking groups (e.g., Okanagan, Methow, and Wenatchi) and Sahaptian-speaking groups (e.g., Kittitas and Yakima) (Collins 1974a:9, 13). Some of the Northwest Coast cultural influences that reached the Southern Okanagan came over the mountains from the Skagit (Spier 1936:3). However, the extent to which the Skagit were the travelers and carriers of these coastal objects and ideas and the degree to which it was the Southern Okanagan--or Chelan or Wenatchi, for example--who crossed the Cascades to Skagit territory is not stated.

To some extent Plateau tribes traveled the passes westward into the territory claimed by the Upper Skagit. Upper Skagit made chance contact with these peoples sometimes in Skagit homeland and at times on the cross-mountain routes followed by these foreign groups in traveling to the Skagit area; typically the relationship was an amicable one. To the degree that data are available, these contacts are discussed in the Chelan chapter of this study. Upper Skagit contacts with the Thompson, on the other hand, are described in the following Hostilities section, to the extent that the data are derived from Upper Skagit informants and are described from their point of view.

Intertribal Marriage

Intermarriage not only between certain Skagit villages but also between Skagit and certain villages of other tribes occurred in a strongly patterned way, decade after decade. Parents preferred their children to live after marriage in some village where they already had relatives. Sometimes the residence-changing spouse was the man; not infrequently it was the wife. The Skagit had such regular marriage arrangements with the Nooksack, the Musqueam and Chilliwack and other Halkomelem peoples, the Stillaguamish, Snohomish, Upper Snoqualmie, and occasionally even more distant Coastal Salishan groups. Upper Skagit also entered into marriage alliances with nearby Swinomish and Upper Samish (Nuwhaha) persons to the northwest, but whether these were under the patterned structure or less formal in character is not known. (Collins 1974a:10, 11, 98-99) In addition, Smith (1940:11, 1950a:337) knew of one Skagit man who, in the late prehistoric or very early postcontact period, lived by choice in Puyallup country and married a woman of that tribe.

Some intermarriage occurred with nearby Plateau tribes on the eastern side of the Cascades, at least by the mid-1800s. These included the Okanagan, Methow, and Wenatchi as well as other nearby Salishan-speaking groups and Sahaptian-speaking peoples like the Kittitas and Yakima. (Collins 1949:291, 1974a:13)

Hostilities

The Upper Skagit were basically peaceable, fear of retaliation keeping hostilities at a minimum, even though "warrior" guardian spirits appear to have been quite important. They are specifically reported to have been at peace, for example, with the Snohomish (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:12). And also with members of the Upper Stalo Tait tribe of the middle Fraser Valley just above Seabird Island. Tait hunting parties were accustomed to go back into the mountains several days' travel east of the Fraser. There they frequently met Skagit hunting groups without conflict (Duff 1952:21). These encounters must have taken place in the upper Skagit drainage which suggests that Skagit hunters may well have gone into the country some distance above Ross Lake, surely north of the present international boundary, and that Tait as well as Lower Thompson and Skagit made subsistence use of this mountainous back-country on occasion. It may be assumed that the Upper Skagit also maintained peaceful relations with the various peoples with whom they frequently intermarried (see preceding Intertribal Marriage section).

Raids, however, were occasionally carried out by Upper Skagit parties against other groups in response to raids by members of those tribes. They were mounted primarily by, or at least led by, men with guardian spirits relating to hostile activities. Such a "warrior" gathered interested men and a few strong women (wives of the men?) to comprise his party. The role of the women was to cook and perform other noncombatant services. No dances were held prior to the raid. The party usually went by canoe to a point some distance from the village to be attacked, hid during the night, and, leaving the women to guard the canoes, attacked just before dawn with bows and arrows, spears, and clubs. They killed all except those they wanted to enslave. Sometimes they burned the dwellings. Heads were taken to prove the

success of the venture; usually they were not publicly displayed for any length of time. There was no victory dance. (Collins 1974a:115, 118)

Since raids were typically retaliatory in nature, hostilities tended to continue, back and forth, though at a very low level. The downriver Upper Skagit were most exposed to raids by other people, since most fighting occurred with coastal groups. Some of these lower Skagit Valley villages were palisaded. (Collins 1974a:114-115, 118) The Lower Skagit are described in the 1850s as having been "long at enmity with the Clallams, who have attempted to encroach upon their lands" (Gibbs 1855a:433). Presumably it was against raiding parties from this tribe--perhaps among others--that these village protections were constructed.

What little fighting was carried out by the upriver Upper Skagit was, according to tradition, mainly against the Thompson (Collins 1974a:115, 118-119). In fact, in early days their relations with the Thompson were apparently almost uniformly hostile. They considered the Thompson to be "different in language . . . , physical type, and culture from other visitors to Upper Skagit territory" (Collins 1974a:15), an appraisal which is essentially accurate on all scores (see, e.g., Thompson 1979:693; Boas 1895:547-549; Teit 1900).

There is nothing in the literature to suggest Upper Skagit raids into Thompson territory above the international border and no information, so far as I am aware, to indicate frequent early Thompson raids down into that part of the Skagit Valley where even the uppermost of the Upper Skagit settlements were situated. Rather the hostile encounters appear to have occurred in the upper Skagit River region--i.e., in the Ross Lake area and the mountainous country within the Park limits--territory that was utilized by both Upper Skagit and Thompson in their subsistence quest. The Thompson came into this area, country that the Upper Skagit considered to be theirs, in winter and sometimes remained through the spring and summer to hunt and fish. It was during these periods that the Thompson, encountering Upper Skagit in the forest, killed the men and women, and captured the babies for slaves. (Collins 1974a:15)

Owing to our special interest in this group as rival claimants to the upper Skagit Valley (see Thompson chapter) and rival hunters in that region, the following summary by Collins (1974a:118-119) deserves quoting:

The major enemy with whom the Upper Skagit were concerned was not . . . saltwater peoples, but the Thompson, . . . The northern headwaters of the Skagit River were in British Columbia not far from the Fraser River and its junction with the Thompson. The Thompson came south along the river, traveling on land.

The Upper Skagit . . . feared the Thompson and regarded them as strange in a very different way from other Plateau peoples like the Methow, the Okanogan, or the Wenatchee. The Thompson earned this reputation by camping in the woods in a secretive way and not openly approaching the nearest Upper Skagit village and identifying themselves. They captured a few Upper Skagit as slaves and killed some others by torturing them, that is, running the living person

through with a pointed stick and then placing him upright as though he was sitting on the ground for his relatives to find.

The Upper Skagit tell of many warlike encounters with the Thompson. Finally they made friends with them. There were some intermarriages with them, and some Upper Skagit at the time of writing [date unclear but between 1942 and 1974] are part Thompson.

Again the role of the Upper Skagit in this relationship was that of defenders of their own villages. They retaliated when forced to do so for their own protection. Some Upper Skagit still fear the Thompson and feel bitterness for children captured by them.

Among the Plateau tribes known to them, the Upper Skagit fought only with the Thompson (Collins 1974a:13). On the other hand, up in this same back country, Skagit hunting parties sometimes came upon Chilliwack hunting groups of the middle Fraser country, with hostilities as a consequence (Duff 1952:21). One may assume that these chance encounters took place on the northwestern side of the upper Skagit Valley or in the uppermost Nooksack drainage, in either case in territory assigned by Teit (1900:166) to the Lower Thompson (Figure 3-1).

The Upper Skagit had no memory of hostilities among their own settlements (Collins 1974a:13). Relations within the tribe are considered in the sociopolitical sections that follow.

Social Structure

Kinship Bonds

According to Collins (1974a:83), each large house was occupied by related families and, I gather, comprised a single household. Whether this was invariably true--after all some houses measured as much as 120 by 40 feet (Collins 1974a:19)--and precisely how the families interlocked in daily operational terms to form an integrated "household" is not made clear.

Residence following marriage was determined by the husband, who generally chose to continue to live with his father's household, thus continuing to hunt and fish with his own kinsmen. But when he considered it to his own advantage, he agreed, sometimes under pressure and persuasion of his wife's family, to join her household. Residence, however, tended to be impermanent: e.g., it changed with deaths and remarriages and sometimes with persons visiting relatives for long periods as parents visiting children and vice versa. (Collins 1974a:83-84)

Kinship was at the very core of the social system. Relatives, no matter how distant and whether by birth or marriage, were basically friends while non-kinsmen were ipso facto outside the group--suspected if not actual enemies with whom one competed in potlatching and of whom one thought the worst. As Collins (1974a:86) states: "The principal basic features of the [kinship] terminological system are that it is descriptive and bilateral and

distinguishes relatives, according to generation, sex, age, and whether the intervening relative is dead or alive." (Collins 1974a:84-90)

In functional terms the central kin unit was that consisting of adult siblings: it was they who formed the core of the household. It was typically a male group of this kind that jointly erected and owned a dwelling, built weirs and set snares, sponsored potlatches, and cooperated in winter dances. These were joined by their sisters' husbands if resident with them and by their own male siblings who might be living in other households or even villages. The female side cooperated in a similar fashion, as in berry-picking, though because of predominant patrilocality sisters after marriage were less likely to be members of the same household and so in a position allowing the perpetuation of a close relationship. However, because sisters often married into the same household or village, close cooperation of married sisters was by no means unknown. Close cooperation between brothers and sisters likewise continued following marriage to the extent permitted by the situation. (Collins 1974a:90-91)

In Upper Skagit society relations between close kinsmen were fairly well formalized.

- (a) Parents were responsible for providing their children with the essentials of life and for disciplining and training them in the ordinary patterns of their society and in such special skills as they themselves possessed. Children were expected to respect their parents, to avoid joking with them, and to solicit and consider seriously their advice even when they had attained adulthood and had begun families of their own. Bonds between parents and children were very close and affectionate, particularly between those of the same sex. (Collins 1974a:92-94)
- (b) Throughout life older siblings exercised authority over and assumed certain responsibilities of care and instruction for younger siblings of the same sex. And male siblings to some degree over female siblings. (Collins 1974a:90-92)
- (c) The brothers and sisters and the cousins of a man and his wife were expected to take great interest in the latter's children--their "nephews" and "nieces" according to the Upper Skagit kinship structure: "to train them, to discipline them (although the parents might not like this [for they were inclined to be especially strict]), and to assist them at ceremonies of their life cycle." These responsibilities increased if a parent of the children died. Nephews and nieces visited their uncles and aunts, were respectful to them, obeyed them, and eschewed joking with them as children. (Collins 1974a:94-96)
- (d) Grandparents and grandchildren maintained a very warm and close relationship. The latter could speak more familiarly with them than with their own parents, even joke with them. Should a parent die, the children were most often brought up by the grandparents, frequently in the same house with the remaining parent but as a member of different family group. (Collins 1974a:96-97)

- (e) The relationship between husband and wife, unless they were tied by earlier affinal links, was an uneasy one, at least until a union had endured for some years. Having come from unrelated families and generally different villages, they felt themselves as strangers and even feared the guardian spirits of their new partner. Their primary loyalties remained with their own individual kin groups. Often the wife sorely missed her relatives and earlier acquaintances. One's rights and obligations to one's natal family frequently conflicted with those to one's spouse. It is not surprising that a married couple for a time acted toward one another with something other than trust and real attachment.

Husband and wife shared the burdens of maintaining the new family, but the products of one's labors belonged to that person alone. Neither spouse inherited from the other. (Collins 1974a:106-107)

As Collins (1974a:107) reports, "parents-in-law were regarded as substitutes for the parents," especially in case of women, who lived with their in-laws more frequently than did men. A woman was expected to show them the same respect and obedience as her own parents; she sometimes invited them to eat with her own family; she exchanged gifts with her mother-in-law. Some friction occasionally developed between her and her mother-in-law, but less often than with sisters-in-law. (Collins 1974a:107-108)

It was much the same for a man living with his wife in her parental home. He gave part of his game to his in-laws, and cooperated in the food quest with his father-in-law. The father-in-law, in turn, was expected to have the economic interests of his daughter's husband in mind: to teach him techniques, provide canoes and tools, even help him develop his skills as a shaman. (Collins 1974a:108)

Siblings-in-law were expected to treat one another like brothers and sisters. A man was in many ways dependent on the assistance of his wife's brothers: he often visited their village to secure food as their special seasonal resources became available or, if he lived in their village, relied on them to guide him in local hunting. A woman worked closely, as in berrying, with her brothers' wives before her marriage and, because of the usual patriolocality, with her husband's unmarried sisters after marriage. (Collins 1974a:108-109)

Siblings-in-law of the same sex were supposed to maintain a friendly, cooperative relationship in which joking was allowed. Often, however, tensions of rivalry and jealousy developed between them. As noted above, siblings-in-law of the opposite sex were potential mates as, when the connecting relative died, through the levirate or sororate. Theoretically they treated one another like brother and sister, but, as possible spouses, their behavior toward one another was inclined to be more constrained. (Collins 1974a:109)

The parents of a married couple showed respect to each other, exchanged gifts, and worked together to help their married children. (Collins 1974a:109-110)

Property and Inheritance

Individual ownership of land seems to have been limited to that by certain women of the root plots at Sauk Prairie and in the lower Skagit Valley to which reference has already been made. With this exception the country in the vicinity of each village cluster--the fisheries, mountains, berry-grounds, and meadows--was common property of the villagers. These rights extended from the Skagit River up to the Skagit-Nooksack watershed on the north, to the Skagit-Stillaguamish divide in that direction, and to the Cascades on the east. But they became progressively weaker as these divides were approached.

Nevertheless, Upper Skagit did not expect to find unrelated Nooksack, Stillaguamish, Thompson, Methow, or Okanogan on their sides of the divides. Persons who wished to hunt and fish in the locales of neighboring villages were expected to visit their relatives there first to announce their presence, their intentions, and to be given tacit permission. This was never withheld. Part of the objection to the Thompson incursions into Skagit territory was that they did not behave in these accepted routines. (Collins 1974a:80-81)

The key to the character of the Upper Skagit subsistence round is hinted at in the above quotation. Different parts of the tribal territory had their special food resources or varied in the abundance of the same resources. These were "owned" by the village clusters nearby. However localized in their occurrence, the foods came in fact to be widely distributed through the tribe by individuals and families visiting relatives as the latter's food resources became seasonally available and exploiting these sources with their kinmen owners. Under these conditions, the worth of large extended families and of village cluster outmarriage becomes at once apparent. Reciprocity was the key element in this arrangement.

Just as a person had the right through inheritance or by marriage to secure his food and necessary natural resources in the territory considered "owned" by his village, so he had the right on these same grounds to live in a particular dwelling. This right could not be sold or given away.

Individuals and families varied in their wealth, but, save for whatever differences in resource availability might come as the result of linkages with more or fewer kinfolk and belonging to different village clusters as mentioned above, each person and family had approximately the same opportunities to become wealthy. Inheritance of property was of minimal importance. Industry was highly esteemed and in general wealth was related to hard work and, in part, to the development of specialist skills. Abstemiousness in food consumption, care in using material objects, and downright hoarding were all culturally encouraged, partly because these traits led to good marriages and promoted the accumulation of property that could be manipulated in gift exchanges to augment family prestige. Certain guardian spirits, however, were thought to convey power to acquire material possessions and others to grant power--as in fishing or craft skills--that more indirectly led to wealth.

Slaves were very few and their effect on wealth and the economy was negligible. Multiple wives, on the other hand, were common and an advantage to a man because they produced many more baskets, blankets, and mats and so allowed the giving of potlatches which raised the status of the family and its relatives. (Collins 1974a:79-81)

Property passed from family to family in several ways. Visitors brought gifts for their kinsmen and in return received presents of equal value when the former became hosts to the latter. These formalized presents tended to be the specialties of the giver's village:

People from upriver villages brought prepared skins, dried venison, mountain-goat wool blankets, and coiled baskets as gifts. In return those on salt water might give smoked clams, oysters, saltwater fish, and cattail matting. (Collins 1974a:77-78)

Formal gift exchanges occurred between parents-in-law and between them and the newly married couple. Potlatches distributed manufactured articles, raw materials, and prepared food. In the midwinter guardian spirit ceremony, sponsors and guests exchanged gifts. At death most of the property of the deceased--heirloom-type objects were held back--was taken by more distant relatives who hastened to the house and appropriated what they especially wanted; they were expected, however, to give the bereaved family something in return.

Through the operation of these exchange patterns, property was kept "circulating from family to family. Portable, durable items like baskets circulated widely, reaching villages many miles from their origin." There were no trading centers in Upper Skagit territory. On the other hand, people sometimes journeyed to the mouth of the Fraser River where there were "frequent opportunities for [property] exchange." (Collins 1974a:77-80)

Social Classes

Among the Upper Skagit there were two classes: a wealthy upper class and a poor lower class. In addition there were a few slaves, who were considered to be outside the class structure. (Collins 1974a:123)

The upper class comprised people whose parents had been upper class and most of whose relatives were of the upper class group. When they lacked the expected wealth, this was attributed to their lack of the proper guardian spirits. The inheritance of property was an insignificant element since virtually all valuables of the deceased were given away; certain rights to natural resources, however, were inherited, as already noted. Many members of the class, especially if they were the oldest children in their family, had "honored names," acquired from an ancestor, particularly a grandparent, because of some physical or aptitude similarity. Its acquisition had to be publically celebrated either by or in a gift-exchange potlatch and witnessed and certified to by those in attendance. Upper class persons had to act as a potlatch sponsor at least once in their life. A few held slaves, a right limited to the upper class. (Collins 1974a:123-126; Suttles 1957:174)

Upper class people also strictly observed the recognized code of etiquette, as in eating in small bites, in being quiet, dignified, and unaggressive in public, in being truthful and even-tempered, in not engaging in loud quarrels or fighting with other family members, and so on. They were expected without fail to return a gift with one of greater value. (Collins 1974a:123-126)

Lower class people, it is said, starved in the winter through lack of stored food and "begged for dried fish from people who had them" (Collins 1974a:123). Even when, as a result of industry and daring--the consequence of possessing the proper guardian spirits--persons of this class accumulated wealth, they never mastered the behavioral patterns, the good breeding, required of upper class people. (Collins 1974a:123-126)

By and large, the Upper Skagit disapproved of slavery. "Everyone was the same," according to Fornsby (in Collins 1949:303), and so it must have seemed to one who, though Upper Skagit born, had lived his life with the Lower Skagit and other nearby coastal groups, where class distinctions were stronger than with the Upper people and slaves far more numerous. The few slaves of the Upper folk were obtained, Collins reports, either by purchase or capture; according to Fornsby, however, the Upper Skagit never went raiding for slaves. Surely Fornsby comes close to being correct: Upper Skagit parties did not often set out for slaves. In any event, they were supposed to come from distant groups to reduce the possibility of escape to return home.

Slaves were not supposed to marry free persons, though it occasionally occurred much against the will of the free person's relatives. Children of such marriages, though not slaves, had to live with the disgrace of their slave ancestry and could not take "honored names" or sponsor potlatches. Slaves were allowed to marry other slaves, their children also being slaves. They were sometimes able to accumulate property, but their behavior, it was felt, remained that of slaves.

Many village clusters (Collins' "extended villages") had one or two dwellings that "were regarded as 'low class,' the others being 'high class.'" Their origin is in doubt: perhaps they were established by men of partial slave descent or possibly they represented village expansions into locations less desirable for securing food. This information regarding their limited accessibility to subsistence resources makes it reasonably clear that Collins means that one or two villages within the larger village cluster were low class villages, not that one or two houses of a larger number in a single village were low class in their ranking. (Collins 1974a:129)

Concerning these class distinctions and possible Plateau relationships, Collins (1974a:129) states:

This basic equality of the members of the society and the ordering of social relations by kinship and household groupings is characteristic of their nearest Plateau neighbors. It may reflect an old type of society found among Salish speakers, which at one time may have been characteristic of much of the inland and coastal area. The place names along the Skagit River in Interior Salish rather than Coast Salish . . . also suggest this possibility.

In addition to these two class and the slave distinctions, the Upper Skagit also recognized status differences between individuals within the same class. Certain persons, because of their higher level of achievement as, for example, having hosted a potlatch, were seated at ceremonies in the more prestigious places, received gifts first in potlatches, and were served food first at meals. But these were not firm, locked-in positions of prestige. It was up to the hosts on these occasions to establish their own order of precedence. These might differ somewhat according to the host and through time. (Collins 1974a:130)

Potlatches

While serving several less direct functions, the potlatch had as its principal objectives the validation of membership in the upper class and improvement of the social status of their sponsors and their families. They were also given to mark special events, such as the bestowing of an "honored name" and the passing of significant points in a person's life cycle: e.g., the termination of a girl's seclusion following her first menses to announce her marriageability and increase her eligibility, a wedding, a woman's first visit home after marriage, and a funeral. The most common of such occasions, however, was as a memorial to a dead ancestor, particularly on the reburial of the bones, the final tribute to the person's memory. They were not often given when one was named, the naming ceremony being commonly incorporated into a potlatch given for some other purpose.

Potlatches were held in the late summer or early fall when the chum salmon were running. They possessed a strong competitive aspect, especially overt in those in which guests vied physically for blankets and other valuables thrown to them. But they were also happy, gay affairs, for they included gambling games and athletic contests like canoe and foot racing and wrestling. During them all persons were supposed to put aside the enmities which were certain to exist since guests came from various tribes. To give vent to these inappropriate feelings at the outset and promote amity during the rest of the occasion, the host customarily arranged a contest between guests already at the place as one team and each newly arriving group in turn as the other team. Persons who were pulled over a plank marker were expected to give gifts to the winners. Though this game sometimes became rough, all were supposed to put aside their differences during the potlatch ceremonies that followed. (Collins 1974a:131-137, 141)

Both sexes sponsored potlatches, but both a man and his wife as well as their relatives were intimately involved in a cooperative fashion in the event. The planning of such an occasion required as long as two years, during which time all gathered materials and made objects to be distributed and accumulated food for the feasts. When the ceremony was held, each participating family group came dancing into the potlatch structure, bringing their contributions. As the master of ceremonies distributed these materials, he named the contributor as he called the name of the person to receive the object. In this distribution upper class people could not be slighted; lower class people sometimes were. Receiving a gift at a potlatch erased any hurt feeling that a person might have acquired against the donor on some earlier occasion, but it also entailed a return gift of equal or greater value at some future time. (Collins 1974a:137-139)

People felt proud to participate in these ceremonies, even if only distant relatives of the sponsor, and to give objects away in them. In actual fact the Upper Skagit had little to give in traditional times, principally baskets, a few mountain goat and dog wool blankets, possibly a canoe or two, cedar bark, and unworked cedar and spruce roots for basketry. Furthermore, there was very little wasting of things and no intentional property destruction as farther north on the coast; the Upper Skagit simply had too little of everything. (Collins 1974a:137-139, 141)

Additional costs were involved in payments to the master of ceremonies, "who had a special guardian spirit in order to speak publicly," the male and female cooks, and the men who drummed with sticks in accompaniment to the singing and dancing.

Another sort of property distribution accompanied both the potlatch and the guardian spirit ceremonial. In this instance only men were participants as donors and recipients. The gifts were thrown from a house roof or from a plank platform across two floating canoes onto the shore or bank or into the shallow water. The property was scrambled for.

Still another form of gift giving occurred when a young man wished to improve his social status and enter the potlatch system without the expense of a full potlatch. Selecting a wealthy old man at the time of a potlatch, he woke him in the middle of the night and piled gifts on and around him, while the man taunted him to make him even more generous. Under pain of lowering his own status, the man was obligated to return to the young man property of still greater value at a later time. Awakened, the potlatch visitors enjoyed the scene and devoted the remainder of the night to singing. Women had a similar gift exchange, which, however, was apparently not part of the potlatch ceremony. (Collins 1974a:140-141)

Among the Upper Skagit hilarious "joking" potlatches were also held. In these the boastful speeches of the serious potlatch were mimicked and broken articles and spoiled foods were given away. Sometimes in these the women potlatched the men. (Collins 1974a:141-142)

The social and economic importance of potlatching was considerable, especially since, as noted above, property was not willfully destroyed. It resulted in a continual flow of articles and food through the population. While more and better goods went to the wealthy, the "scramble" and other distribution occurrences brought things and foods to people of lower status and class. As Collins (1974a:142) observes: "People who did not hunt in the mountains still could get blankets of mountain goat wool; women who did not know how to make the coiled baskets still received them." At the same time it developed in the people a lack of attachment to a particular object, for it was realized that sometime it might have to be given away. Similarly potlatch feasts were greatly anticipated: they brought an abundance of food and various kinds of food to people who ordinarily could not enjoy these luxuries.

Potlatches encouraged industry on the part of persons and families and stimulated the manufacture of articles of quality. They brought together people from distant villages and different tribes, even from enemy groups under a kind of safe conduct understanding, thus broadening the cultural and

social horizon of all of the participating groups. Owing to their geographical isolation, this must have been of particular importance to the Upper Skagit. Through sponsoring potlatches, persons and families became well-known by name far beyond their own village and tribe. And potlatches provided a welcome period of social interaction: at the close of the event a guardian spirit dance was commonly held in which the host and his family members sang their wealth and warrior songs, these spirits, unlike others, being summonable during this warm season. (Collins 1974a:134, 142-143)

Intragroup Relations

Life within the community was "relatively peaceful" in traditional times. A pattern of consideration for and cooperation with others and of mild and inoffensive behavior was inculcated in the young. Most offenses that occurred were handled by the individual or immediate family, if retaliation in any form occurred, without involving the larger community. In the case of serious injury or death to another, payment of an acceptable amount of "blood compensation" was generally agreed to by the heads of the two households involved and the perpetrator was compelled to undergo a period of seclusion in the forest, fasting, and bathing. Failing this peaceable resolution, a blood feud erupted. Similarly, smaller property payments erased guilt in lesser quarrels and offenses.

Every effort was made to avoid the inception of a blood feud. Because of widespread and complex interlocking consanguineous and affinal relationships, all people had divided loyalties. Feuds also severely interfered with the holding of religious ceremonies and potlatches and the pursuit of the subsistence quest, this latter requiring much seasonal travel along the river to fisheries and to root and berry grounds. Even after a conflict had been technically settled by proper payments, people feared to travel widely because of residual ill-will. (Collins 1974a:119-122)

One and perhaps two offenses, however, were regarded as so serious as not to be resolvable at the individual or single family level. This was sometimes so in the very rare case where a shaman was thought to have caused the death of several people through his supernatural powers. Members of the aggrieved families collaborated in ambushing him and striking him fatally at the same time to distribute the onus. Those involved in exacting this revenge paid no "blood money." Since ill-will lasting for generations was created by killing a shaman in this way, a more usual method of securing justice was by a family member or hired shaman bringing about the death of the offending shaman by supernatural means. (Collins 1974a:119-120)

Incest--sexual relations between persons with any known consanguineal bonds--was likewise considered an especially reprehensible crime, since such a union was thought to be barren or to produce children who would die young. Relatives of both the offending man and woman joined in killing the man. In any event, incest was a rare occurrence. (Collins 1974a:119-120)

Economic Structure: Division of Labor and Specialization

Tasks among the Upper Skagit were divided along two dimensions: between the sexes and between specialists, both male and female. Men hunted and fished, worked wood, stone, and bone, made the dwellings and canoes, and were the warriors and most shamans. Women dug and gathered the plant foods, "assisted in fishing and the drying or smoking of foods, prepared skins, made baskets, wove, and carried wood and water. They cared for children, cooked food, and kept house." (Collins 1974a:75) Rather informally, women also cured by supernatural power and recovered lost souls. This labor division, was, however, not entirely rigid. Men sometimes cooked, as on ceremonial occasions and when out hunting; helped the women of their family in gathering berries in the mountains, in carrying wood and water when women were busy, and even to some extent tended children. Similarly, women occasionally aided in canoe fishing, even to manning a canoe in a netting operation. Collins was told of one woman who had been a famous hunter and another who had made canoes.

No specialists applied their skills on a full-time basis, but the amount of time devoted to them was proportional to the importance placed on the tasks by their fellow villagers, others having to discharge their normal daily tasks--like acquiring food--while they were otherwise occupied. Among the male specialists were shamans who cured and led the ceremonials; carpenters who made canoes and supervised the building of dwellings; men who directed the construction of the larger fish weirs; and warriors (a small group). Women specialists included those with particular aptitudes in weaving, coiling baskets, serving as midwives, and recapturing the souls of infants.

Specialists were hired for a fee by those requiring their particular services. Persons who performed occasional duties like those of cooking, making canoes and dwellings, drumming, leading songs at ceremonies, diagnosing and curing illnesses, and performing certain tasks at funerals were also paid. Payment was usually in goods--especially baskets, mats, and blankets--since the Upper Skagit had very little shell "money."

"Within the joint household, a head woman organized the labor of all the women." One might tend the children and another make baskets or prepare the food while most were out securing food. (Collins 1974a:75-77, 80)

Political Organization

Concerning what might be loosely considered the political structure of the Upper Skagit, Collins makes two summary statements: (a) each village cluster (Collins' "extended village") was politically autonomous; and (b) the only authority extending beyond the village cluster existed in the kinship system according to which "the oldest active man or woman in each generation of brothers and sisters and cousins [in the Upper Skagit extended sense] was the head of this generation" irrespective of where this individual resided. This leaves much untold. For example, whether the individual generations were somehow linked in some sort of older-younger hierarchical system, though one might guess from other evidence that this was probably the case. Further, how affinal kin and nonrelatives resident in the village

cluster--the first were obviously present and at least a few of the latter presumably so--were placed within this consanguineal kin-directed "political" system. Whether there was invariably only one set of these generational tiers in a village cluster, all residents being descendents of a single actual (or hypothetical?) ancestor, save for the affines and occasional residents of known outside origin. And finally, if there was more than one set in a village cluster, descendents of different known (or presumed) ancestors, how were these different parallel sets interlocked into a single, multi-family system. These and other serious data gaps aside, the village cluster authority structure possessed, according to Collins, the following characteristics.

Generation leaders normally gave no orders but led younger members of their groups by persuasion. Their advice was routinely sought and their approval secured by these persons in important matters, especially those requiring the cooperation of others like holding a potlatch or constructing a dwelling.

When weighty issues arose, these leaders called together their kin group within the village cluster for discussion and, if a unanimous decision was attained, for joint action. When truly important questions developed, a rare occurrence as whether a hostile shaman should be killed or a retaliatory raid against the Thompson should be mounted, siblings and "cousins" living in other village clusters within traveling distance were summoned. These assembly sessions could, in fact, be attended by nonrelatives in the village cluster or even by such persons in other clusters. In such assemblies anyone, man or woman, was privileged to speak, though generally only those with practiced oratorical skills did so. Others made their views known by private conversations with those who were sure to speak. If necessary, interpreters were provided. Action was contingent upon a unanimous decision. (Collins 1974a:111-113)

Apart from the kin leadership structure, individuals attained positions of prestige and prominence by becoming experts in house building, fish weir construction, driving game over cliffs or into ravines, presiding at group ceremonies, curing illnesses, and leading raiding parties. Others followed their leadership because--and only because--they individually gained from this participation as in sharing in the weir catch, and considered themselves fortunate in having persons with these abilities in their village cluster. These leaders exercised their leadership qualities only in their areas of their particular competence; indeed, as in the case of shamans and raid leaders, they were sometimes distrusted and even feared when out of their vocational province. (Collins 1974a:113)

At the other end of the prestige scale, sluggards benefitted from the work of others, but were sneered at, insulted, and publicly demeaned for their lack of industry and cooperation in group tasks. (Collins 1974a:113)

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

Families looked forward to many children, possibly because of the high mortality among them. Nevertheless, they attempted to space births about two years apart: more frequent births were considered harmful to both the mother and the new child. Barren women were pitied, and were believed to have somehow displeased a supernatural being. Evidently abortions were occasionally brought about, for women herbalists were said to be able to produce them. (Collins 1974a:215)

Women with illegitimate children married, but less advantageously than otherwise. Their children were tended as carefully as other children, but were disadvantaged as they grew up by lacking the social benefits and status of other children whose fathers had given substantial property to their wife's family on marriage, had had a large wedding potlatch, and could receive an "honored name." (Collins 1974a:215-216)

There was no general preference for children of one sex over the other. Where such existed in a particular case, an attempt was made to control the sex of a birth by placing sex-associated objects (e.g., a bow and arrow or basketry) under the sleeping platform. (Collins 1974a:216)

A pregnant woman observed certain restrictions, some magical and others credible from our point of view. Among the former were taboos against eating fresh salmon and the practice of undressing by removing clothing downward. The latter included watching her weight, walking a good bit, and remaining active. She was also expected to bathe twice daily in cold river or lake water. (Collins 1974a:216-217)

Birth was in the winter house or summer camp, apparently generally not in a specially constructed shelter. If no temporary partitions were erected in the dwelling to insure privacy during the delivery, children were sent to a nearby house. The woman was attended by a midwife, either her mother or another of her relatives who was often a specialist in aiding births. The father gathered large quantities of firewood to insure that she was kept warm. The birth was accomplished in an erect position over a mat, the woman holding onto a house post. In cases of prolonged or difficult births, a shaman with special guardian spirit power was summoned. (Collins 1974a:217)

The birth of twins was regarded as a disaster, a sign of supernatural disapproval. The mother was thought to become "like a wild animal" and the father lost his guardian spirits. The twins were exposed to die, sometimes placed in trees near the house. The parents had to purify themselves by bathing twice each day and scrape their bodies with boughs. (Collins 1974a:217-218)

Postpartum practices were numerous. The infant was rubbed with grease by the midwife. The afterbirth was safely buried and the umbilical cord preserved, often secreted in a tree hollow. For a few days the infant was sometimes fed juice from salmon or cooked grouse. For about two weeks the mother rested and bathed in cold water, partly to aid in healing her birth injuries and partly to remove possible supernatural dangers to her husband

and children. The husband swam morning and night for the next six months. (Collins 1974a:218)

The infant was kept in a board cradle--less frequently a basketry cradle--for two years, with cedar bark padding between it and the board. Its legs and arms were fastened to the board to keep them straight; its head was protected by a cloth or mat thrown over a half hoop attached to the top of the board; its forehead--perhaps only in the case of upper-class children--was gradually flattened as a mark of social status and a feature of beauty by a padded board, buckskin strip, or bag of sand pressing against it. It was diapered with soft, shredded cedar bark and wrapped in mink skins, soft fur inside, before being fastened on the board. The cradle was suspended by two straps from a tree branch when the mother worked outside. In the house it was hung from a bough brought inside and inserted in the ground upright and swung back and forth with a cord to rock the infant. In traveling, the board was carried on the mother's back, suspended from a forehead tumpine. (Collins 1974a:218-219)

Babies were nursed at their own demand. The mother increased her milk supply by squatting, wrapped in a skin or mat, over hot rocks upon which water had been poured to steam her breasts. Infants were removed from the board for cleansing twice daily and as it grew older allowed to be free of it when awake for increasingly long periods. When they began to toddle, the board was abandoned, but the child retained great affection for it, sometimes wanting to be tied to it when sleepy and dragging it around with him when awake. (Collins 1974a:219-220)

Naming

Naming ceremonies could be held in infancy, the time depending "on the type of name and the wealth and social ambitions of the parents." Children without special names were called by nicknames, many alluding to physical appearances. "In daily speech, people most commonly referred to each other and addressed each other by kinship terms." (Collins 1974a:220)

Special names were of two types, guardian spirit names and honored names. Both were respected, the former relating to the religious life and the latter to the social class and rank system. A parent sometimes gave the name of one of his guardian spirits to his child in the hope that the spirit would protect the child; this was a highly secret name never used in daily speech. As an adult, a person might even take as his name the name of one of his own guardian spirits. These names were not sex-specific. In Collins' view, this spirit-based naming system was related to that found in the Plateau. (Collins 1974a:220, 222)

The "honored name" was an upper class cognomen of very high prestige customarily given by a grandparent to a child or even an adult after consultation with the kin of his generation and the parents. If it was his own name rather than that of a deceased relative, he changed his name since it had become the property of its new owner. The particular name chosen in such cases reflected the person's similarities in "personality, talents, and intelligence" to the ancestor whose name he inherited. A potlatch for this purpose or a special smaller ceremony in a potlatch given for some other

purpose was held to announce and validate the naming. This was a "happy, gay affair." Honored names, most untranslatable, were either male or female names unlike those relating to the guardian spirits. This naming system was, Collins reports, related to coastal culture. (Collins 1974a:220-222)

Childhood

Until four or five years of age, children were usually treated with relative leniency, especially by grandparents, and fed when hungry. They were toilet-trained once they could walk. Within an extended family in a single dwelling one woman, especially fond of small children, often took care of all the family's nonnursing offspring to free their mothers for other tasks. However, children were frequently taken by their mothers when they went out to pick berries or dig roots. (Collins 1974a:222)

From the age of four or five years to puberty children followed a different regimen, relatively strict in some ways. Each morning they were awakened by an adult "trainer," whipped four times as they lay on their mats, and sent to the river or lake to bathe before they could warm themselves before the fire. This was required even when on the upper reaches of the Skagit River in the mountains where there was considerable snow and ice in winter. To avoid their children's hostility, parents preferred to have a "trainer" perform this unpleasant task for them. This practice had its associations with the guardian spirit world but was also one aspect of the procedure for developing physical hardiness. (Collins 1974a:222-223)

Both boys and girls were encouraged to fast, again partly because this was thought to attract a guardian spirit and partly because it trained boys to be active (e.g., in hunting) later in life even when food was scarce and girls to be careful of food so a surplus could be accumulated to make her family after marriage wealthy. (Collins 1974a:223)

Children from about four years on were trained to acquire guardian spirits, as noted below. At night they were told the myths and traditions of the tribe. (Collins 1974a:212-213, 223, 224)

When approximately eight years of age children began to receive regular formal advice concerning how to treat old people and other appropriate adult behavior from parents and other older kinsmen. Girls spent their time with their younger siblings and their female family elders. A girl "took care of younger brothers or sisters, dug roots, carried water, and learned to do household tasks." Boys were trained by their fathers and older male relations, the father's brothers more often than the mother's because of the tendency toward patrilocal residence. As soon as they could understand, they were taken fishing: taught how "to handle a canoe, [to] make nets, fishhooks, and lines; and [to] do all the other tasks necessary to the varied fishing operations. Both boys and girls were taught to respect fish, especially salmon, not to make fun of them or wantonly to destroy them when they were running." (Collins 1974a:224)

When five or six, a boy was given a small bow and arrows and his first small kill was made the occasion for rejoicing and much public praise. When it was dangerous or otherwise inappropriate to accompany fathers away from

the village, small boys stayed home with the women, older people, and girls, often playing in gangs sometimes to the point of being mischievous and even destructive. Small girls enjoyed playing together with imitation houses, house furnishings, and people. (Collins 1974a:224-225)

Puberty

Puberty marked a great change in a girl's life. During her ritual she lived for six weeks alone in a special, small, well-built house constructed exclusively for her use. She observed many regulations, supervised by her mother or some other older female relative. She was considered dangerous, especially during the first five days of her menses and then again after the next four days had passed--her "dark days." During these "dark" periods only her mother was supposed to see her: she wore a hood over her face and had her face painted red. During the other days of her seclusion--her "light days"--she was visited by her female relatives on both her mother's and father's side of the family, who made a point of giving her behavioral advice and sometimes presents. (Collins 1974a:225-226)

Once daily the girl was brought food by her mother. Both in the morning and in the evening she was led by her mother to water where she dived four times and bathed, rubbing her arms and legs with a long willow wand so she would have a long life. Back in her special house, she had her hair combed by her mother, since she was forbidden to comb it herself. Nor was she allowed to scratch her head except with a scratching stick. She expectorated only in baskets that she had made, containers that were thrown away. And she was given tasks like making basketry. All these duties and prohibitions were designed to insure that in this condition she could not harm herself and anyone else and that in later adult days she would lead a safe, long, and productive life. (Collins 1974a:226-227)

At the end of this period of seclusion, the girl returned home, though she had to go back to her special house during her next three menses to fast and bathe. This sequence of periods of isolation behind her, she was given a dinner by her family and was regarded as eligible for marriage, although this was normally delayed for some years. During this interval she learned under her mother's tutelage to cook and perform the other tasks of the Upper Skagit woman. She was kept under the watchful eyes of her mother and other female relatives; she no longer, for example, went out on spirit quests. She was not, however, secluded in a compartment within the house as was the practice among coastal groups to the north. (Collins 1974a:227-228)

Boys underwent no puberty ceremonial. Their guardian spirit searches intensified and they took over a greater share of the adult work of males. (Collins 1974a:228)

Some irresponsible behavior was anticipated of adolescent boys and girls, which explains in part why a newly married couple remained under the authority of their parents until they had their first child. (Collins 1974a:228-229)

Marriage

Most men and all women married in the normal course of events. Marriage between persons of any "blood" relationship was prohibited and punished: i.e., in Upper Skagit terms between people out to and including three degrees of consanguinity. This regulation, as well as the economic and social advantages of developing cooperative kinship links with persons of different village clusters, was responsible for what amounted to a village outmarriage pattern. On the other hand, intermarriage into villages in which relatives already lived was considered most desirable, for the in-marrying woman--it was generally the wife who left home on marriage--thus had kinsmen to guide and take her part. It was to guarantee the presence of a close relative, affinal in this instance, that the best marriage arrangement was thought to involve a woman's union with the brother of her brother's wife: i.e., a brother-sister exchange arrangement. Parents also preferred to have children marry into not too distant villages so that they could see them at least yearly, and into villages with cultural patterns, including foods, similar to their own. (Collins 1974a:97-99, 106)

The Upper Skagit maintained marriage links with the Nooksack as well as with other nearby coastal groups of no direct relevance to this study. Given the considerations outlined in the preceding paragraph, it is understandable why fewer marriage unions took place with Plateau people than with coastal folk. When, however, Plateau marriages occurred, the man was apparently normally from the east, though Collins fails to make this point. According to her, however, the Plateau man ordinarily moved to Upper Skagit country rather than the wife crossing the Cascades. (Collins 1974a:98)

First marriages of the more structured and honored variety were arranged by older relatives, the wishes of the young person being rarely considered. The father played the formal role or, if he was dead, an older brother or an uncle. It was especially important for the partner to be of the same class or higher if possible, wealthy, diligent, strong, and healthy owing to the rigors of travel and the food quest, intelligent, and of good nature. Relative ages were a minor consideration.

Prior to the marriage no courtship occurred. In fact, the couple might never have seen one another. Most marriages involved persons who had been previously married, in part the consequence of great pressures on a woman to marry a deceased sister's widowed husband and on a man to do the same with a deceased brother's wife. The rationale for these "sororate" and "levirate" marriages was that they guaranteed that children would have stepparents that were related to them and who consequently might be expected to treat them better than might otherwise be the case.

The marriage discussions could be quite relaxed or could have their formal elements, sometimes pursued only in a ceremonial fashion after the marriage had already been agreed upon. As an example of a formal pattern, a boy brought firewood bark to the girl's house on four occasions, to have it thrown out by her father the first three times. If he allowed it to remain inside on the fourth occasion, the boy's suit was accepted. Or the young man brought property to the entrance of the girl's dwelling, but was barred access by her father until he had returned one or more times with additional gifts. In any event to legalize the union, a payment was made to the bride's

father or another of her male relatives, the first of a long series of property exchanges. (Collins 1974a:229-230)

A wedding ceremony was usually held: sometimes a small wedding dinner, sometimes a ceremony made part of a potlatch scheduled for some other purpose, and rarely a full-fledged potlatch with an expensive feast. "These events were financed by the families of both the bride and the groom," but were celebrated at the bride's home to which the groom's group came in canoes. On this occasion the couple received lectures on the responsibilities of marriage and all enjoyed the good and abundant food. Marriages were legalized by gifts of property by the husband and his relatives to the bride's family. The value of the marriage gifts influenced the social position of the children. (Collins 1974a:104-230)

Marriages that were not arranged, at least not formally, occasionally occurred. Marriage dances attended by young unmarried men and women with their relations were held: in these a man sang and danced around a room and as he passed the girl he favored put a feather in her hair. Leaving it in place on the fifth occasion indicated that she had accepted his marriage offer. Collins (1974a:102) believes that this dance custom, which was poorly integrated into Upper Skagit marriage patterns, "may have been an introduction during the . . . [1880s] from the Plateau." Also as a very rare occurrence a woman wishing to marry an already married man went with some female relatives to the man's village and fought with his wife. If she was victorious, the man "was expected to marry the victor" (Collins 1974a:102-103). Such forthright action was considered, however, most unfeminine, for women were supposed to be courteous and gentle. Whether following such marriage arrangements a formal wedding of any kind took place is not stated. (Collins 1974a:99-103, 229)

Post-marriage residence was the choice of the husband, but was generally virilocal: i.e., with his family. This meant that usually the wife had to adjust to a new life with new companions, who in general might be expected to favor her husband. However, because of the prevailing pattern of marriage exchange, she could normally anticipate finding some "blood" kin in her new community. Furthermore, she could properly expect to make frequent and sometimes long visits back to her own family. Until the birth of their first child--or until they had given up hope of offspring--the couple were under the authority of the parents with whom they were residing. (Collins 1974a:230-231)

At the end of the first year, if all went well, the couple, with their first-born and some of the husband's relatives, visited the wife's parents and received gifts equivalent to the earlier bride price with interest. This visit was an altogether happy occasion. Still people continued through life to feel most comfortable with and to have the greatest attachment to their own "blood" kinsmen and to the degree possible continued to carry on many activities with them.

Most marriages were monogamous. Multiple wives, however, were permitted. Where the man was a great hunter or entered such unions to care as stepfather for a deceased brother's children or to provide his own children with a closely related stepmother, as in the sororate, more than one wife was regarded as especially honorable. Cases of as many as ten

simultaneous wives, where husbands were upper class and wealthy, were remembered by Collins' informants. (Collins 1974a:103-104)

Divorce was rare in traditional times, partly because people wished to avoid leaving children with a stepparent, partly because no one wanted to return property acquired during the marriage, and partly in the case of the wife because she was afraid to travel alone back to the village of her family. It was certainly easier for a man to leave his wife than the reverse. "Acceptable grounds for divorce were barrenness of the wife, physical cruelty, or adultery." (Collins 1974a:104-106)

Neither male nor female transvestites were known among the Upper Skagit. (Collins 1974a:106)

The middle years of adult life were vigorous and productive and ideally brought respect and social status. It was the time of the guardian spirit return and of giving potlatches, if a family was fortunate in accumulating with the aid of relatives the necessary food and wealth. (Collins 1974a:231)

Old Age and Death

By their own choice the elderly--even the blind and otherwise physically handicapped--continued to work up to their physical abilities. If, however, they were ill or feeble, they were carefully tended.

As death approached, a person's guardian spirits left. His soul also departed, came to a river or lake, and was welcomed by the ghosts already there. In a rotten log the ghosts paddled across and ferried the newly arrived soul to their village in the land of the dead, which was like the living world except not as pleasant. The ghosts of all former relatives lived in the same dwelling, as their kinsmen did on the Skagit. They spoke a language--understood in real life only by shamans--in which the sounds of words were reversed. They strongly resisted all efforts by earthly shamans to recover a newly-arrived soul-ghost. (Collins 1974a:232)

Bereaved husbands and wives cut their hair to their shoulders and hid the clippings to prevent others from exercising hostile "contagious magic" with the cuttings. To make it difficult for the newly generated ghost to touch a living relative and so capture his soul and bring about his death, a surviving spouse, child, or parent usually left the house for a time. The closer the relative and the stronger the affection for the dead person, the longer the period away from home. The dwelling was rarely burned following the death of one of its occupants. The rapid distribution of the property of the dead person among the relatives, for which return gifts were later made to replenish the family's necessities, reduced the attraction of the ghost to living close relatives. (Collins 1974a:232-233)

The body was kept for four days, burial being on the fifth day. Men or women were paid to sit with the corpse at night through the period. A man with special "power" qualifications was hired to supervise the burial. He dressed the body and bound it tightly in cedarbark mats. (Collins 1974a:77, 233)

Several methods were followed in disposing of the corpse: it was buried in a shallow grave, the least prestigious method; it was placed on a plank or in a canoe (or canoe half) and tied in and to the branches of a tree; or it was put in a small wooden house constructed on stilts, the least common method. The most expensive and prestigious burial was in the canoe--or half a canoe or even two canoes, one upside down on the other--since these objects were very valuable. Some of the person's most valued objects were placed with the body. (Collins 1974a:233-234)

The man in charge, with his helpers, carried the body to the graveyard. Occasionally he removed it from the dwelling through an opening created temporarily in the side by the removal of a plank. All the guests followed the body to the burial locality, many of the women wailing. After the interment, all retired to the house for a feast and perhaps a potlatch. (Collins 1974a:233-235)

After the death of a spouse, the survivor was expected to fast and to bathe and scrape his body with boughs to remove all lingering contamination from the death. About ten years following a death, the person was honored with a potlatch if the family finances could support the ceremony, and the bones, cleaned and rebundled, were reburied, placed in a tree, or buried in a box in the house floor. Actually bones "of a number of dead persons were usually reburied on the same occasion." (Collins 1974a:235)

Religion

Guardian Spirits and Spirit Power

In traditional times the spirit world "permeated nearly all other aspects . . . [of Upper Skagit culture] and was . . . the central theme of their lives" (Collins 1974a:144). This world manifested itself above all in the guardian spirits and their relations with living people. These spirits were so numerous and so varied in their characteristics, powers, method of acquiring a human "owner," and so on that the description that follows can only suggest their general features, present a few examples of specific spirits, and intimate the complexities of this supernatural world and its significance to the people.

Guardian spirits were of two basic types: those that bestowed on persons lay powers, such as those for fishing, hunting, woodworking, fighting, or acquiring wealth; and those that gave shamanistic powers useful for curing or killing by supernatural means. They were acquired as explained below. Individual spirits of the lay class became personal helpers of virtually every man and woman; those of the shamanistic variety appeared only to the few who were to develop shamanistic knowledge and skills and who, it may be observed, possessed lay spirits as well. (Collins 1974a:144-145)

Much of the year the lay spirits lived in their spirit world, with the exception of the warrior spirits and a few others that were believed to travel most of the year. After the persons with whom they had developed their personal relationships (their "owners") reached adulthood, they came to them from time to time during the year when they needed their supernatural assistance. A person needed only to speak the spirit's name to summon it, a fact that explains in part why people were very reticent to speak of their

spirits in casual conversation. Each winter the spirits also came to their "owners," who, at some considerable expense, sometimes sponsored a "dance" for them. Shamanistic spirits, on the other hand, remained close to their shaman, one reason why people feared these persons, available on short notice to be called to aid in curing. (Collins 1974a:145)

The nature of the spirits is summarized well by Collins (1974a:146):

Spirits were associated with many but not all animal species, the elements, and natural phenomena like lakes and strangely shaped boulders in the Skagit River. Some spirits had only human characteristics. (All spirits, those linked with animals included, had also a human or semihuman form which they could assume at will.) Certain spirits could be obtained either as lay or shamanistic spirits but not all spirits had this dual potential.

The spirits were very numerous. Those that gave both lay and shamanistic power were mostly those of mammals, though they included both the eagle and hummingbird as well as a spider variety found east of the Cascades, a point of particular interest to this study. Spirits that were exclusively shamanistic appear to have comprised no mammals but a number of birds and likewise minnows, a lizard, and a snake. Other spirits were associated with trees (e.g., the cedar), with meteorological phenomena (e.g., rain, rainbow, thunder), with topographic features (e.g., Mt. Baker), and with the winds of the four directions; whether these were lay or shamanistic supernaturals or both is not reported by Collins. Spirits with human or semihuman form were all physically peculiar or deformed, or dwelled in unlikely or impossible places (as underwater), or possessed unusual supernatural skills like the ability to cure smallpox. In the spirit domain there were even beings that granted the ability to prophesy, eat to excess, lead singing, pound sticks in rhythm, and make berries and roots grow. The spirits were, in short, essentially numberless in terms of both their identity and the specific powers they endowed.

Each spirit category (e.g., blackbear or eagle) had its unique native name and each individual spirit in that category had its particular name that was revealed only to the one person with whom it developed the protector relationship. (Collins 1974a:146-147, 150)

These guardian spirit beliefs led to a very special attitude toward animals in general. The Upper Skagit "saw animals as humanlike in their motivations and desires. They believed that man had to show respect toward them." Since many animals were associated with guardian spirits, the appearance of an animal, especially under somewhat unusual circumstances, caused people to wonder whether its associated supernatural was attempting to communicate to them. Children were taught not to kill animals or insects that might be related to the spirit helpers of their relatives and that, therefore, might later become their own tutelaries. Nevertheless, people were permitted to kill food animals--like bears--even if they "owned" the guardian spirits of these animals. (Collins 1974a:213-214)

Lay Spirits

Among the many lay spirits were the wolf, blackbear, and grizzly, all three of which granted hunting power. It was believed that bears could become human and that people with bear spirit helpers could change into bears. A special ceremony was held for the first bear killed in the spring. The raccoon and wildcat helped their "owners" in various ways. Hummingbird was an important curing spirit. Among the several wealth spirits were one which, in human form, "lived [in a house] at the bottom of a deep place with swirling water in the Skagit River," a two-faced woman, one who dwelled in a house beneath the waves in salt water, and a little bent-over man spirit who assisted men in hunting and fishing and women in making basketry and other crafts and so both sexes in accumulating wealth. (Collins 1974a:147-153)

A particular female spirit, with long head and body hair, protected the dwelling, insisted on a neat house, guarded the family when traveling, and made people lucky in catching salmon. A giant spirit which lived in swamps and wore moss on its head walked through the forest knocking over trees, making trees appear to burn, and creating a great noise as it moved. A spirit associated with Mt. Baker caused berries to grow on the slopes of that mountain. The cloud spirit, like the rain spirit itself, made driving rain. Several different spirits were associated with prophecy. There were spirits, too, that animated "guiding objects": vine maple boughs; flat, square cedar boards with four holes, painted white and red; objects made of mountain goat wool mixed with cedar bark and twisted into an "e" shaped loop; painted cedar ducks with handles on each side; and still other objects. The duck power was obtained by diving to the bottom of Big Lake in the lower Skagit Valley. A person with these spirits could make these objects come to life and compel people holding them to move at their will. The cedar boards, for example, gave power to fish successfully and led persons holding them to hidden objects and people who were lost. The ducks, in turn, provided their "owners" with the power to bring ducks down out of the air where they could be killed and also protected dwellings. Lay spirits likewise protected the people residing in houses and, coming in human guise, gave curing instructions. In use, the "guiding objects" were grasped by two men. While the owner sang, the object was motivated by the spirit, which pulled the men about. (Collins 1949:293 fn. 6, 1974a:153-156; Smith in Collins 1949:339-341)

A skeleton-like spirit, although of the lay variety, was atypical in giving one who possessed its power the ability to cure illness; but it likewise caused sickness by entering another person and brought about his death unless removed shamanistically. Two spirits who spent the entire year "flying around the world" were acquired by being close to a person who already had them. One was distinguished by being human in form, wearing an elaborate costume with eagle feathers, and granting war prowess. A person who fell sick with this spirit ran wildly off into the woods, heedless of possible injury, and had to be captured, restrained, and kept from biting pieces of flesh from onlookers while he sang the spirit song and danced to satisfy the spirit and return to normal. (Collins 1974a:160-167)

A few Upper Skagit possessed dog spirits that caused them, when they first acquired them, to be "killed" by others who already had these spirits and who comprised a kind of secret society. Taken to the woods for five days

by society members, they were brought "back to life" and then returned to the village. There, prevented from biting spectators by being held back with cedar bark ropes, they passed through a ceremony that included devouring a dog and were returned to a normal human state. Since the Upper Skagit lacked this society, persons who secured this spirit were compelled to undergo this initiation in one of the nearby tribes who had the society. (Collins 1974a:166-168)

The Upper Skagit had and used no masks, nor did they have curing or secret societies. (Collins 1974a:169)

Shamanistic Spirits

One of the most highly regarded shamanistic spirits was the two-headed snake, associated with the rainbow and thunder. Others were the lizard, which aided in hastening infant deliveries and on the evil side could be used to kill; an owl-like spirit that helped in recovering lost souls from the land of the dead; the loon spirit that had power to cure any illness; and the spirits of the whale and spider, both of which assisted shamans in curing. (Collins 1974a:169-171)

Criteria of Spirit Ownership

The "ownership" of one or more guardian spirits was attested to, in the Upper Skagit view, by success in life: specifically wealth, fighting prowess, physical health, and general well-being. Accordingly, no one feared a poor man for supernatural reasons, for his poverty was proof enough of his lack of power to harm through supernatural helpers. (Collins 1974a:172-175)

The possession of guardian spirit power was sometimes demonstrated publicly in a contest context. A man challenged others with the same spirit as his who were present at the time to best him by performing more spectacular feats of supernatural power. The loser was deeply embarrassed and might even die by having his guardian spirit purloined by the victor. (Collins 1974a:174-175)

Acquisition of Guardian Spirits

It appears that virtually every Upper Skagit man and woman, possibly in fact every one, secured at least one guardian spirit at some point in life. These essential helpers could be acquired at any age. From about four years of age to puberty, boys and girls--both needed supernatural power equally badly--were sent out in search of them but occasionally might even obtain one around the house. Later in life, too, they could be secured if one wished. It was critical especially for a child first to become clean and pure through a period of fasting and bathing in isolation. In general, the longer one fasted and bathed, the more powerful the spirit that one secured. Children were told what spirit to seek (e.g., a hunting, fighting, gambling, or curing spirit) and for some spirits was given an object associated with the spirit to take along on the quest: e.g., a bow and arrow for a hunting or fighting spirit. Fearing to go out alone especially at night, children were forced to

go on the search, through sometimes prepared for the experience by being sent alone on errands to other houses at night. To be certain that they had gone on their search where told to go, children were sometimes given an object to leave at the quest site; a parent checked the locality the following day. They were sent, for example, to a lake where they dreamed of a spirit house under the water, woke and descended into the lake, became unconscious and met the spirit, and woke dry on the shore with a spirit-given song clearly in mind. Breaking one's fast while on a quest (even eating berries) was most serious, resulting in an early death. Few adults, however, sweat-bathed before setting out on a quest, a practice common among Plateau tribes. (Collins 1974a:171, 172, 175-180)

If an animal, the spirit invariably appeared to a person as a human and in this form gave him his specific powers, sometimes even a choice between lay and shamanistic power. It apprised him of how to use the power, taught him his spirit song and dance, and instructed him concerning the clothing he must wear and the fasting he must observe during his winter initiation dance. This information conveyed, the spirit turned around and changed into its animal guise as it disappeared. (Collins 1974a:180)

If a child, on returning home from a quest, avoided his parents and went to sleep at once, his parents knew that he had acquired a spirit and the following morning sent him to bathe and fed him a little food. From that time on until, as an adult, the spirit returned to him, the child was supposed to forget his experience. Some winter years later he fell ill and his sickness was diagnosed as the consequence of his spirit coming back to him. Still, soon after his spirit experience, he was expected to show its effects by exhibiting special aptitudes of some sort. (Collins 1974a:179)

In general, a person acquired spirits that had belonged to an ancestor, either on the father's or on the mother's side. Because spirits were so numerous and everyone, or nearly all people, had them, those available from the ancestral group were considerable in number. When a person was about to die, his spirits left him--sometimes dramatically as with thunder and lightning in the case of a thunder spirit--and remained in the vicinity, each attempting to become a supernatural helper of the dying person's siblings, children, or even more distant relatives. If these spirits failed to develop this relationship, they returned "to wherever they came from." Later in theory they became the powers of unrelated people. A person could also send one of his spirits to protect a descendant in difficulty; whether he himself lost it in the process is unclear. Guardian supernaturals could also be stolen by shamans and hidden in the mountains, causing illness in the person losing it and even his death. (Collins 1974a:180-183)

The Shaman

The shaman was a specialist in diagnosing and curing (as well as causing) illnesses with the aid of his supernatural powers and in conducting shamanistic ceremonies. The amount of time that he devoted to this practice was dictated by his reputation and the size of his clientele. It was a rewarding specialty since he received payment both for the diagnosis and, if he attempted a cure, for it as well. When not engaged in "shamanizing," he

hunted, fished, and performed daily secular chores like any other Upper Skagit. (Collins 1974a:190)

A person became known as a shaman only when he (or she) began to practice publicly, often only after reaching middle age and after having some quiet successes within his immediate family. Success in attending ill persons was considered to demonstrate the "ownership" of the necessary supernatural power and the guardian spirits from which this power was derived. Among the Upper Skagit there was no shamans' society to certify his skills. Though several shamans might work together on a difficult case, there were no bonds among them otherwise; generally, in fact, they were suspicious and hostile toward one another, an attitude to which explicit expression was given, for instance, in their serious public power contests. (Collins 1974a:190-191)

A shaman tended to have many and especially powerful supernatural helpers. Most of these were lay spirits, but one or more had to be shamanistic in nature, since it was from them that he obtained his power over illnesses. Shamanistic spirits were secured by fasting in the forest in the usual way. They were even thought to be easier to acquire than lay ones, since as ancestral tutelaries they were more insistent on being taken over by descendants. They were, however, more dangerous and hence more feared than the lay variety. (Collins 1974a:191)

Persons who were to become shamans were considered to be somewhat different at any early age owing to their apparent interest in and ability to gain supernatural power. Moreover, they and their relatives sought to promote these differences. They also possessed certain behavioral quirks: e.g., they were quick to take affront and slow to forget, traits that, retained into adult life, led to taking supernatural revenge. When their spirit returned to them later in life, they did not fall ill as persons with lay spirits did but simply began to cure. They held a winter dance, however, which, I take it, served to call general attention to the fact that they were beginning to practice. Shamans could summon their spirits at any time during the year, unlikeliest lay spirits which returned only during the winter season. (Collins 1974a:190-194)

The same shamanistic spirits could be used--indeed, sometimes insisted on being used--to kill as well as to cure. A shaman harmed another person either by sending one of his own lay or shamanistic spirits into that person or by taking away one of the latter's own spirits. The former could be accomplished by certain supernaturally threatening gestures in the presence of the person. He could even send his spirit to enter a victim a long distance away. When the person became ill, he assumed some of the idiosyncratic behavioral patterns of the hostile shaman--like a peculiar cough--which aided a curing shaman in identifying the person responsible. (Collins 1974a:194-196)

Alternatively, a shaman could harm a person by taking his spirit and hiding it in the mountains, burying it, or throwing it into a river. He might even accomplish his purpose by merely looking intently into the other's eyes; this was one of the reasons why children were taught to fear and avoid strangers. Sometimes the curing shaman could see the lost spirit but, owing to his lesser powers, found it impossible to recover it. (Collins 1974a:196)

The typical curing ritual is of some interest. Shamans who were "blood" relatives of sick persons were preferred, since there was always the possibility that a non-relative would have a lesser interest in the patient's welfare and in fact, if he were a local person, might even have caused the illness for the sake of the fee. An alternative to the summoning of a kinsman was to call a shaman from a distant village, but this was costly. Shamans were even known to sing a single curing song and then demand a fee (e.g., a deer skin) before singing a second one. They actually received a fee, though a smaller one--even if the person died. (Collins 1974a:196-197)

Illness caused by an intrusive spirit was cured by the shaman's sucking the foreign spirit out of the ill person, generally without leaving a mark, and plunging it into water in a cedar-root basket beside him. There his spirit and the intrusive one sometimes fought one another until drops of blood appeared in the liquid. Finally, the enemy spirit, in the form of a worm or insect, was retrieved from the water by the shaman. When the sickness appeared to be the result of spirit capture, the shaman dispatched his own spirit to hunt the missing power down, capture it, and bring it back. (Collins 1974:197-198, 208-209)

When a harmful, intrusive spirit was removed from an ill person and captured, it could be disposed of in several different ways. It could be returned to the offending shaman, the usual procedure unless he had sent this same spirit to perform its odious task as many as three times previously. In cases of repeated offenses, it could be sent to the mountains, buried, or placed in a river to prevent its return to its shaman owner, causing him to become sick or suffer some physical disability (e.g., deafness or blindness) unless he possessed other powerful spirits as well. But if an evil shaman who had caused endless trouble proved too powerful to be injured by supernatural means in punishment for his string of excesses, his neighbors, banding together as a last resort, ambushed and killed him. Because the provocation for this deed was widely recognized, no interfamily feud resulted but the act generated ill-will that persisted for generations. (Collins 1974a:198-199)

Shamans likewise cured two types of illnesses not caused by supernatural means under the control of hostile persons: (a) those brought about by an animal, a particular white worm, or a tiny red insect that entered the body and fed on it; and (b) those resulting from the loss of the soul, as distinct from the guardian spirit. (Collins 1974a:199-200)

It is of considerable interest that the dramatic shamanistic curing ceremony involving the use of "power boards" that was so characteristic of the tribes just south of the Upper Skagit--the Snohomish, Skykomish, and Snoqualmie among others--was not part of the Upper Skagit curing complex. These boards were fashioned of planks carved with a vaguely anthropomorphic or bird-resemblant "head-like" top and were sharpened at the lower end for insertion into the ground. The flat surfaces were painted with simple geometric and semirealistic animal designs. Boards were always used in pairs. These and the accompanying elaborate rituals were considered essential elements in recovering the soul of an ill person among the groups immediately south of the Upper Skagit. (Smith 1941:205, 1946:310-311; Wingert 1949b:78-80)

Shamans as Ritual Leaders

An entirely positive function of the shaman was to act as the ritual leader of the community. One example: as a part of his central role in curing a person when his guardian spirit first returned to him, the shaman helped him sing his spirit song, saw that he obeyed his tutelary's food and other behavioral restrictions, and protected him from the possible dangers of supernatural harm by hostile guests at the ceremony. His various ritual services were so highly regarded by his community that he received from it great prestige and authority. A shaman was especially well thought-of by his own relatives, who customarily expressed their approval by regarding him "with great respect and affection." (Collins 1974a:205)

Winter Spirit Dance

As already mentioned, a spirit first returned to a person when he had become an adult. Typically the "owner" fell ill and his sickness was determined by a shaman to be the consequence of his spirit's return and desire for acknowledgement in the form of a winter dance and property distribution. If he were not to die, the ill man was obliged to sponsor such a ceremonial. An announcement of the coming event was sent to relatives in other villages; other persons with the same spirit were aware without this information of the spirit's return. These kinsmen were expected to gather all the food and gifts they could spare and hasten to the village of the ill person, lest he die before the rite could be performed. Arriving at the "power" structure, they danced into it single file, placing their food and property in the center so all could see how much they brought. A master of ceremonies, a well-respected relative hired for the occasion, announced the arrival of each group. The ill person lay in one corner. The shaman who had diagnosed his illness was likewise present. Then a "singer," guessing the probable identity of the initiate's spirit from his earlier behavior and particular accomplishments, tired various spirit songs. When he hit upon the correct one, the ill person rose and, supported by two kinsmen, danced four circuits of the house. The entire assembled group then sang his song, accompanied by a skillful drummer who had to get the rhythm precisely correct. Spirit singing could not be carried out properly by the individual: it required the help of others to be satisfactory to the supernatural. During this ceremonial period, the initiate was compelled to observe the restrictions given him at the time of his spirit experience or of its return lest the spirit leave him: e.g., fasting, drinking no water, singing the proper song and dancing the appropriate steps, dancing a specific number of days, wearing certain paraphernalia like deer-hoof rattles and red facial paint. When he tired, another person took his place, singing his song until the initiate himself was rested. At the close of his singing period, others with the same spirit power were permitted to sing their guardian spirit songs, though few except kinsmen of the initiate availed themselves of this opportunity out of fear that their spirits might be stolen. (Collins 1974a:172-175, 183-186, 288)

Also part of the ceremony were spectacular demonstrations of supernatural power, feasts of abundant food, and formal addresses beginning with an expression of gratitude to all relatives for attending. Distributions of the property gathered followed, kinsmen being especially

avored, though in early days the Upper Skagit had little to give away: perhaps a mat, a basket, a part of a blanket, or raw materials (e.g., basketry fibers or wool). Return gifts were made at some future time, but this property exchange was not a principal element in this winter guardian spirit dance as it certainly was in the potlatch. (Collins 1974a:187)

Guardian spirits were supposed by the Upper Skagit to bring success, including wealth. Substantial property was necessary to give the winter ceremonial validity: to demonstrate that the ritual sponsor actually possessed the guardian helpers he claimed and to permit the ceremony to be accepted as a proper response to the spirits' demands. When a man who acquired a spirit was too impoverished to subsidize this ceremonial with his relatives' aid and died as a consequence of this failure to reply to the spirit's requirements, the Upper Skagit system was faced with a contradiction that appears never to have been resolved. (Collins 1974a:188)

The Soul

The soul was considered to be an entirely different entity from the guardian spirit. It was "a nonmaterial, life-giving essence" possessed by each person. It was generally invisible, though it could be seen by persons who had been given this power by a guardian spirit. When out of the body, it was thought to be identical to the body in form but smaller. It might leave a person in a dream, returning before he woke. On a trip, the soul might precede a person to his destination without harm to the person. It could also be taken from a person with untoward consequences unless it was soon recovered. (Collins 1974a:200)

Soul loss was at least sometimes diagnosed on the basis of the actions of the person. At times the soul of a person was taken by a ghost of someone who had died, if the living person mourned the death too deeply. For ghosts tended to remain in the vicinity of relatives in the hope of recruiting companions on their journey to the hereafter. In this after-land life was quite like that on earth but somewhat less pleasant. A new arrival was visited by the deceased kin of people still alive to inquire about the well-being of their relatives. In addition, living people were thought to visit the land of the dead several times for brief stays before their final death. (Collins 1974a:200-201, 204-205, 207)

Shamans who specialized in recovering souls were believed to go to the land of the dead to bring the soul back. As they made the "journey," they described their progress in detail to spectators at the ceremony, their search in the land of the ghosts for the soul, frequently hidden by the ghosts to prevent its recovery, their fight with the ghosts for the soul if such occurred, and their return journey with the missing soul. With his soul returned by the shaman, the ill person recovered. It was possible for shamans in the ghost country also to steal the souls of persons dead for some time and to bring them back to enable them to be reincarnated as reborn infants. (Collins 1974a:201-204)

Souls could also be stolen by supernatural beings associated with unusual natural phenomena along much of the Skagit River. For example, near Rockport stood a large cedar tree with long hanging moss. If a person walked

near the tree, it took his soul, threw it across the river to another tree that hurled it back, each time with the sound of thunder. And so it went back and forth, causing the person's death unless retrieved in time by a shaman. - "Near the junction of the Suiattle with the Sauk lived a dangerous supernatural being . . . who is described as an 'animal.' People who encountered this being in the woods might die." (Collins 1974a:214)

Religious Sanctions

Upper Skagit religion had its price in time, property, and anxiety as well as its benefits in explaining the unknown and unknowable in life, in bringing the ill back to health, in tying the group of relatives together for their general benefit, and in supporting through the guardian spirit system the right of people to be different. How was this complex religious system maintained? Largely through fear of spirit retaliation through illness and death as a consequence of failure to conform to the beliefs and practices of the system. And illness--the prelude in the Upper Skagit mind to death--was a source of substantial difficulties to one's family. Other kinsmen had to assume his or her normal duties that were essential to the functioning of the family: the subsistence quest and the manufacture of the objects required by the ceremonial life. Others had to contribute to the costs of the curing ceremony. And the entire family might well lose social status through the family's inability to do its part in subsidizing large family and public functions. (Collins 1974a:206)

On the other hand the positive rewards of proper and full participation in the supernatural system were also considerable. It kept alive and flourishing the beliefs and practices regarding the guardian spirit world, the supernaturals that gave people their individual powers that resulted in success in the practical and religious world, in good health and a long life, in children, and in wealth, high status, and respect. (Collins 1974a:207)

Magic

Magic among the Upper Skagit belonged to a different realm from the guardian spirit world of religion. It involved no supernatural tutelaries but rather charms for success in love and hunting, for improving the appetite, for curing sickness, and for preventing fatigue. These charms worked with a certainty if one knew the correct actions to follow and formulae to utter. When one wanted what could be gained by magic, one hired a man or woman who possessed the necessary knowledge to work the necessary spell. (Collins 1974a:207-208)

Malevolent magic occurred also but was of even less importance than good, sanctioned magic. While aware of the practice of making a small image of a person and damaging it to produce the same injury in the person represented, the Upper Skagit claim that they themselves never practiced this custom.

Both men and women, though few shamans, were the owners of magical lore. But in comparison with the guardian spirit system, magic was relatively unimportant. (Collins 1974a:208)

Diversions

Concerning the traditional diversions of the Upper Skagit--art in the narrow sense, dance, and music as well as games and smoking--virtually no data appear to exist.

Art

Prehistoric stone carvings, anthropomorphic in form and some as much as 2 or 3 feet high, have been found along the upper reaches of the Skagit River (Smith 1950b:27). In light of this fact it is curious that no mention of these Skagit figures seems to be made by Wingert (1949b) in his detailed study of native Northwest Coast sculpture.

In ethnographic times coiled baskets were ornamented with designs worked upon the basket surface by the imbrication process: popular patterns were frogs, butterflies, salmon back-fins, fish gills, fish nets, and a small fly. Upper Skagit women took great pride in their coiled baskets. Presumably the ornamentation of skin clothing and facial painting provided opportunities for simple esthetic expression, but the ethnographic literature is largely silent on the subject. Dwelling posts, which were sacred, and at times the house front around the entrance were carved and painted with the guardian spirit designs of the house owner. The external, self-standing totem poles of the coast were unknown. (Collins 1974a:63-64, 68-69)

Music

At least as late as the 1940s when Herzog (1949:93-109) reviewed what was then known of the music of the Salishan groups of coastal Washington and British Columbia and the interior of that province, the musical traditions of the Skagit were still very poorly described. Nevertheless, enough was understood of the principal musical characteristics of this large group of tribes to suggest that those of the Skagit could hardly have been significantly divergent. With this premise accepted, Skagit music must have been very like that of the Chilliwack in sharing both the general North American Indian characteristics and the particular traits of Salishan music and in being performed with the same inventory of musical instruments. These data are summarized in the Chilliwack chapter that follows.

Mythology and Folklore

As Hess (in Hilbert 1985:xviii-xxiii) has written in a fine summary of the characteristics of the old myths from which the following is borrowed and synthesized, the Lushootseed-speaking Salishan tribes of Puget Sound (including the Skagit and others south to the Puyallup and Nisqually) separated their tales into two categories: "myth-age tales" and "history." "Personal accounts" of the news and individual experiences constituted a third, non-traditional genre. The myths, in turn, may be divided loosely into two varieties, a distinction apparently not made by the Indians themselves: (a) rather light, humorous myths, which, while "reflecting the foibles of human nature," taught proper behavior by detailing the unfortunate

consequences of tabu-breaking; and (b) longer myths that "examine[d] the world order and deal[t] with points of tension within the social fabric [and in which their] . . . major characters were heroes who acted wisely rather than impetuously or foolishly as in the lighter stories."

Myths deal with the early time when all beings shared the traits of animals and people and possessed supernatural power and human emotions. They had, however, many of the physical and behavioral characteristics that animals possess today. As Hess illustrates:

These characters, each with human and animal traits, provide[d] the raconteur with great flexibility . . . to draw upon on one or the other of these attributes as plot, imagination, and sense of humor require [T]he sisters Boil and Hammer [in their myth] . . . looked and acted just like people, except they ate only berries. At the same time, however, they were like a real boil and a real stone maul. Therefore, Boil burst when a fir needle fell on her head and Hammer drowned when she fell into the river because, after all, she was stone.

With the aid of their supernatural power, they were able to perform superhuman and superanimal feats. During this primitive time-period there were several worlds--e.g., a sky world and one of the Salmon People--more or less similar to each other and with travel possible between them.

Particularly prominent in the Lushootseed myths were three unprincipled, impulsive tricksters: Mink (a rake), Raven (a glutton), and Coyote, borrowed in tales from the nearby Plateau east of the Cascades. Their episodes are immoral, dishonest, farfetched, and humorous. While tricking others, they themselves were often tricked. They were also capable, however, of performing occasional heroic deeds, like procuring daylight.

These myths are of special ethnographic interest in that they reflect facets of traditional culture. For example, their beings are organized into rather loose high and low classes with slaves at the bottom. High class beings are wealthy in goods, natural resources, and rights to songs, dances, and ceremonies, possess strong supernatural powers, and are influential in their villages. Low class people, in addition to lacking the above, are often uncouth. Movement between the two classes is possible by gaining or losing wealth and developing competence and exhibiting correct behavior, and by acquiring guardian spirits. Sibling rivalry is prominent, with the youngest of the series invariably getting the upper hand.

It is, of course, impossible to reflect in these traditions as written the teller's informative but non-lexical expressions, emotions, rhythmic and pitch variations, vocal mannerisms, and so on, as well as the fragments of song often incorporated into the tales.

As time passed, a transformer of great supernatural power walked through the Lushootseed world, changing as he went these mythic beings into humans, animals, and plants and the landscape into its modern form.

So much for the generalized picture of the mythology of this group of linguistically and culturally closely related people, which included the

Lower and Upper Skagit. Fortunately, we have from Collins (1974a:211-212) a parallel generalized description for old Skagit mythology alone. It is of interest to compare her data with the preceding geographically much wider summary of Hess. In some ways it conforms well; in other ways it differs somewhat. But the Collins material is important in its own right, for it offers a fair amount of new information.

According to Collins, the past was divided by the Upper Skagit into two periods. The first was a remote, mythical time when animals were much larger, had the ability to speak, and behaved like humans. Then the world was different from now: there were no death and no mountains and the rivers followed different courses from the present. This old world was transformed into the one of today by several mythological figures, including Raven and Mink (coastal myth personages) and Coyote, who, as the Upper Skagit stated, came to them from the Plateau. (Collins 1974a:211-212)

But their most important culture hero was an entity in human form that was associated with the sun. He "was entirely a benevolent being, noble and upright," not a trickster. A fine supernatural, he reduced the "animals" of the mythological period to their present size and their present wholly animal, generally non-threatening status, altered the world's topography to its current configuration, and taught humans arts and crafts. But he also occasionally changed people into striking stone formations still to be seen today. Such was the odd-shaped stone, once a woman, near Portage on the Skagit River. Addressed as "grandmother" by the Upper Skagit, she was believed to supervise the fishing on the Skagit above the mouth of Cascade River. People from villages upriver from Marblemount asked her respectfully for fish when they went for them and thanked her for her favors as they passed her. (Collins 1974a:211-212)

Raven, Mink, and Coyote were all mythological trickster transformers, supernaturals in the form of these animals but as large as humans, capable of speech, living in houses, and to a certain extent behaving like humans. "They were greedy, mischievous, and lacked the nobility and disinterestedness" of the highminded transformer described in the preceding paragraph. Of the three, the Raven was the most important, a being who never hurt anyone though he was responsible for death owing to a bit of short-sightedness. (Collins 1974a:212)

Myths were told in evenings for the children, who were expected to sit just so and be attentive. To increase interest and give the tale a vitality of its own, a good raconteur changed his voice for different characters and added details of his own choosing. (Collins 1974a:212-213)

Folklore, in contrast to myths, told of events that happened after the world became as it is today, including happenings to ancestors of living people. All were localized either on the Skagit River or its tributaries or in the country of neighboring tribes. Many dealt with encounters of people with guardian spirits and many possessed a moral content, exemplifying the importance of caring for the aged, the handicapped, and stepchildren, of observing the levirate and sororate, and so on. (Collins 1974a:213)

Several collections of myths and legends in whole or in part from the Skagit have been published. These include (a) Hilbert's Haboo (1985) with 17

tales told by Upper Skagit, 10 by part-Skagit, and two by Sauk-Siattle raconteurs; (b) Haeberlin's (1924) "Mythology of Puget Sound" with 13 Skagit myths; Langen's (1984) "Four Upper Skagit Versions of 'Starchild'"; and Elmendorf's (1961a) "Skykomish and Other Coast Salish Tales" with one myth reciting an occurrence at the Skagit River mouth.

Cognitive Culture

Conception of the World

The world was believed to be an "immense round island . . . in an ocean" surrounded by a high wall. Behind this barrier was the pitch-black world of the guardian spirits, when they were not with humans, and of the Salmon People. Annually these salmon folk passed through an opening in this wall in their canoes and once beyond this obstacle tumbled from their canoes to become salmon and ascend the rivers of the Indian world to spawn. The sky, some believed, was a roof above which the stars lived as people. "The sun, the moon, certain individual stars, and constellations of stars were regarded as associated with supernatural beings." (Collins 1974a:209-210)

Calendrical Concepts

Traditional Upper Skagit months were lunar months. At least some had names that were meaningful in terms of the procession of the animal behavior through the year. Thus the third moon was the "moon when the frogs come out and begin to sing" and the eighth was the "month when the spring salmon . . . [i.e., chinook] spawn." (Collins 1974a:210)

Secular Medicine

The Upper Skagit possessed an extensive knowledge of curative herbs and other substances, a third means for curing ailments quite apart from both the guardian spirit and the magical systems. Most herbalists were women. If shamans administered plant medicines, this was entirely distinct from and secondary to their guardian spirit powers.

With herbs or bark steeped in water, sore eyes, headaches, constipation, and urine retention were treated. Broken limbs were set in splints. Ill persons were encouraged to remain in bed as little as possible. Contagion, though explained in guardian spirit terms, was understood and prevented by isolating in the forest the person affected. (Collins 1974a:209)

Use of North Cascades National Park and Ross Lake National Recreation Area

Such fragmentary data as have been located in the ethnographic literature are assembled--and extended by a certain amount of reasonable speculation--into four sections: the subsistence use of the Park Complex, its use as sites for villages and task camps, its use in travel routes, and such other secondary uses as may be identified. Source citations are omitted

in this section where the data can be found in the preceding topical discussion.

The Upper Skagit were described by Eells in the late 1800s as a group that "roamed in the Cascades mountains." Subsequent ethnographic information confirms this statement. The tribe claimed as a part of their traditional country the mountainous middle or upper Skagit Valley and nearby high country north to the international boundary, territory wholly within the Park borders. This northern line is, however, obviously unrealistic from a geocological perspective, an artifact of today's political world. Evidently Upper Skagit parties at times went a bit farther north up the valley and its side mountains, far enough to encounter hunting parties from the Tait tribe, whose particular homeland was on the Fraser River between the Agassiz bend and the mouth of the Fraser River canyon. Realistically, this northward roaming could hardly have been a frequent occurrence, for the Upper Skagit, if Collins is correct, laid no claim to this north-of-the-present border country and, moreover, would surely have made use first of the natural resources of the Skagit Valley and high lands closer to their winter villages. In addition, the Lower Thompson regularly hunted south of today's Canadian line within the Skagit drainage, sometimes as far downriver as the Beaver Creek region and, in fact, considered this area to be their proper hunting and gathering territory. Coming from the west, the Chilliwack, in their turn, entered the Skagit River country within the confines of the present Park. Plainly we have in the Ross Lake region an area claimed and routinely utilized as food-source territory by the Upper Skagit and Lower Thompson and at least used to some extent by the Chilliwack and perhaps even by the Tait, though not claimed by these last two groups. Encounters in the area between Upper Skagit and Lower Thompson often, possibly even generally, generated moments of tension, with hostilities the consequence. Contacts between Upper Skagit and Chilliwack were sometimes inimical. Those between the Upper Skagit and Tait were, however, generally friendly, perhaps because they must have occurred in the northernmost periphery of the Upper Skagit tribal range and because they were, it may be conjectured, relatively rare events.

Consistent with these data, Upper Skagit culture, while having its coastal-resemblant traits, likewise possessed others that were clear adaptations to an inland, mountain environment. These adaptations included, for example, an extensive use of large and small game, of roots, and of berries as food, the wearing of moccasins and other skin clothing when the weather was cold in the mountains, and the possession of gear to assist in cross-country travel--snowshoes in winter and, in protohistoric or at least early postcontact times, a few horses for open season use. It is cultural baggage of these sorts, about which we, unfortunately, know so little, that so sharply points toward a broad utilization of the mountains and high forests and their animal and other resources throughout the year, and that, accordingly, indicates a consistent and thorough exploitation of that part of the Park area to which the tribe laid claim. Indeed, there would have been no reason for the Upper Skagit to have claimed territory which they failed to make use of in some measure: no neighboring groups would have considered legitimate any such empty claims.

Further, the fact that a significant part of the Upper Skagit winter population cannot be accounted for in the known summer villages and camps

along the upper Skagit River seems best explained by the presumption that during the warmer months a considerable portion of this missing population was off in the mountains--many within the Park region--pursing their subsistence activities in small task groups. On the other hand, as noted below, there are a few fragments of ethnographic information that suggest some reluctance on the part of Upper Skagit folk to spend more time than necessary in the high country, in particular the stated dislike of the women to dig roots in the mountains.

Subsistence Use

The region of the Park and Recreation Area in and above the Skagit River gorge between Newhalem and Ross Lake was utilized by the Upper Skagit primarily as a subsistence source area. Among the nearby tribes these Skagit people, in fact, held a reputation as hunting specialists. Parties journeyed into the Ross Lake region throughout the warmer seasons in search of game, like deer and elk, that could be found to some extent also at lower, downriver elevations, but more particularly of those animals that either spent these months typically in the higher country or were limited by their habitat preferences to these loftier elevations. In this latter category, according to the ethnographic data, were the grizzly bear and especially the mountain goat that furnished robes and wool. This white wool was woven into cloaks and blankets that were something of a specialty of the Upper Skagit and comprised an important item of trade.

It is obvious that the ethnographic sources provide an incomplete catalog of those animals native to the higher mountain terrain of the Park Complex that were taken by the Upper Skagit for food or their other products (like peltries). A more exhaustive list of indigenous fauna can be compiled from the zoological distribution maps of Dalquest (1948), a task simplified by the fact that the entire Park lies within the Cascade Mountains Mammalian Area. Animal use information culled from ethnographic accounts of other tribes in the vicinity of the Upper Skagit territory reveals that these forms, in some cases in different taxonomic varieties, were hunted, trapped, or killed as chance provided by one or more of these groups. Hence it may be presumed that they were likewise secured to some degree by the Upper Skagit within the Park boundaries. The roster includes, in addition to the grizzlies and mountain goat, the Canadian lynx, fisher, red fox, and western marten whose range did not extend much if at all beyond the western border of the Park. Found widely in the high country of the North Cascades Complex and also westward outside the Park were beaver, black bear, bobcat, cougar, coyote, deer, elk, ermine, marmot, mountain beaver, pika, raccoon, snowshoe hare, timber wolf, and weasel.

Anadromous fish certainly occurred up the Skagit River within the Park as far as Newhalem (presumably as far as the gorge) and were taken by the Upper Skagit in this sector. Whether they ascended the river through the gorge and into the Ross Lake region I do not yet know. In any event, fishing within the lake sector seems to have been a rather incidental pursuit.

While the men were engaged in their hunting tasks in the mountains, women were occupied in processing the meat and other game products. To some degree they were also root gathering, berrying, and collecting and preparing

for later consumption other plant substances according to the season. For some unexplained reason, as previously noted, Upper Skagit women rather disliked root digging in the high meadows. Perhaps the soil tended to be conspicuously more rocky than on the flood plains farther down the Skagit and on the lower Sauk and Suiattle. Possibly the task of transporting the processed roots back to the winter village was too laborious, for the tribe traveled overland to a considerable extent as well as by canoe along the stream courses. It may be that women were uneasy in the elevated country out of fear of resident supernaturals. And in the Park region the possibility of meeting hostile Lower Thompson hunters and gatherers was always present. Whatever the explanation, they preferred to avoid securing their root supply in the high country.

Berries were extensively utilized as food by the Upper Skagit. When not preparing meat, women in the mountains devoted considerable attention to berry collecting and processing. Some of these berries, like the mountain blueberry, were typically high country fruit, while others were gathered, in their season, in both lower and higher elevations. But how many berry varieties were harvested within the Park borders and how great were the quantities of each kind are not reported.

Off in the northwesternmost corner of the Park, in the upper Baker River sector, the Upper Skagit of that stream country must likewise have spent at least some of their open season time in similar hunting, fishing, and collecting activities high up on the mountain slopes.

Related to this subsistence exploitation pattern of the mid-year months was a shift from the large, concentrated riverine winter and salmon-fishing villages to dispersed gathering camps with their temporary mat, lean-to shelters. During the summer hunting, root-digging, and berrying periods, the Upper Skagit of the permanent villages scattered to the various grounds to secure their food resources. In the process task groups were formed from members of various winter communities and these groups, while they existed, were as firm as the membership of the winter settlements. Thus the social units that prevailed in the Park region were not come-and-go, loose coalescences but closely-knit groups, though precisely how these links were expressed if not overtly formalized is not made clear. Nor are we informed of how the membership in a small summer grouping was determined. Owing to the importance of kinship bonds in Upper Skagit social life, it seems probable that each was largely a cluster of families, from various winter villages, that were related closely or distantly through kinship. Such an arrangement would have the advantage of bringing together for a time kin units that saw far less of one another during the remainder of the year than the families resident in a winter settlement and so of reaffirming the common relationship links of the larger kin network.

Village/Camp Use

Three traditional winter villages of the Upper Skagit are known to have been located within the confines of the Park Complex. All three were on the Skagit River: a large winter dwelling at Newhalem, a small winter house of three families east of Thornton Creek, and a large winter dwelling "at Portage, west of Damnation Creek," all within a stream stretch of some 5

miles. Without question, the residents of these communities must have been among the tribal members who made the greatest use of the resources of the Park. Other winter villages as well as summer settlements began immediately below the point where the Park boundary today crosses the Skagit River. Surely the people of these slightly more downstream settlements must also have visited the Park on their subsistence and other resource forays, though possibly to a somewhat lesser extent than the occupants of the three villages of the uppermost village cluster.

While there were, at least in ethnographic memory, no established settlements, winter or summer, inside the Park Complex above the Newhalem community, task-oriented camps must have been occupied for brief periods while the neighboring meadows, streams, and mountains were scoured for their resources. Unfortunately none of these camps can be located from the extremely meager ethnographic data, the principal interests of which are focused on the main salmon river areas of the tribe to the west and southwest.

Special note must again be taken of the northwestern corner of the Park where an Upper Skagit village was located on Baker River within a very few miles of the Park boundary. From this community hunting and foraging parties must have regularly gone year-round into the upper Baker River country and the mountains flanks bordering the valley, and hence well inside the Park limits.

Trail Use

Only four old Indian trail routes into or through the Park and Ross Lake Recreation Area can be defined with some confidence. One led up the Skagit Valley to enter the Park Complex above Marblemount, to follow the river northward through the Ross Lake sector, and to leave the Area at the present Canadian border. This was the water and land route by which the Upper Skagit moved into the Park country to pursue their resource quest activities, whether largely by canoe or on foot the data do not reveal. It was likewise the route followed by the Upper Thompson in journeying southward from their Fraser Canyon village centers to attend to their food and other needs in the high mountain terrain of the Park. Unless they kept canoes at or near the point where, having come overland, they reached the upper Skagit River (as the Upper Skagit folk did at the head of Lake Chelan), they must have used a land trail down the river, but whether on the east or west side of the stream or both is unknown.

One or more trails led into the Park from the upper Chilliwack River region. Parties of the Chilliwack tribe are reported to have been encountered by the Upper Skagit in the Park river country, the area considered by the latter to be their tribal domain. The most obvious route, it would appear, would have been via Little Beaver Creek.

A trail to the east broke away from the Skagit River at the lower end of the present Ross Lake, ascended Ruby Creek and Granite Creek, and continued eastward over Rainy Pass into the upper Methow Valley. It soon left the Park region, actually about 4.5 miles above Ross Lake. Another trail moved up the Cascade River, proceeded along its North Fork, and came into the Park about 1

mile upstream from the mouth of the Fork. Still within the Park limits, it threaded the mountains through Cascade Pass and descended the Stehekin River to Lake Chelan. While other paths also passed eastward over the Cascades from traditional Upper Skagit territory, these apparently all crossed the mountain crests somewhat south of the Park perimeters.

A considerable amount of trail travel must have taken place, even in old, prehorse times, by small parties of Upper Skagit and Plateau Indians, moving east and west, with trading, visiting, and other objectives in mind. Apparently the Rainy Pass route mentioned above was not the east-west trail most followed; evidently it was a path that led through one of the more southern mountain breaks. According to the Upper Skagit, cross-Cascades movement was particularly undertaken in deep winter on snowshoes. The reason, though not reported by the ethnographer, seems rather plain: while the weather was obviously less hospitable and subsistence game on the trail was less plentiful, the trails were more easily traveled when deep snow covered the rough path--the rocks, snags, windfalls, low and tangled bushes, and the like. Temporary traveling camps were positioned, of course, along all of these trails, but their locations are not defined to my knowledge in the scanty ethnographic and ethnohistorical records.

Other Uses

It is axiomatic that Indian groups living in high altitude areas or journeying to them with task-specific objectives made as extensive use of the natural resources of these regions as possible within the needs defined by their culture, their knowledge of the terrain and its products, and the time they had available. These uses included not only those that the group considered primary, like, for the Upper Skagit, the hunting of mountain goats or the collecting of high altitude berries. They embraced as well the obtaining of other materials of secondary use, often widely varied in their nature, of limited availability, and desired only in small amounts.

Non-local travelers hastening along the mountain trails toward some particular locality with a few specific, sharply focused objectives in mind were obviously less well acquainted with the resources in the neighborhood of their routes--particularly resources of a secondary character--and, in general, surely had less time to exploit those they were aware of than were travelers and especially task parties of the group that "owned" the country. This is to say that the Upper Skagit must have been notably more familiar with the Park/Lake region and its resources than were Chelan, Methow, or Wenatchi journeying parties from the Plateau and than were coastal groups near the Upper Skagit when they traveled eastward over the mountainous watershed to the Plateau.

But what were the nonfood resources of the small streams and mountain slopes of the Upper Skagit River drainage that were secured by the Upper Skagit task-oriented groups? We know of mountain goat horn needed for fishing points, the hides of game killed for food, and mountain goat wool for weaving into cloaks and blankets, removed from skins brought back to camp, all materials that were excellent trade and potlatch items. But what more? Lithic supplies for the making of tools and other artifacts? Plants used technologically--as in fashioning nets and basketry--or as medicines and

other curatives? Colored earths from which important paints could be made? Were there localities--high lakes, craggy mountains, peculiarly formed rocks, or strangely shaped trees--where especially powerful guardian spirits might be obtained? And so on almost without end. Unfortunately, the ethnographic data to demonstrate such Park and Recreation Area utilization by the Upper Skagit are simply not in the literature.

CHAPTER II

CHILLIWACK

Data Base

The ethnographic and ethnohistorical data relating specifically to the Chilliwack are very limited. Accordingly the data compiled in this chapter are of two kinds. They include such ethnographic and ethnohistorical materials on the Chilliwack as are available and, to supplement these, data on the linguistically and culturally related tribes of the Upper Stalo cluster (see Figure 2-1).

The ethnographic information relating to the Chilliwack is drawn principally from Wilson Duff (1952) who in 1949 and 1950 gathered a small amount of traditional life-pattern data from Chilliwack informants. Some additional Chilliwack information comes from Franz Boas (1894) who carried out a brief period of field research among the neighboring Chehalis in 1890, from Charles Hill-Tout (1903, 1978a) who worked with Upper Stalo groups, including the Chilliwack, in the 1890s and early 1900s; and from Marian Smith (1941, 1946, 1947, 1950a, 1950b, 1952, 1955, 1956) who in the 1930s and 1940s studied the Chilliwack and nearby Upper Stalo tribes. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the aboriginal and early postcontact life style of the Chilliwack is singularly meager.

Because the Upper Stalo tribal cluster as a whole is considered by Duff to have possessed a fundamentally similar life mode, whatever the variations in detail, it appears legitimate to generalize with caution to the Chilliwack, where information concerning this group is lacking or seemingly faulty, from other Upper Stalo groups. Here of particular value are Duff's (1952) much more comprehensive and detailed field-derived materials on the native lifeways of the Tait in particular, the uprivermost of the Upper Stalo tribes. Limited information to check and complement Duff's data are provided by Boas' (1894) Chehalis study.

The ethnohistorical data are taken primarily from Charles Wilson (1866, 1970) who, as a member of the British Boundary Commission, lived for some months in 1859 in the Chilliwack country and nearby. Specific data on the Chilliwack and on the natural history of their area--including their river, Chilliwack Lake, and Cultus Lake--are included in Wilson's field records. These data represent, so far as I am aware, the earliest documentation relating to the tribe. Information relating to several Upper Stalo villages--but to none of the Chilliwack--is reported in the journal of Simon Fraser (1889, 1960), who with his exploring party paddled down the Fraser River and then back up in the summer of 1808. Additional bits of Upper Stalo cultural data are also drawn from several minor sources as indicated in the pages that follow.

As revealed at various points in this chapter, this procedure of placing the Chilliwack data, however limited, in the larger Upper Stalo cultural context yields one special reward: it provides strong, though palpably incomplete, evidence that the Chilliwack were in some ways an atypical Upper Stalo people. In part, these divergent lifeways were plainly the consequence

of the group's unique, pre- and early postcontact, side-valley geographical location. In part, they may have been a residue of a pre-White history that differed importantly from that of their Upper Stalo neighbors.

Introduction

In this section are briefly discussed the early postcontact history of the Chilliwack, the terms used in the past to designate the tribe, the territory it claimed and over which its members roamed in the pursuit of their life plan, its linguistic and cultural affiliations, the meager demographic data available for the group, and the physical characteristics of the people as these are known.

Early Chilliwack History

The Fraser Valley in the neighborhood of the Chilliwack homeland was first explored by Simon Fraser's party in late May and early June, 1808. It is reasonable to assume that early White and métis fur trappers and traders followed Fraser in the main valley and probably moved up the Chilliwack River in their search for pelts. Data to support this assumption, however, have yet to be located. In 1827 Fort Langley was established by the Hudson's Bay Company on the south bank of the Fraser about halfway between the Chilliwack River and the mouth of the Fraser to serve as the trading center for the area. In 1828 George Simpson of the Company ran the Fraser River from the Thompson River mouth to the sea, only to discover that this was too dangerous a route for the fur trade. Regrettably his detailed account of this journey remains unpublished. December of this same year found a party from the fort ascending the Fraser and entering "the Chul-Whoo-Yook [Chilliwack]," but, after about ten miles on the stream, having to turn back because of the strong current. It reported seeing cached canoes but no natives. (Duff 1952:44, 1964:54, 56; Fraser 1889, 1960; Phillips 1961 2:441; Rich 1967:275; Wilson 1970:36 fn. 18)

Although at least the more downriver Upper Stalo already "knew the sign of the cross and a few simple hymns," the first organized missionary activity in the region was undertaken in the early 1840s by Roman Catholic priests using Fort Langley as their base (Duff 1964:89-90; Lempfrit 1985:35). The extent to which members of the Chilliwack tribe were contacted is uncertain. In May, 1846, a Fort Langley group went up the Fraser to the Chilliwack to establish a salmon fishery on its banks, a fact that argues for the importance of the Chilliwack as a salmon stream. (Nelson 1927:17; Duff 1964:89-90; Lempfrit 1985:35)

Fort Yale was established in 1848 by the Hudson's Bay Company and a few months later Fort Hope. Their presence in Upper Stalo country initiated extensive contact between the native groups of this area and Whites, a contact in which the Chilliwack must have participated to some degree. (Smith 1955:104)

The summer of 1858 saw a rush of gold prospectors and miners ascending the Fraser to the newly discovered fields on the riverbanks and bars between Forts Hope and Yale and even into the region above the canyon. Attracted by

the lure of gold, many Indians turned to hunting the metal and, neglecting to store fish and roots, starved during the following winter. By mid-winter the gold fever had largely subsided owing to the intense cold and the lack of supplies. While the Chilliwack and their territory were evidently not directly involved in these activities, they could hardly have wholly escaped their effects. (Mayne 1862:50, 55-56, 66; Smith 1955:104)

In 1858-1859 the British Boundary Commission surveyed the international border in the Chilliwack territory and its vicinity. Its various supply and surveying parties that camped through the period in the Chilliwack region and constantly criss-crossed it during these years employed local Indians in various humble capacities, surely Chilliwack among them. (Wilson 1866, 1970) These very close contacts must have influenced the native life style, in some cases on a permanent basis, but the records are silent on these points.

Owing to time constraints, no effort has been made to review historical material after 1860 for whatever ethnographic scraps it may contain bearing on traditional Chilliwack life patterns.

Ethnonymy

To the degree that the Chilliwack have been distinguished in the ethnographic and historic literature from the other Halkomelem (Cowichan) tribes, they have, with one single exception so far as I am aware, been referred to as the Chilliwack or some obvious variant thereof. The only alternative designation is that recorded by Wilson in his phrase "the 'Chilukweyuk,' or 'Squahalitch' . . ., on the Chilukweyuk River." (Boas 1894:460; Hill-Tout 1903:355; Hodge 1912 1:268; Mayne 1862:295; Smith 1950a:340; Wilson 1866:278)

Tribal Territory

To understand the Chilliwack data as well as references to Sumas Lake, Chilliwack River, and Vedder River in the material that follows, a few geographic facts, drawn from Duff (1952) and other sources, must be comprehended.

- (a) In late precontact and perhaps very early historic times, the Chilliwack River, exiting from its canyon, flowed westward into Sumas Lake and thence northward to the Fraser River. A low bog lay between the Chilliwack and the Fraser, though it gradually grew firmer as time passed. (Duff 1952:43; Fraser 1960:101-103)
- (b) Sometime before 1830, the Chilliwack altered its lower course and, having emerged from the canyon mouth near Vedder Crossing, turned sharply to the north. Meandering across the low plain, it reached the Fraser just west of the present city of Chilliwack. The water from Sumas Lake found its way to the Fraser by its own small stream. (Duff 1952:14, 44)
- (c) In the late 1880s a downriver log jam caused the Chilliwack River to flow westward again from the Chilliwack canyon mouth, breaking through

to Vedder Creek. Now called Vedder River from this point, it ran to Sumas Lake and once more north to the Fraser. (Duff 1952:44; DEMR Hope quadrangle 1970)

- (d) In the 1920s Sumas Lake was intentionally drained. The lower Chilliwack, still termed Vedder River, was directed through the new Vedder Canal to the lower Sumas River and the Fraser. (Duff 1952:44)

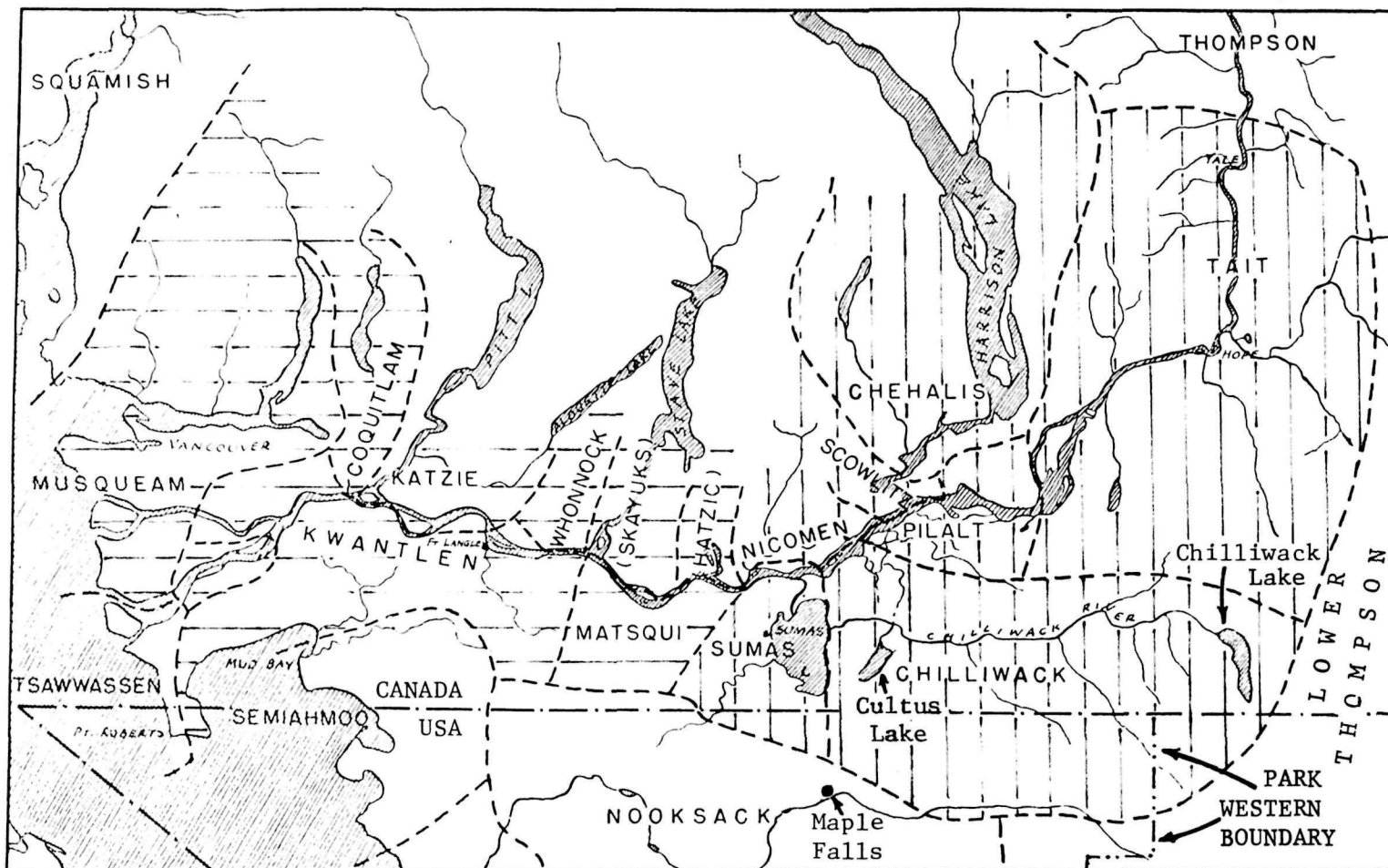
These data reveal how essential it is to note the time period in question when the ethnographic and especially historical data refer to the lower Chilliwack River and to the people and villages along it.

The borders of the traditional Chilliwack home country were defined in the Indians' mind with considerable precision, reflecting a relatively highly developed concept of territorial ownership not present among all Upper Stalo tribes. According to Duff (1952:21):

The [Chilliwack] tribe held a small stretch of the south side of the Fraser between the mouth of the Chilliwack River and lɛ'xəwe, a village half-way between Chilliwack and Sumas Mountains. From here the boundary ran due south, skirting the east side of Sumas Lake, to Maple Falls on the Nooksack, thence east along the north fork of the Nooksack and across the mountains to Chilliwack Lake. From the lake it ran west again to encompass the valley of the Chilliwack and that part of the Fraser Valley south of a line joining Elk Creek falls with the mouth of the Chilliwack River. (Figure 2-1).

These boundaries are, in most respects, as close to the facts as we are likely to get. When they are drawn slightly differently by other ethnographers, this is largely because, without special interest in them, they plot them more loosely. Still Duff's data call for several comments.

- The westward course of the Chilliwack River from the mouth of the Sweltzer River, which drains Cultus Lake, to Sumas Lake and then northward plots the late precontact and perhaps early historic situation. But the western Chilliwack boundary along the east side of Sumas Lake can only be that of the 1830s or later. Only then, after the bog filled in and Fort Langley provided protection from downriver raiders, did the Chilliwack leave their old homeland in the canyon above Vedder Crossing and settle out on the Fraser plain and make important subsistence use of its resources. Only then did they extend their border to Sumas Lake. (Boas 1894:455-456; Duff 1952:43)
- In precontact and possibly early historic times Cultus Lake, its source streams, and its outlet river were the territory of the Cultus Lake people, not the Chilliwack. (Duff 1952:38; Hill-Tout 1903:267-268; Smith 1950a:340-341)
- Duff's plotting of the southwestern Chilliwack border fails to carry the line "due south" from Sumas Lake to Maple Falls as the description above defines that boundary.



Key: Upper Stalo tribelets: ||||| Lower Stalo tribelets: |||||

Figure 2-1. Aboriginal territory of Chilliwack and neighboring groups as defined by Duff (1952: map 1, modified). Chilliwack River course is shown approximately as in pre-1830 and late 1800 periods. I differentiate between the Stalo group and nearby non-Stalo tribes; also between Upper and Lower Stalo as somewhat fuzzily distinguished by Duff. I label Chilliwack and Cultus Lakes, locate Maple Falls, identify area east of Chilliwack Lake as traditional (Lower) Thompson country, and designate approximate western limit of North Cascades National Park to indicate extent of Chilliwack occupation.

Most important for the present study is the fact that Duff's southeastern tribal line places the northwesternmost corner of the North Cascades Park squarely within old Chilliwack territory.

Linguistic and Cultural Affiliation

To comprehend their cultural position in relation to their tribal neighbors and the ways in which they were similar to and different from them in their life patterns, the Chilliwack must be viewed in the context of the larger lower Fraser region. In this segment of the Pacific Northwest linguistic and cultural relationships were intimately intertwined. It is convenient, therefore, to discuss the two together.

Careful linguistic reconstruction indicates that some time in the distant past the language family now known as Salishan developed in a riverine, forested valley environment west of the Cascades, perhaps even in the lower Fraser country itself or not far away. About 3,000 years ago it spread up the Fraser Valley and over the Cascades into the Plateau. This movement, in time, split the family into its two major units, a Coastal and an Interior division. The Coastal group (and, of course, Interior likewise) carried forward the normal process of language change through time when speakers are isolated to some extent by distance or other contact barriers. It continued to divide, ultimately to produce in the Strait of Georgia area of southeastern Vancouver Island, the nearby Fraser Valley, and the islands in-between, the language now customarily termed Halkomelem, though Cowichan, Nanaimo-group, and still other designations have been used for this unit.

As time passed, Halkomelem spread up the Fraser River to the mouth of Fraser canyon, gradually separating into a number of mutually intelligible dialects that in the late prehistoric and postcontact period clustered into three dialect groups: Nanaimo and Cowichan, both on the southeastern corner of Vancouver Island, and Stalo in the lower Fraser Valley from Yale downstream to the river delta and a small area about the Fraser mouth (Figure 2-2). Chilliwack is one of the several Stalo tribes, all possessing a common language and cultural base but not a political unity. (Boas 1894:454; Duff 1952:11-12; Dyen 1962:156; Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:1; Fraser 1960:99; Hill-Tout 1903:355, 369; Mayne 1862:242, 295, 296; Smith 1950a:332-335, 338, 339; Suttles 1957:168; Suttles and Elmendorf 1963:48-49; Swadesh 1950:163, 164, 166-167, 1952:247; Teit 1900:168; Thompson 1979:693)

These Fraser River tribes--the Stalo--formed a single dialect chain, each population entity differing somewhat in speech--apparently also to some degree in culture--from its neighbors above and below in the river valley, with those at the upstream and downriver ends of the chain being notably different. In spite of this linguistic and cultural chain structure, one sharper than normal break occurred in this Stalo sequence. This break was across the Fraser Valley either just below the Chilliwack and Sumas or possibly a bit farther downriver. The six small tribes above this line are termed by Duff the "Upper Stalo"--as opposed to the "Lower Stalo" below--a useful designation that will be followed in this present study. (Duff 1952:11-12, 19-23; Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:1-3, 17)

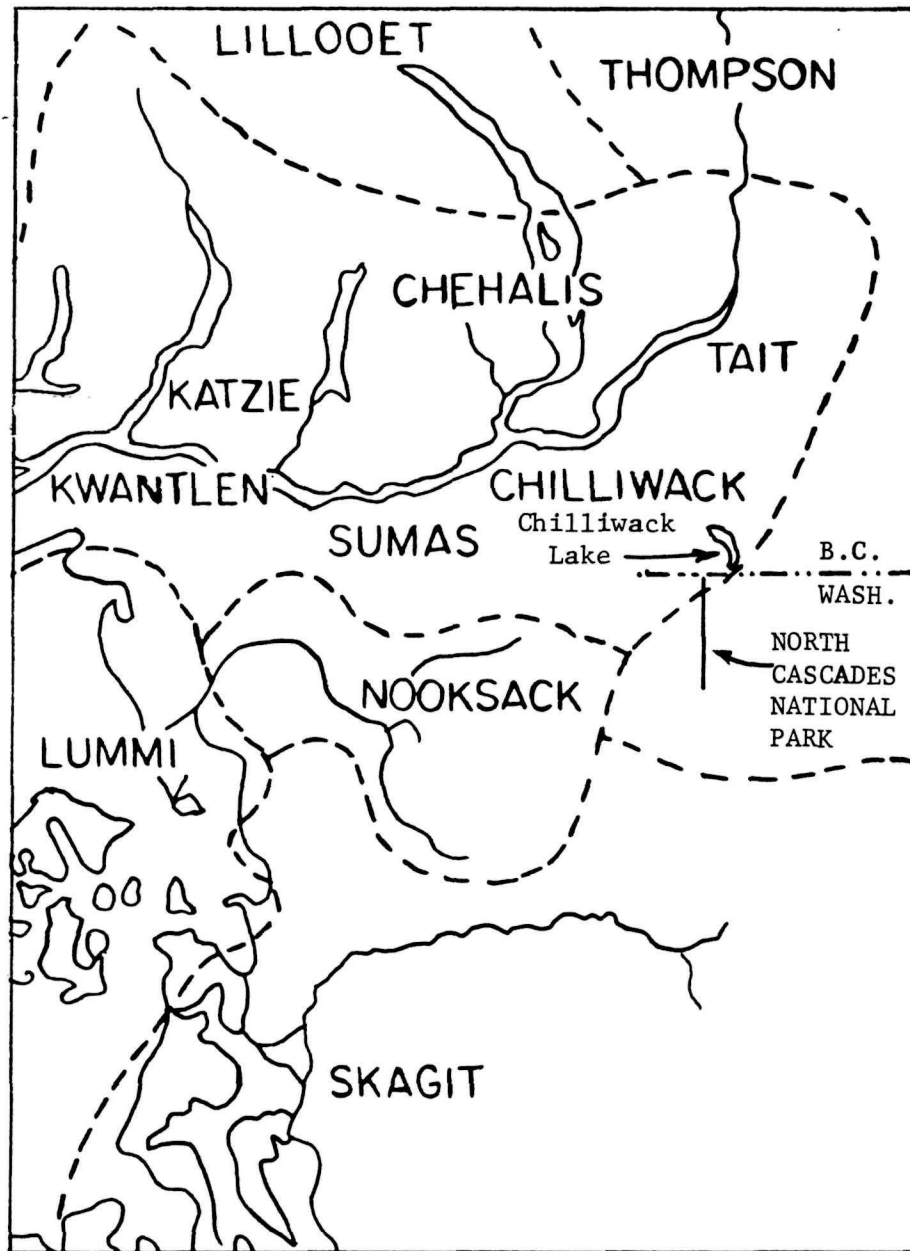


Figure 2-2. Principal mainland Halkomelem dialect communities and neighboring non-Halkomelem Salishan languages (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:2, slightly modified). Shown are Halkomelem boundaries with Skagit and (Lower) Thompson, tribes also considered in this report. Boundaries are approximate. Chilliwack Lake, the British Columbia-Washington boundary, and northwestern border of North Cascades National Park have been added.

Among the various Coastal Salishan languages known at the time of first White contact, which were most closely related to Halkomelem? Although there have been slightly differing formulations by linguists in the past, the kinship seems to be particularly close with Squamish, Nooksack, and Straits Salish (Lkungen, Lkungeneng), this last group including Lummi, Songish, Samish, Klallam, and other coastal and island dialects south of the Fraser delta and on the southeastern point of Vancouver Island. (Dyen 1962:159, 160; Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:3; Swadesh 1950:163, 1952:232)

In linguistic terms, the Chilliwack are especially intriguing as a Stalo tribe. There is some evidence that as recently as the late 1700s the group (and perhaps also the Cultus Lake people) may have spoken a different dialect, even a different language than that of more recent years. Perhaps it was most akin to Nooksack of the upper Nooksack Valley, though here the evidence is not fully convincing. Such a kinship, however, would not be out of the question since the Nooksack territory was contiguous to that of the Chilliwack on the southwest (Figures 2-1, 2-2), the groups evidently saw a good deal of each other, and both were upriver peoples sharing rather similar wooded valley econiches. It has already been noted that, although unintelligible to Stalo, Nooksack was among those Coastal Salishan languages most closely related to Halkomelem. (Boas 1894:455; Duff 1952:11, 12, 39, 43; Hill-Tout 1903:355, 357, 1978b:135; Smith 1950a:334-335, 341; Suttles 1957:167; Swadesh 1950:159, 160, 1952:233 fn. 3)

Demography

The size of the Chilliwack population in late protohistoric times is unknown, although, as Hill-Tout (1903:355) remarks, they appear never to have been "a populous tribe."

In 1839, in a Stalo-wide census by Hudson's Bay traders at Fort Langley, the "Chilsonook" were counted at 151 persons. About 1860 the Chilliwack population was estimated by Wilson (1866:278) at 200. While characterizing the 1839 Fort Langley head-count for the various Fraser River tribelets as in general "quite remarkable in its accuracy and detail," Duff (1952:28) believes its Chilliwack figure to be too low, "especially since the 1879 census sets the Chilliwack population at 196." Duff may here be correct, for, because of the early steady depopulation, the 1839 census should have shown a larger person count than the 200 figure of about 1860. On the other hand, as Duff (1952:28, 129-130) likewise remarks, probably some of the apparent increase reported in 1879 is the consequence of "the inclusion of some Pilalt," the tribelet immediately upriver from the Chilliwack.

Before the 1830s and especially prior to 1780, the Chilliwack numbers must have been appreciably greater, for a terrible smallpox scourge ravaged the region about 1800, killing, according to Jenness (n.d., MS), "about three-quarters of the Indians." Still other epidemics surely also reached the Chilliwack, and Fraser River Indians more generally, prior to the 1839 headcount, including the 1782 smallpox epidemic and the "fever" epidemic of 1830. (Duff 1952:28, 41)

One of the old Chilliwack villages carried in its native designation a reference to the severity of an epidemic that devastated it: it was

translated by Hill-Tout's (1903:356) informant as "melting away" and by Duff's (1952:38) as "to dissolve." Contagious illnesses were, however, not the sole cause of major population reductions: another village was known as "wiped out by a slide" (Duff 1952:39)

Inasmuch as this chapter is concerned with the Chilliwack and their lifeways only in the protohistoric and early historic periods, the details of the continued decrease in the tribal population from 1839 to about 1915 and then the rapid increase in their numbers and the causes thereof fall outside its interest focus.

Physical Attributes

The earliest descriptions of the physical characteristics of the Upper Stalo are those of Simon Fraser (1960:100, 101), who included them in his journal of his travels down the Fraser in late June, 1808. He encountered his first Indians with a coastal cultural orientation--several settlements of Tait--in the Yale sector of the river. "Both sexes," he notes, "are stoutly made, and some of the men are handsome," although he could not "say so much for the women." On reaching the Tait village near Hope, he adds further details: "The Indians in this quarter are fairer than those in the interior. Their heads and faces are extremely flat; their skin and hair of a reddish cast--but this cast, I suppose, is owing to the ingredients with which they besmear their bodies."

A half-century later Charles Wilson, a member of the British Boundary Commission survey group, provides additional details. According to Wilson, who was in close field contact with the Halkomelem for many months in the 1858-1859 period, these tribes resembled "each other greatly in appearance and habits, such differences as exist[ed] being principally due to locality and the means by which they obtain their living, . . ." The Chilliwack, however, were a "noticeable" exception because they hunted "a great deal on foot, and, from constant exercise, . . . [were] much more robust in appearance, and more manly and open-hearted in manner, than their brethren of Vancouver Island." Inasmuch as specific Chilliwack data are lacking and their basic physical traits are unlikely to have varied much from those of their Fraser River neighbors and since careful descriptive information of this kind for this early time level is uncommon, the following general Halkomelem data are worthy of notice.

The stature of the Cowitchans [Halkomelem] is diminutive, ranging from 5 ft. to 5 ft. 6 in., and occasionally to 5 ft. 7 in., or 5 ft. 8 in. amongst the more inland tribes; the women are from 5 in. to 6 in. shorter. The hair is either black or very dark brown, coarse, straight, and allowed to grow to its full length, either falling in one large mass over the neck and shoulders, or plaited and done up in tresses round the head. The faces of both sexes are generally broad, the forehead low, the eyes black, bright, and piercing, though generally small, and set in the head obliquely like the Tartar or Chinese, the nose broad and thick with large nostrils, the cheek-bones high and prominent, the mouth large and wide, with thick lips, especially the under one, and the teeth large and of a pearly white when young, but soon discolored and

worn down by the hard service they have to go through, masticating the tough dry salmon, which constitutes their principal food; . . . most of the old women met with had their teeth worn down to a level with the gum. (Wilson 1866:278-279)

Unlike the canoe people of Vancouver Island with their broad shoulders and good chests but small, crooked, weak legs, the consequence of spending the greater part of their lives squatting in a canoe, the Chilliwack had "straight well formed legs, the result of their more active life, and excursions into the mountains in search of bear and mountain goat." Usually all facial and body hair is removed by both sexes, though men occasionally encourage a small chin tuft. The skin color is dark olive, deepened to dark brown on the face through exposure. People age very rapidly, especially women. As they grow older, they are "much troubled with rheumatism and pulmonary complaints." In 1862 smallpox began its ravages and venereal disease has recently "increased to a fearful extent." (Wilson 1866:279)

Intentional flattening of the forehead extended up the Fraser only as far as Fort Langley in Wilson's day. Indeed, he saw no evidence of the practice even among the older people above the fort area. (Wilson 1866:278)

So much for the unusually rich and detailed ethnohistorical data, presenting, of course, primarily nontechnical observational information. What have anthropologists to say about the physical characteristics of the Middle Fraser people?

Near the close of the last century Boas (1892, 1895) recognized and documented a unique physical type in the Harrison Lake area on the basis of 15 measurements supplemented by a number of phenotypic observations. The type was characterized by a very short stature, a very round head, a flat nose with a low bridge, and a face that was very short vertically and in relation to its height very wide, all in comparison with other Indian types in the Northwest and even in North America in general.

Also recognized by Boas was a lower Fraser River type distinct from but closely related to the Harrison Lake type. This was slightly taller and rather less extreme in those other measurements involved in the several Harrison Lake biotraits mentioned above. Inasmuch as these middle Fraser data demonstrated a gradual change in type along the river, Boas (1895:549) concluded that these tribes "must have occupied these regions for very long times, and that the population has been very stable." (Codere 1949:176-181)

Subsistence

The Upper Stalo surely exploited fully their fish, game, and edible plant resources. Beyond the fact that fish--notably anadromous types--were exceedingly important, little is to be found in the ethnographic literature, however, to suggest the relative importance of these three principal food sources and how these proportions differed among the various tribal groups. As noted below, people who had no or few fishing locations within their own territory along the Fraser were accustomed to join relatives in other groups at their more favorable fishing sites.

From a few scattered notes it is clear that the old Chilliwack, in their aboriginal canyon and mountain country back from the Fraser Valley, had access to salmonids, perhaps in considerable numbers, in the Chilliwack River. We are not informed as to the degree to which they joined other Upper Stalo peoples farther upriver at their extremely rich salmon fisheries on the main Fraser. One surmises, however, that there could not have been much of this, for the tribe seems to have been a surprisingly isolated group in their back country. Consequently, it appears safe to conclude that the Chilliwack depended somewhat less on fish--at least anadromous types--and rather more on game than did other Upper Stalo groups.

The use of plant foods--especially roots and berries--is hardly mentioned in the published Upper Stalo ethnographic studies. Probably in comparison with nearby non-Halkomelem groups with limited salmonid supplies, their exploitation of these vegetable products was more restricted, if for no other reason than because the seasonal occurrence of salmonids and of roots and berries in large part coincided, and principal attention was paid to fishing rather than to plant collecting.

Though no dietary data exist, to my knowledge, concerning the variety, amounts, and nutritional characteristics of the typical Chilliwack food intake, Rivera (1949:19-36) provides generalized information for the Northwest Coast peoples. In considerable measure this must likewise apply to the traditional Chilliwack, with sea products largely deleted and the inclusion of more game and inland vegetable foods. Chilliwack mainstays were certainly fish (probably especially salmon even for this lateral-stream group), meat, root crops, bulbs, tubers, and berries, all eaten both seasonally and prepared for storage. By preference, both dried and fresh foods and both flesh and plant foods were eaten year-round.

Under normal conditions, Rivera reports for the entire coastal area but surely no less for the Chilliwack specifically, proteins were abundant in the foods consumed. The situation in regard to fats is less clear, but the availability of both fish (particularly salmon) and game fat presumably furnished dietarily adequate amounts: at least on the coast fat fish were preferred for roasting and the drippings were saved for consumption. Since among the Chilliwack salmon were not far from the sea, they doubtless arrived in good condition, not fatless and beaten as at the headwaters of very long salmon rivers like the Columbia (Smith 1984:136-140). As an upriver tribe in their back valley with its river prairies and nearby hillsides, wild roots, bulbs, and tubers were clearly available to the Chilliwack to add the essential carbohydrate component to their diet. Sugar was largely provided by fresh and dried berries and other fruits.

In the domain of vitamins far less was known to Rivera. Further the situation is complicated by the critical importance of understanding not only their availability in traditional Chilliwack fresh-eaten foods but, far more importantly, their availability in foods that were processed in various ways before being eaten. Vitamin C, however, is known to have been secured in fresh fruit and vegetables (especially green sprouts) and in the blood of freshly killed fish and animals, many of even these plant foods obtainable throughout much of the year. Salmon was a good source of both vitamin A and vitamin D.

Even less was known in her day, Rivera observes, about dietary minerals. Those that are soluble were, of course, ordinarily leached out of boiled foods with the containing water, yet they were not lost as food, for the coastal groups--again plainly including the Chilliwack--customarily used this liquid in stews and soups. Dried serviceberries, which seem to have been available to the Chilliwack to some degree though they grew more prolifically in the interior of the Province (Turner 1978:180-182), contained unusually high amounts of iron and copper and were likewise high in manganese, all necessary for human health.

In short, to the degree that the native Chilliwack diet is understood, it appears to have been more than adequate in its quantities and its nutritional properties.

Fishing

Concerning fishing and its importance Duff's summary paragraph cannot be improved upon:

To this Stalo, with their great wealth of fish resources, fishing was the most important economic activity. In the main [Fraser] river or its tributaries they caught the five species of salmon, as well as sturgeon, eulachons, trout, and other river-fish. They used many methods and devices--dip-nets, bag-nets, harpoons, weirs, traps, hooks. Although fresh fish was procurable the year around, they dried or smoked large amounts during late summer for winter use. (Duff 1952:62)

All Upper Stalo men were fishermen. The more proficient became in a sense specialists. (Duff 1952:72)

Salmon

The five salmon species of the Upper Stalo country were:

- Oncorhynchus tshawytscha: chinook, king, or spring salmon.
- O. nerka: sockeye salmon, silver trout, silvers.
- O. gorbuscha: pink or humpback salmon.
- O. keta: chum or dog salmon.
- O. kisutch: coho (coho) salmon. (Duff 1952:62; Wydoski and Whitney 1979:54-64)

Not surprisingly, all five were recognized by the Chilliwack as different fish and were referred to by different terms, as distinct, too, from steelhead and trout (Hill-Tout 1903:389).

Unfortunately, I know of no ethnographic data or recent natural history information reporting how many of these five salmon species ascended the

Chilliwack River and, if they entered the stream, how far upriver they swam. That some salmon, at least of the chinook variety, entered and made their way up the Chilliwack, however, is indicated by several fragments of evidence.

- A Pilalt myth, recorded by Hill-Tout (1903:402), that purports to explain how salmon were first brought to the Fraser River tribelets (see later "myth" section), concludes with this relevant statement: "From this time onwards the salmon have visited annually the streams mentioned; . . . [In some streams, however, they are not good fish; in others, they die in great numbers.] In the Chilliwack, on the contrary, they are good and fine, and are easily dried and cured."
- As noted below, the only salmon run specifically mentioned ethnographically for the Chilliwack River in a non-mythic context is a chinook run of mid-summer (Duff 1952:62). Hill-Tout (1903:390), however, states that "autumn . . . was marked among the Tcil Qe'uk [Chilliwack] by the departure of the salmon." It seems probable that Hill-Tout speaks here of salmon in the Chilliwack and not the Fraser, on which the Chilliwack maintained no salmon fishing camps in pre-White days. If so, the salmon remained in the stream for a longer period than Duff's data imply.
- In late May, 1846, a salmon fishery was established on the banks of the Chilliwack River by a party from Fort Langley, sent upriver specifically for this purpose (Nelson 1927:17). Unhappily we do not know the location of this site nor the success of the venture, but presumably the traders must have seen good evidence in the stream of salmon in numbers.
- In Charles Wilson's journal of 1859 occur three entries that attest to salmon of some variety or varieties in the Chilliwack at least up as far as Chilliwack Lake. On June 16 of that year, when encamped at "Chilukweyuk Prairie" close to the Chilliwack River a short distance below the Chilliwack canyon, he reports being told by Indians of salmon abounding in Chilliwack Lake. In the same sentence he adds that "a reconnoitring party sent forward give glowing accounts of the fishing" in the lake, salmon being presumably alluded to. (Wilson 1970:49)

On July 27, 1859, traveling along the Chilliwack River from his Fraser prairie headquarters to Chilliwack Lake, he camped that night close to an Indian group (surely Chilliwack), just upstream from the Chilliwack canyon mouth. These people, who were fishing nearby, gave him "a splendid salmon" after he had talked and smoked with them for a time. (Wilson 1970:63)

Finally, Wilson (1970:73) appears to be commenting on the Chilliwack River and its side streams--note that he uses the phrase "the river" in the singular--when he composed his diary entry on October 9, 1859: "One curious thing at this season of the year is the quantity of dead salmon on the banks of the river; in some of the smaller streams the quantities are so numerous that it produces a most intolerable smell & renders the water anything but pleasant for drinking purposes." When he wrote this note, he had been encamped on the lower Chilliwack River, below the canyon, for almost a full month, ample time for him to observe the phenomenon.

From the above data it must be concluded that salmon occurred at least as far up the Chilliwack Valley as the head of Chilliwack Lake. If they managed to make their way to this point, they may well have climbed the upper Chilliwack River into the North Cascades Park complex, the northern boundary of which is no more than a mile or two above the lake. But for this I have as yet no proof.

In Upper Stalo territory generally, salmon were easily taken in prodigious numbers at favorable locations along the Fraser and its tributaries and were easily dried for later provisions. These fish and the landform and climatic conditions of the country, working hand in hand, provided the people with "a storehouse of food unexcelled by that of any other Indian tribe." (Duff 1952:62)

Our earliest historical records--the 1808 journal of Simon Fraser--confirm Duff's assessment of the importance of salmon to the Upper Stalo. At least in late June of that year, the salmon fisheries in their territory were evidently more productive than those farther down the Fraser. Fraser's party of exploration received salmon--generally "in plenty"--from them, beginning with the first Upper Stalo people encountered. (Fraser 1960:98-101)

Of the five species, the chinook and sockeye were economically by far the most important to the Upper Stalo. To aid in comprehending what these enormous salmon resources meant to these tribes, a few details concerning the five types seem worthwhile:

- The chinook variety was the finest of the five species to the Tait tribe and the variety for which the first salmon ceremony was celebrated. According to Duff (1952:62) and his informants, soon after the ice broke in the Fraser, small, fat chinook began to ascend the river. In July a small run, too fat to keep well, passed up the Chilliwack River. The main runs in the Fraser appeared after mid-July, when the high water had subsided. During August and early September they passed upriver in large quantities; these were large chinook, lean and easy to dry. By the middle of September the Fraser run declined, although even larger fish then commenced to run up some of the tributaries.

In terms of the special interests of this study, the Chilliwack statement is particularly noteworthy. Whether the mentioned July run was the sole one up the Chilliwack during the salmon season is not made clear.

- Sockeye salmon began their upriver run in mid-June, reached their peak in August, and fell off by the close of September. Very fat early in the season, they became leaner until late August, when they were in perfect condition for drying. Less favored as food than chinooks, most were used for oil. (Duff 1952:62)
- Pink salmon appeared in late August and spawned for about a month. Large runs occurred only every second year. (Duff 1952:62)
- Chum arrived in mid-September and remained into December. (Duff 1952:52)

- Coho salmon "spawned in the small streams during late fall and winter."
(Duff 1952:62)

Salmon were taken by the Upper Stalo with dip, gill, and bag nets, were harpooned, and were caught in weirs. How many of these techniques were in use among the Chilliwack we are not told.

Chinook and sockeye were dip-netted by thousands of Upper Stalo Indians from family-owned rocky banks or platforms over the water. The device consisted of an Indian hemp net attached to a vine maple hoop with a long cedar or fir handle. It was either moved slowly back and forth in an eddy or moved up and down in the water. Gill nets with wooden floats and stone bottom-weights were used from canoes. Bag nets were stretched between two poles held vertically from canoes. (Duff 1952:62-63, 69; Fraser 1960:101, 114)

Upper Stalo harpoons, of medium dimensions, were made with a fir or cedar shaft, a serviceberry or spiraea foreshaft, and a one- or three-piece toggle-type head. The head was of bone, charred wood, flat slate ground into shape, or elk antler hardened by heating and oiling. The retrieving line was of Indian hemp. Fraser seems to refer to just such a device when in a Tait village in 1808. Chinook were harpooned in early spring in the Fraser; cohos in the tributaries. In winter bottom-lying salmon were taken with these devices from canoes by firelight. (Duff 1952:60-61, 67; Fraser 1960:101)

Weirs, some with traps and some without, were sidely used by the Upper Stalo in taking salmon. The fisherman speared the fish by thrusting straight downward with a three-pronged leister or by slipping over their head a noose hanging from a pole. The Chilliwack caught most of their salmon with brush weirs, supported by a row of pole tripods set across their stream: according to an old myth, the method of construction and use of this device was taught the tribal ancestors by Wren. After the 1830s and the movement of the Chilliwack from their traditional canyon home out onto the Fraser plain, salmon weirs were placed in the various meandering mouths of the Chilliwack River. (Duff 1952:37, 38, 67; Hill-Tout 1903:367)

Salmon intended for storage were cut up for drying by Upper Stalo women, using in the old days a ground-slate knife. The head was removed and the fish allowed to bleed thoroughly. Then the fish was cut down each side of the backbone to the interior cavity, leaving the flanks and belly in one piece and the backbone and other bones attached to the tail. After being scored, the two sections were hung over a pole to dry. The summer weather in Upper Stalo country provided ideal conditions for drying fish: it was warm and dry and the breeze blew upriver constantly. The large chinooks caught late in the season when the drying weather was less dependable were cut thinner to promote proper preservation. (Duff 1952:62, 63, 64 Plate II, 66-67)

Among the Upper Stalo not all salmon were dried. From mid-July to mid-August when three kinds of egg-laying flies plagued the area, it was best to smoke fish. In the fall many fish were smoked by preference. The process was carried out over alderwood fires in the smoke house. Among the

Chilliwack fish were sometimes cured by being smoked at intervals instead of continuously. This imparted to them a peculiar salty taste. (Duff 1952:66-67; Hill-Tout 1903:396)

Salmon heads were split, cleaned, and dried on a rack for later use in soups. Chinook roe was hung in similar fashion to dry, later to be soaked or boiled for eating. Or it was placed over the winter "in a deep hole about 4 feet in diameter lined with several inches of maple-leaves," perforated to allow the oil to drain through. Then the roe was covered with more maple leaves and finally with earth. Cheese-like in its consistency when removed, it was eaten raw, boiled into soup, or applied to sores as a poultice. (Duff 1952:66)

Once dried, the fish were placed in an elevated storehouse where they could be protected from moisture and rodents for winter consumption. If completely dry, they were stored in boxes; otherwise they were hung up to dry further. (Duff 1952:67)

Chinooks were the only salmon that were dried. Sockeyes were caught for their oil, used "for everything, like we use lard." To extract the oil the entire fish was placed in a wooden trough or stone bowl in the sun and the oil was separated out as it seeped to the bottom as the fish decomposed. Clear, light red, and viscous even in cold weather, the oil was stored in bladders(?) of deer, bear, or mountain goats. Twice on their 1808 downriver journey of exploration of the Fraser River, Fraser and his party were served oil in "plenty" as a part of meals received at Upper Stalo settlements. (Duff 1952:66; Fraser 1960:101)

Sturgeon

White sturgeon, said to have weighed up to 1,800 pounds, were caught by the Upper Stalo year-round in the Fraser and its larger sloughs and tributaries. In winter they were harpooned in the deepest part of the river. In mid-summer, when spawning in shallower water, they were taken with bag nets, harpooned, and caught with hook and line. In the outlet of Sumas Lake they were even taken in a very large weir. Fraser's exploring party was welcomed in late June, 1808, with a sturgeon meal in a village near Hope. (Duff 1952:67-68; Fraser 1960:101)

When conducting field research among the Chehalis (Figure 2-1) in the 1890s, Boas (1894:460) was informed that the Chilliwack caught no sturgeon. Other data gathered for this present study clearly contradict this statement: e.g., the Chilliwack were said to have eaten a particular moth during the sturgeon season to bring them good fishing fortune (Wilson 1866:285).

The large sturgeon harpoon was a complicated device. It consisted of two long, symmetrical foreshafts, their points about one foot apart and their other ends brought together in socket form to receive the end of the shaft, sometimes as much as 60 feet long. Each foreshaft was armed with a three-piece point, a central ground-slate blade flanked with two barbed side pieces of antler or mountain goat horn. Each was tied to its foreshaft with a cord, and the foreshafts, in turn, to the handle. The device was thrust into the bottom-swimming fish by a man in the stern of a canoe, as the craft

drifted with the current. Struck, the sturgeon was played with a long line, tied to the harpoon handle and kept coiled in the canoe. (Duff 1952:60, 67, 68; Wilson 1866:284-285)

In shallow water sturgeon were captured in bag nets dragged behind two canoes. The net was either attached to two poles or, fitted with cedar floats and stone weights, was pulled with two main ropes, one attached to each upper net corner. Fraser, in July of 1808, observed just such a net in use when passing through Tait country. Bag nets of some variety was employed by the Chilliwack in sturgeon fishing. (Duff 1952:68-69, 115)

To a lesser extent sturgeon were also taken by the Upper Stalo with hook and line. Fishing in this manner was carried out throughout the summer, most successfully at night, when the line was tied to a long pole buoy anchored to a heavy rock. In a Chilliwack historical narrative, angling for this fish is mentioned as a central element in the story. (Duff 1952:69, 115; Wilson 1866:284)

The sturgeon weir erected by the Sumas people at the outlet of Sumas Lake appears to have been an unusual, if not unique, fishing contrivance among the Upper Stalo. A 200-foot fence of some sort was held in place against a series of two-pole supports pushed into the shallow clay stream-bottom. Horizontal poles ran across the stream, resting on the apexes of these crossed pole pairs. When a fish was observed in the clear water resting against the weir, it was noosed and harpooned from these horizontal, connecting poles. (Duff 1952:68, 69, 70)

Sturgeon flesh was usually cut into slabs and, held open with sticks, smoked in a smokehouse. The head and tail were cooked and eaten fresh. From along the backbone valuable glue was obtained. (Duff 1952:70)

Trout

Trout--steelhead, char, cutthroat, and smaller trout--were taken by the Upper Stalo by the same methods as used for larger fish. They were caught at night by torchlight with salmon harpoons or in Fraser tributaries--including the Chilliwack--with smaller harpoons, single or triple pronged. Fine-meshed bag nets, attached to two poles, were often employed from drifting canoes, a method known to have been used by the Chilliwack. Weirs with a variety of trap designs were constructed along small streams. The Chilliwack are reported to have had one with two long conical traps, one facing upstream and the other down. Trout were also taken with small hooks fashioned of thorns or of bone and wood. (Duff 1952:69-70)

Trout were usually eaten fresh. An Upper Stalo fisherman with a good catch kept "only what he needed and gave the rest away." (Duff 1952:70)

Other Fish

In May the eulachon ascended the Fraser as far as the Chilliwack River to spawn. They were scooped in huge numbers into canoes with dip nets. The Chilliwack, as well as upriver people who thronged down to meet these fish,

participated in this simple and highly productive fishing. These fish, strung on sticks, were hung from racks under a bough roof to smoke over an alder fire. Eulachon oil was not extracted by the Upper Stalo as it was on the coast. (Duff 1952:70-71)

Suckers, graylings, and other fresh-water fish were caught by the same techniques as served to take larger fish. Fresh-water mussels from lakes in Upper Stalo country were eaten to some degree. (Duff 1952:70, 71)

Hunting

Very little information concerning Upper Stalo hunting is provided by Duff and virtually none, more's the pity, specific to the Chilliwack. This is particularly a shame, for Duff (1952:71) reports: "The fauna of the Stalo area was abundant and varied, and though not as important as fishing, hunting was a well-developed and important economic activity." It might be suspected that this was especially the case for the Chilliwack while they resided along the Chilliwack River above Vedder Crossing with no claim to a Fraser bank sector.

Used for food were the following mammals and birds, according to one of Duff's Tait informants: black bear, the favorite meat; mountain goat, rated second as meat; deer, much used but considered a dry meat; elk and grizzly bear, used less because difficult to secure; groundhog and beaver, popular meats; raccoon, wildcat, squirrel, and marten, sometimes eaten; ducks, geese, grouse, and eagles, much sought after; fish cranes, robins, bluejays, and crows, sometimes eaten. (Duff 1952:71)

Not regarded as proper food were dogs, wolves, coyotes, cougars, seals, weasels, mink, rats, and mice; likewise loons, owls, and woodpeckers. (Duff 1952:71)

As noted above, very little information on animals utilized as food by the Chilliwack is available, but such a list could hardly differ much, if at all, from the preceding Upper Stalo catalog, which is itself obviously incomplete. For what it may be worth, the animals casually mentioned in 1859 by Wilson, of the British Boundary Commission, as having been seen in the Chilliwack country include black bear (numerous and widely occurring), beaver, deer (numerous on the Chilliwack Prairie), marmot (numerous in Chilliwack Lake and Cultus Lake areas), marten (abound in Chilliwack Lake country), and rabbits (many in Cultus Lake sector). A flat stretch beside the Chilliwack River between Slease and Tamihi Creeks, formerly the river bed, was termed "Grizzly Flat" by Wilson and his Commission parties. Cougar tracks were seen by Wilson in the December snow in the mountains, but whether these animals were avoided as food--as, it is said, among the Upper Stalo in general--is not known. (Wilson 1970:49, 50, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68-69, 79)

All Upper Stalo men were expected to become capable hunters. Some, however, became specialists, spending a good part of their time in pursuing game and leading "the fall expeditions to the mountains after goats." Typically they received their "greater knowledge of animal habits and hunting methods" from their fathers and were likely to transmit this information to

their sons. A successful hunter might possess guardian spirits for hunting, but this was not essential for hunting prowess. (Duff 1952:72)

Because, as the following facts demonstrate, the Chilliwack and their mountain territory were clearly deeply involved in hunting pursuits, Duff's all to brief summary of Upper Stalo hunting patterns deserves quotation rather than the usual reworking and compression.

Most of the hunting was done in the fall, when the animals were fat. During the summer months, little hunting was done. The fact that the animals were thin, the abundance of fish, and . . . [perhaps] a restriction on hunting animals which were bearing their young, kept hunting to a minimum. After salmon-drying season was over, the hunters led expeditions into the mountains to hunt mountain-goats. There were apparently no sharply delineated hunting territories, but the hunters knew of mountains where there were many animals, some as far away as Chilliwack Lake or beyond. If they met hunting-parties of other tribes, there was no conflict (though . . . [one Tait informant] thought the Thompsons and Skagits fought when they met). These expeditions sometimes lasted several weeks. The party would set up hunting camps, and the hunters would operate out of these. Other men, women, and older children stayed in camp to cut up and dry the meat, gather firewood, etc. The meat was cut into slabs about an inch thick and smoked on a rack 4 or 5 feet high. The dry meat was quite light; one man could pack the meat of two or three goats. When enough had been obtained, the party started for home. The meat was tied up in packs, which were large envelopes of deer-hide carried by means of tump-lines over the forehead. (Duff 1952:72-73)

The Upper Stalo killed game "with bows and arrows, thrusting-spears and clubs, and caught them in pitfalls, deadfalls, snares, and nets," and used trained dogs in their hunts (Duff 1952:71).

Traps of four different types, each with its distinctive native name, are listed by Hill-Tout (1903:399) as Chilliwack devices for taking animals: (a) "fall" traps, which I take to mean deadfalls; (b) pit traps, always constructed with a V-shaped bottom to pin the legs of the animal together and prevent it from leaping out; (c) "noose" traps, which I gather were stationary set snares; and (d) spring traps "made by bending a sapling."

Deer were taken in numbers by the Upper Stalo. In the valleys they were chased by dogs into the river where hunters awaited them in canoes. In the mountains they were pursued by dogs, while the men attempted to get close enough for a bow and arrow shot. Deer were caught in pitfalls in game trails. A hole five feet deep was dug and fitted with two crutched sticks or several sharpened stakes, each long enough to hold the trapped animal off the ground. The hole was covered with cross-sticks, cedar-bark, and earth, which gave way under the animal's weight. (Duff 1952:71)

According to Simon Fraser (1960:98), the Tait captured deer and other large animals in nets. One net of this tribe that he examined in June, 1808, was "made of thread of the size of cod lines, the meshes were 16 inches wide, and the net 8 fathoms long." Presumably other Upper Stalo tribelets,

including the Chilliwack, took game with the same or similar nets, but the evidence for this is lacking.

Black bears were driven by dogs until they tired and either turned to fight or climbed trees. They were then killed with bows and arrows or with spears. Bears were likewise taken in pitfalls of the type described for deer, and in deadfalls. Hibernating bears, too sleepy in their dens to be dangerous, were speared. (Duff 1952:71)

The Chilliwack River and Lake country was evidently excellent black bear country. During June and August of 1859 when camping in the area, Wilson (1970:50, 66, 67, 68-69) reports several bear sightings. On August 26 he notes: "bears are thick around us . . . ; one or two have been killed by the men whilst on their way from one place to the other & the bear's meat . . . is not at all bad." Pitfalls were sometimes used by the Chilliwack to take these animals (Wilson 1866:282).

Grizzly bears, against which dogs possessed little merit, were taken by hunters. How this was normally accomplished is not described by Duff. But he reports as an Upper Stalo practice the very special, daring bone-in-mouth method recorded from informants in neighboring Plateau groups. A bone, about 1.5 inches in diameter and 8 to 10 inches long, was sharpened at one end, fashioned with a fork at the other, and provided with a leather band around the middle as a grip. When the bear, approached by the hunter, reared to fight with his paws and claws, the hunter, staying just out of reach, danced from side to side until the frustrated and angered bear advanced to attack with his mouth open. Then the hunter thrust the bone, point up, into the animal's mouth. Closing strongly on the bone, the bear drove the point through the roof of his mouth and the two prongs into the soft under surface of his jaw. As the animal fought the painful bone, the hunter speared it in the neck. (Duff 1952:72)

Mountain goats, hunted without the aid of dogs, were stalked with bow and arrow. In another method two hunters approached a group of goats from opposite sides. While one waited, pressing himself against the steep mountain side, along the animals' trail, the other alarmed the goats. When they retreated past the first man, he pushed them over the side with a stick. (Duff 1952:71-72)

That the Chilliwack were among the Upper Stalo tribes which hunted wild goats in postcontact days is indicated by a historical note from Duff's (1952:115) Chilliwack informant. He knew an old man who "had a hunter's magical formula written down in a memorandum book. One day the old man was hunting mountain-goats without success. He took out the book, read the . . . [incantation] and found six goats around the next rock." Doubtless the only post-White element in this simple narrative is the use of the written spell instead of one carried in the hunter's memory--and presumably the use of firearms.

Small fur-bearing animals were caught in deadfalls by the Upper Stalo (Duff 1952:71). On one occasion in the Cultus Lake country of the Chilliwack, an Indian--not necessarily a Chilliwack, however--accompanying a British Boundary Commission field party killed a rabbit with a stone (Wilson 1970:60).

Ducks and geese, when migrating south in November, were netted by the Upper Stalo from canoes at night. The net was stretched flat on a square frame of four poles. One man was in the canoe bow; the other in the stern. Between the two a pitch fire was kindled on boards across the gunwales. While the canoes drifted downriver, one man held the net, threw it over the birds that were attracted by the light, pulled them in, and wrung their necks. Low-flying ducks were also brought down by loud shouts, a contention also made by several Gulf of Georgia tribes. (Duff 1952:67, 72)

Birds were also shot with arrows, blunt-headed ones for small birds. Hummingbirds, used in ornamenting hats and other articles, "were caught alive with special arrows, the ends of which were shredded so that they brushed out in flight." Birds were also snared. (Duff 1952:72)

The preparation, by the Upper Stalo, of meat for immediate consumption and for storage is not described in the ethnographic sources. However, we have two information fragments applying explicitly to the Chilliwack:

- Marrow was extracted from animal bones and eaten. When the Chilliwack saw their first Western candles, they mistook them for sticks of marrow and attempted to eat them. (Hill-Tout 1903:391)
- When birds were roasted by the Chilliwack immediately after being killed, they were considered to have had a salty flavor (Hill-Tout 1903:396).

Plant Collecting

Information regarding the plant foods collected and eaten by the Upper Stalo is fragmentary and one of what little exists is related specifically to the Chilliwack.

Roots

The following root plants are reported to have been used as food.

- Bracken fern. The most important local root. The long rhizomes were dug by women with hardwood digging sticks, cooked, and stored. (Duff 1952:73)
- "Wild potato." Found locally in patches on low foothills and mountain slopes. A composite bulb like onion or garlic with a 2 foot stalk and a blue flower "something like a tiger lily." (Duff 1952:73)
- "Wild onion." A bulb that grew close to the river; eaten raw. (Duff 1952:73)
- "Wild potato." Not found in Upper Stalo territory; imported from the Lower Stalo. Boiled or roasted in hot ashes before eating. Duff (1952:73) believes this to be the true camas.

Three dried roots, surely used for food but not remarked upon by Duff's informants, were collected in 1913 in Tait country: Lilium columbianum, Balsamorhiza sp., and Lomatium sp. (Duff 1952:73)

Omitted in Duff's brief root roster is the common arrowhead (Sagittaria latifolia = Chinook jargon wapato [Suttles 1951:277]). The Fort Langley Journal of October 5, 1828, observes that this root was then being collected by many Indians in Lower Stalo country, and that, dug under water in pools and marshes, these roots were held "in great estimation as an article of food" (Duff 1952:73). It is not clear whether they were also available in the upriver country of the Upper Stalo.

One very early historical reference to undoubted Upper Stalo use of roots is worth noting. When, in late June of 1808, Simon Fraser and his party traveled down the Fraser River, they were provided meals which included roots of some variety at two Tait villages (Fraser 1960:101). In the first case the meal consisted of salmon, oil, raspberries, and roots; in the second, of sturgeon, oil, and roots.

Women and their children, at least sometimes without men, went in groups to the root grounds to collect these foods. On occasion, they remained overnight. One of Duff's (1952:119) aged Tait informants recalled one time long ago when six women and their offspring left their village at the present site of Agassiz, camped at the foot of a mountain to dig roots, and were visited just at dark by a se'sxač (sasquatch) which came into the firelight of their camp and attacked them.

Southern Vancouver Island and Puget Sound tribes and groups immediately inland from the Sound tended certain native roots to some degree and even replanted them: e.g., camas seeds, Indian or wild carrots, and tiger lily stems (Collins 1974a:55; Smith 1950a:336-337; Stern 1934:42-43; Suttles 1951:282, 1957:163-164, 164 fn. 23). Suttles believes that this primitive method of encouraging wild root growth was widespread in the area. But I have seen nothing to suggest that the practice extended north into the Fraser drainage. If it had, one might suppose that the Chilliwack, with their unusual back-country subsistence focus for a Fraser River people, would surely have been one of the groups most likely to have followed the pattern. In any event, it is in my mind an open question as to whether wild root tending was an aboriginal practice or a very early post-White borrowing, transferred quickly to local roots.

Berries and Other Fruit

Most berries preserved for winter consumption were gathered in late summer by parties of women and a few men who went into the mountains for a few days. The most important mountain berries to the Upper Stalo were four huckleberry (Vaccinium sp.) varieties: usually sweet blue huckleberries, found only at higher elevations; gray huckleberries, that grew on low bushes at higher elevations; blue huckleberries, similar to the sweet blue kind but less sweet and found on lower slopes; and red huckleberries, which grew on lower slopes. Generally dried immediately after being picked, they were piled an inch or two thick on a cedar-bark mat spread on a wooden rack about

4 feet above the ground. They dried in two or three days. Sometimes berry patches "were burned to improve their future yield." (Duff 1952:73)

A red, bitter berry that "looks like wild-rose-hips" and grows only at the upper elevations was mixed half and half with sweet blue huckleberries and the two mashed together. (Duff 1952:73)

The following berries were collected during the summer and either eaten fresh or dried for winter eating:

- Salmonberries. Eaten fresh.
- Thimbleberries. Eaten fresh.
- Wild trailing blackberries. Dried by being spread on mats in the sun.
- Blackcaps. Dried like the blackberries.
- Salal berries. Dried like the blackberries.
- June berries. Placed in a basket or small wooden bowl and crushed with a small stone hammer. Spread to dry on maple leaves in the sun or covered with more leaves and hot ashes. Stored in the form of flat cakes.
- Elderberries. Crushed, dried, and stored as June berries were treated.
- Oregon grape berries. Eaten fresh, "either right off the bush or smashed to a pulp and mixed with water."
- Wild crab apples were common and were gathered and eaten fresh when ripe in late fall (Duff 1952:73-74).

I have uncovered only a single reference to Upper Stalo use of berries as food in the very early historical records. On his early summer journey of exploration of the Fraser River in 1808, Fraser (1960:101) and his party received raspberries from the people of a village near Hope, in Tait tribal territory, as a part of the meal served them.

For the Chilliwack specifically we have little berry information. But Charles Wilson of the British Boundary Commission mentions incidentally several berries which grew abundantly in some localities within the boundaries of traditional Chilliwack territory where he spent several summer and fall months in 1859. These, which were greatly to his taste, included:

- Black currants. When ascending the Chilliwack River on July 29, Wilson (1970:64) was shown by his Chilliwack guide "a first rate fruit garden"--wild, of course--in the open valley upstream from Slease Creek. Here were black currants "in profusion." On August 28 in a protected basin close by several glaciers in the high mountains along Slease Creek near the international boundary, Wilson (1970:70) found these same black currants "in great profusion."
- Raspberries. Raspberries in abundance grew with the black currants in the berry patch visited by Wilson on July 29 (see above); indeed, "one species of raspberry, a large yellow one, was unequalled in flavour even by the best in the garden at home." Likewise near the Upper Slease glaciers Wilson discovered raspberries in great numbers on August 28 (see above).
- Strawberries. On June 16 the prairie below the Chilliwack canyon was "covered with . . . strawberries," providing Wilson on the 19th with "a

feast" as he walked over the area. High up the Slease, strawberries were growing "in great profusion" on August 28 (see "black currants" above). (Wilson 1970:49, 51, 70)

- A "beautiful red berry which grew abundantly on a shrub" was also enjoyed by Wilson (1970:64), who found them in the "berry patch" beside the Chilliwack River on July 29 (see "black currants" above).

It cannot be doubted that all of these fruit were eaten by the Chilliwack.

A number of berries scarce or unknown in Upper Stalo territory were secured through trade. The following belong in this category:

- Serviceberries (Saskatoon berries). Scarce in Upper Stalo country. Obtained dried from the Thompson Indians. In general used as a sweetener and as such added to soups. (Duff 1952:74)
- Soopolallie berries (buffalo berries, foamberries). Obtained from the Thompson tribe. Beaten up to a foam for eating, with serviceberries added to sweeten the product. (Duff 1952:74; Clark 1976:324; Turner 1978:138)
- Cranberries. Grew near the Fraser River mouth. Obtained in late fall on visits or by trade. (Duff 1952:74, 76)

Minor Plant Foods

Green shoots were collected by the Upper Stalo and eaten raw in the spring. Among these foods were the shoots of salmonberries and of thimbleberries and round cow-parsnip stalks. (Duff 1952:74)

Of nuts, only hazelnuts were gathered. They were obtained in mid-September, put away to ripen, and later eaten uncooked (Duff 1952:74).

"Beard moss" (i.e., black tree lichen, *Alectoria fremontii*, I am sure) was secured "hanging from certain trees high up in the mountains." It was "boiled black" and dried as cakes, the so-called "moss bread." (Duff 1952:74; Turner 1978:35)

Meal Patterns and Preparation

Certain details of the preparation of fish and meat have already been presented. The following data are supplementary to those facts.

The Upper Stalo prepared food for consumption in three ways: by stone-boiling, roasting, and steam-roasting in earth ovens. Boiling was done in a basket or wooden trough. Roasting involved pinching the meat or fish in the split end of a fir stick and thrusting the pointed end into the ground near an open fire. The flesh was held open with twigs. Birds were kept turning to roast evenly all around. Details of the earth oven and of what foods were prepared in it are not reported. (Duff 1952:74)

Soups, made of fish, meat, roots, and berries, were a common Upper Stalo food. Certain conventions regarding the preparation and consumption of soups were observed: e.g., meat and fish were never mixed; the young were not allowed soup, because too much fluid made them become heavy. (Duff 1952:74)

The Chilliwack obtained a brownish salt from Cheam Peak and used it sparingly (Duff 1952:74). This peak is on the western end of Cheam Ridge, east and north of the mouth of Slease Creek, and was just outside the Chilliwack boundary as plotted by Duff (Figure 2-1).

We have no information concerning the foods served in the typical Upper Stalo (much less Chilliwack) meal by time of day, season, condition of the food supply, and social status. This is, however, a matter of considerable importance, for this information represents part of the data base necessary for assessing the nutritional intake of the group under traditional subsistence conditions and the degree to which the minimum daily dietary requirements in proteins, fats, carbohydrates, vitamins, and minerals were met in the normal meal pattern.

Such data as are available for the Upper Stalo in general and the Chilliwack in particular on their methods of preparing foods for storage and subsequent consumption are discussed above. Here we are concerned with the preparation of foods for immediate eating and the serving of these as meals. Unfortunately, there are very few data.

Among the Upper Stalo food was ordinarily cooked, when boiled, in box-like baskets or wooden troughs, these latter sometimes more than 4 feet long and 10 inches deep. The water was heated with hot stones carried with "two pieces of wood with flattened, shovel-shaped ends." While salmon, at any rate those to be eaten in the annual first salmon ceremony, were sometimes boiled in a basket, they were on occasion boiled in a large stone bowl or a hole in a rock, the water heated as usual by hot stones, or they were roasted over an open fire. (Duff 1952:58, 120)

Partially confirmatory evidence for the cooking of salmon comes from the early historical records. When exploring the lower Fraser River in late June, 1808, Simon Fraser and his party were served fresh salmon on several occasions as they passed through Upper Stalo country. The fish were either roasted or boiled with heated stones in wooden vessels (Fraser 1960:98, 99, 115; see also 101, 114). It is frequently reported that fish were cooked surprisingly quickly by this stone boiling method. Fraser (1960:115), however, makes a point that must be taken into consideration in estimating total meal preparation time. When, on his return journey upstream, he stopped at a Tait village in the Yale area, the villagers "spread mats for us, and put stones in the fire to heat in order to prepare us a meal. But this operation required more time than our situation would permit us to spare, and we took our leave."

No data are known to me describing Upper Stalo--or, more specifically, Chilliwack--methods by which game, roots, and berries were prepared for immediate eating, except as seemingly implied by Duff's very general boiling statement above.

Upper Stalo dishes were dugout vessels smaller than the boiling troughs and were made in various shapes. The Simon Fraser data agree at the general level: when, on June 28, 1808, he and his party reached the uppermost Upper Stalo village, they received from the villagers "plenty of Salmon served in wooden dishes." Upper Stalo spoons, with as much as a ten-inch bowl, were generally fashioned of a curved vine maple branch; their handles were sometimes carved by way of ornamentation. Mountain goat horn spoons were not in use. (Duff 1952:58, 59; Fraser 1960:98)

While apparently the same or essentially identical in material and form to those of the other Upper Stalo tribelets, some Chilliwack utensils were uniquely large examples of their types. According to Hill-Tout (1903:360-361, 394, 397), all persons of a single community ate their meals together. Consequently, the food for all villagers and for all meals was prepared and served together. The cooking and eating objects specifically mentioned for the Chilliwack are as follows: enormous "cedar troughs, 10 or more feet long and 2 or 3 feet wide"; wooden and basketry "kettles"; wooden bowls; big (i.e., ordinary) and small wooden platters; large maple dishes; wooden dippers or spoons; and horn ladles or spoons, known by a different native term from the preceding.

Food Ceremonialism

Although the data are scanty and to some degree contradictory, the result, in part, of the early adoption of certain Christian beliefs and practices, it appears that among the Upper Stalo the "first fruits" rituals were practiced for the first berries of the season, the first roots gathered, and the first salmon caught. (Duff 1952:98, 119, 120-121; Hill-Tout 1903:358)

The first fish, in some groups chinook and in others (including the Chilliwack) the sockeye, was harpooned by a single fisherman, wrapped in brush, taken to the big house where all persons had assembled, and boiled in a basket, boiled in a large stone bowl or hole in a rock, or roasted over an open fire according to the tribal custom. The fish--in recent decades the deity or maker of the world--was thanked by the chief, the fisherman who had taken the first fish, or the oldest man. The cooked salmon was divided among all present, each receiving a very small piece. Depending on the group, the bones were either returned to the water immediately or, wrapped in cedar bark, hidden for several years in the dwelling. The Chilliwack roasted their first sockeye over an open fire, as did the Lower Stalo. (Duff 1952:102, 119, 120)

Technology

In this rather general section are collected data relating to objects and processes that either fail to fit naturally into other sections, as fishing implements do, or importantly involve two or more cultural complexes, as do the bow and arrow that were employed both in hunting and in warfare. The data are obviously far from comprehensive: many items of material culture and their attendant fabricating techniques and uses are not described or even marginally alluded to in the published literature.

Fire was kindled with a drill of vine maple or crabapple and a hearth of dry cottonwood root. The sparks were caught in dry moss. To start a fire quickly, glowing coals were transported in large clam shells. Torches were commonly made of fir pitch; sometimes sockeye heads were burned for this purpose. (Duff 1952:61)

Artifacts of Fibers, Hide, Wood, Stone, and Antler/Horn

The basketry of the Upper Stalo and their neighbors was highly distinctive for its water-tight coiled variety and for its imbricated designs that sometimes covered and strengthened the entire basket. Coiling is a basketry construction technique in which a long element is coiled spirally from bottom to rim to build up the basket wall, being constantly sewed as the coiling proceeds to that part of the element that lies immediately below. Imbrication is a method by which an ornamenting element is applied horizontally to the exterior surface of the basket as the coil is carried around and is doubled over and pinched in place by the coil sewing element (see Figure 2-3). (Smith in Smith and Leadbeater 1949:112, 125)

Upper Stalo baskets were woven by this process, the circling elements being either round coils of cedar-root splints or flat coils of cedar slats. Water-tight baskets were invariably made with the round coils; those for which this property was not essential were often woven of the flat elements. Chilliwack baskets were in all cases manufactured of split roots of young cedar trees. (Duff 1952:57-58; Hill-Tout 1903:360; Smith and Leadbeater 1949:124)

Owing to the structural requirements of the weaving process, the ornamentation of the entire basket through design and color repetition had to be visualized and planned by the weaver before beginning the basket construction. Traditional design elements among the Upper Stalo were generally geometric, nonrepresentational, and non-symbolic. By imbrication, white, red, and black patterns were produced. A marked preference was shown for a continuous design structure: the figures on all basket surfaces were skillfully related by their arrangement and/or color properties whether the basket was round or cornered like a four-sided box. Individual designs were named, but were not owned as elsewhere in the coastal area. (Duff 1952:57; Smith 1949:115, 116; Smith and Leadbeater 1949:121-122, 124, 131, 132)

"Baskets among the Upper Stalo were of many types and had many uses." Large storage containers, usually of the round coil variety, held clothes and other valuables. Burden baskets, all water-tight, were made in many sizes. Round-mouth baskets served as work containers for weavers and others. (Duff 1952:57)

Woven mats, doubtless of different plant materials and fashioned by different weaving techniques, were used by the Upper Stalo in various ways, but the ethnographic data are very scanty. It is of interest that Fraser (1960:98, 115), when exploring the lower Fraser River in late June and early July of 1808, found mats being spread for his party on the floor--presumably to sit upon--when being given meals at Upper Stalo villages. The Chilliwack are specifically reported to have used mats for beds and for floor and seat

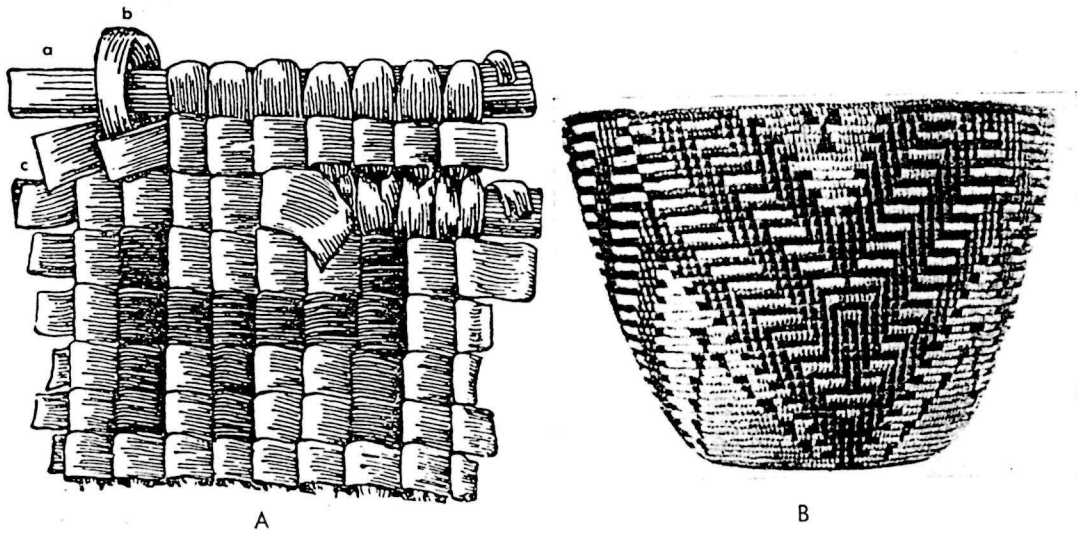


Figure 2-3. Technique of ornamenting the coiled basket by imbrication. A. Method, showing warp (a), sewing element (b), and imbricating element (c). B. Appearance of completed basket. Design pattern is visible only on exterior surface. (After Underhill 1945:104)

coverings, the two forms being designated by different terms (Hill-Tout 1903:395).

Yarn was made by the Chilliwack from mountain goat wool and was woven into blankets (Hill-Tout 1903:400).

Nets of many types were used by the Upper Stalo--dip and bag affairs in fishing, others in entangling ducks and snaring deer, and many other varieties (Duff 1952:58). Specific data for the Chilliwack are lacking, but there is no obvious reason for assuming that nets were of significantly lesser importance to them than to other Upper Stalo tribelets. Nor is there any evidence for believing that any of the net varieties mentioned above were not Chilliwack artifacts, though whether the dip and bag fishing nets were as important to them in early years, when they were back in their canyon, as among the Fraser River groups may be questioned.

Most nets were woven of Indian hemp fiber, generally secured in trade from the Thompson either coiled in its raw state or as finished twine, since little hemp was to be found in Stalo territory. The inner bark was twisted between hand and thigh into strands which, generally in pairs, were then twisted together to create a twine varying in thickness from thread to pencil-diameter. Netting shuttles, usually of maple and about 1 inch wide and 8 inches long, and rectangular maple mesh-measures with a center hole for the hand were used in the netting process. (Duff 1952:58)

"Rope was used to tie up drying-racks, tie on house planks, as anchor-lines, and for other uses." The best was fabricated of Indian hemp. However, long, green hazel sprouts and cedar withes were likewise fashioned into rope. In this process the bark was removed; the sprouts or withes were twisted and worked until soft and pliable; then three of these elements were laid side by side, the ends tied, and the three strands twisted together into a rope. (Duff 1952:58)

The ethnographic documentation contributes little to our knowledge of traditional Upper Stalo artifacts of hide. On the other hand, Simon Fraser (1960:99), descending the Fraser River in the early summer of 1808, entered into his journal a very perceptive observation regarding the use of hides by the Upper Stalo folk. Coming into their country and stopping overnight at the Tait village in the Yale neighborhood, he noticed that the people had "scarcely any leather, so that large animals must be scarce." Fraser was almost surely correct in sensing a reduced utilization of hides in comparison to what he had just seen in Lower Thompson territory. And he may even be right in assuming that the Tait, in their environment, had a more limited access to large game than the Thompson on the Plateau upriver. On the other hand, these Tait folk, with their uncommon wealth in salmon and a distinctly lower Fraser River focus, may simply have been less hunting-oriented and so may have taken less advantage of such animals as were within their reach. In short, Fraser was moving in the from-Spuzzum-to-Yale sector from a hunting, hide-using Plateau culture to a predominantly fishing, fiber-using one with strong links to the coastal peoples.

Among the Upper Stalo many items of material culture were fabricated of wood. The plank dwellings, mortuary structures, and canoes were among the larger items. In addition, a large number of smaller objects--cooking and

eating utensils, bows and arrows and other weapons, fishing gear including harpoons, combs, and so on--were made of wood. Ethnographic descriptions of these objects--save for the weapons, for which see below--may be found in the various contexts of their primary uses. Whether wooden boxes of general coastal style were made by the Upper Stalo is uncertain. (Duff 1952:59)

Woodworking adzes were used by the Upper Stalo in carrying out all fine work on canoes, paddles, house planks, etc. The handles were of wood, shaped like a "D" with a center hole for the hand, and were often carved to represent bird or animal figures. The blade was presumably of stone. (Duff 1952:61)

The ethnographic data are silent on the general skill-level of the Upper Stalo worker in wood. There is, however, in Simon Fraser's (1960:99) journal one brief observation recorded on June 28, 1808, when his party reached their first Upper Stalo village on their journey down the Fraser River. He writes: ". . . from their workmanship in wood they must be possessed of good tools at least for that purpose," although he saw "few or no christian goods among them."

In earlier times Upper Stalo baskets were also fashioned of birch bark. The seams were pitched and sewn with cedar-root splints and the rim strengthened with a cedar-root hoop sewn in place. (Duff 1952:57)

Stone bowls, carved in animal and human figures, are found archaeologically in the Upper Stalo region. Poison was said by Duff's informant to have been mixed in them and pigment to have been ground and mixed with fish oil. But no interpretation of the carved figures was attempted. Large stone bowls were sometimes used in ethnographic times to cook salmon, at least for the annual first salmon ceremony. (Duff 1952:61, 120)

Shells, evidently largely if not wholly traded in from the coast, were used by Upper Stalo in Fraser's time. When on June 28, 1808, Fraser arrived at their village in the vicinity of Yale, he noted "ornaments . . . of . . . shells of different kinds, [and] shell beads." In this same camp posts of a newly erected mortuary structure were covered with shining shells. (Fraser 1960:99-100)

Upper Stalo artifacts of horn or antler included harpoon and spear points and wood-working wedges. Fraser (1960:99, 100, 101) saw among the Tait "horn Powmagans" (clubs), "horn bracelets," and "spears [apparently harpoons] . . . of horn" with long wooden handles. Quite obviously, horn/antler was a useful material where integral strength, weight, and sharp points were at a premium.

Weapons

Bows among the Upper Stalo were of yew or vine maple, constricted in the center for the hand-hold and with recurved tips. A fairly large bow is said to have measured 4.5 feet in length and 2 inches in width. Some were strengthened with a layer of sinew from a deer's back: the sinew was dried, trimmed, affixed with sturgeon glue to the convex side of the bow, and

sometimes covered with bullsnake skin. Bows were often decorated, as with painted animal figures. They were strung with a two-strand Indian hemp string. (Duff 1952:59)

Arrow shafts were of serviceberry wood, either a small round sprout or, for hunting, a larger, tougher stem split into quarters and rounded. Most were pointed by merely charring and sharpening the end. Some hunting arrows, however, were fixed with ground slate or possibly bone points. War arrows may have been tipped with "flint" points, fashioned by placing the blank on edge in a groove in a piece of wood and flaking it bilaterally by indirect percussion with a nephrite "pencil" and hammer. War points were said to have been "poisoned" by being dipped in human brain. Arrows were feathered with two whole mallard or woodpecker tail feathers, bound in place with deer sinew. They were "laid on tangentially opposite each other," quill end toward the arrow butt. Occasionally they were "given a half-twist to impart a rotary motion . . . in flight." (Duff 1952:59)

Quivers were made of beaver skin, sewn into a bag with an awl and with sinew or Indian hemp thread. They were carried over the shoulder with a woven Indian hemp tumpline, sometimes ornamented with wefts of colored mountain goat wool. (Duff 1952:60)

Twice while descending the Fraser River in June, 1808, through the Upper Stalo territory, Fraser (1960:99) records seeing bows and arrows in the settlements visited. Those at the first village he came to, still within the lowest reaches of the canyon above Yale, were "very neat." And in another camp a short distance downriver bows and arrows were observed among the village weaponry.

In shooting, the bow was held horizontally by the Upper Stalo, wrist up, whenever possible, with the arrow feathers up and down so as to pass between the index and second finger of the bow hand. It was drawn with the right hand by grasping the arrow butt between the thumb and the second joint of the index finger. (Duff 1952:60)

Slings, used in Upper Stalo warfare, "consisted of an elongated diamond-shaped piece of skin with a smaller hole of similar shape cut in the centre to hold the stone." Indian hemp cords were tied to the two ends through small holes. The end of one cord had a loop for the forefinger; the other, a knot which was grasped by the fingers and suddenly released at the appropriate moment as the weapon was swung around the head. The projectile was a round stone, sometimes as much as 4 inches in diameter. (Duff 1952:60)

Hunters were accustomed to carry a strong pole, 6 or 8 feet long and 2 inches in diameter, "to assist them in negotiating difficult terrain." This was quickly converted to a spear for defence by slipping over one end a stone point, mounted on a socket, that hunters also carried. Thrusting spears, with long points of elk antler or mountain goat horn or with long, bilaterally barbed bone points, may have been used for bear. (Duff 1952:60) In his short list of the "arms" seen at a village in the Yale sector, Fraser (1960:99) mentions their spears.

Standard war weapons, clubs were mostly of wood, sometimes of stone. Wooden clubs were fashioned much like sturgeon clubs or like baseball bats,

up to 5 feet long, often with points carved all over the enlarged end. Stone clubs, generally about 2 feet in length, had broad, flat blades, sometimes with one sharpened edge, and a long, round handle, perforated for a carrying thong, that was grasped by both hands. Clubs were given a special ceremonial importance, for they "were brought out only at 'big times,' and their histories were told." (Duff 1952:60)

Horn (antler?) clubs were evidently likewise in use among the Upper Stalo. During his journey of exploration, Fraser twice mentions horn or antler clubs. At the village in the Yale vicinity, he observed "clubs, or horn Powmagans," and on July 4, when heading back upriver but not quite yet within Upper Stalo country, he describes the leader of a pursuing party as "brandishing his horn club." (Fraser 1960:99, 109)

Clothing and Ornamentation

Not much is reported in the ethnographic literature concerning the traditional clothing of the Upper Stalo and nothing, so far as I have discovered, specifically relating to that of the Chilliwack.

Dress was fashioned both of woven cedar bark--as was widely the case among the coast--and sewn of tanned buckskin--as common among northern and eastern Plateau tribes. Short aprons, presumably woven, were the garment of everyday wear for both sexes. Less commonly worn were skirts and capes of woven cedar bark, robes of groundhog, rabbit, or bear skins sewed together; and blankets woven of mountain goat wool or woolly dog hair. Robes were exclusively clothing, while blankets answered the dual purpose of clothing and bedding. Robes of strips of skin woven together appear to have been unknown to the Upper Stalo. (Duff 1952:53, 57)

In June, 1808, Simon Fraser (1960:99, 101) noted among the Upper Stalo "rugs made from the wool of . . . wild goat, and from Dog's hair, which . . . [were] equally as good as those found in Canada. We observed that the dogs were laterly shorn." In a village later seen, apparently below Hope, these dog's hair "rugs" had "stripes of different colours crossing at right angles resembling at a distance Highland plaid."

In fashioning the blankets, mountain goat pelts were soaked until the wool was loose and could be pulled off. The hair of dogs was either cut or plucked in the spring. These materials--wool or hair--were spun on large spindles, the dog hair apparently not being mixed with feathers or fireweed cotton as among certain non-Stalo peoples. From this coarse yarn the blankets--worn as clothing, used as bed covers, or distributed at potlatches--were woven on a loom. (Duff 1952:53, 57)

A considerable amount of buckskin clothing was also worn, according to the ethnographic data but not to Fraser, at least by the uppermost Upper Stalo. This included breechclouts, shirts and dresses, leggings, and moccasins. Moccasins were seldom used, however, except by hunters and invariably when traveling on snowshoes. Buckskin mittens protected the hands of hunters in cold weather. (Duff 1952:53, 57)

Deerskin among the Upper Stalo was prepared by being soaked in water for several days and then, draped over a log, by being scraped to remove the hair with a drawknife-like tool having a center blade of bone, stone, or wood. Stripped of its hair, the skin, laced tightly on a square wooden frame, was pounded with a wooden club to stretch it, rubbed with deer brains, and, still on the frame, smoked over an alder fire. (Duff 1952:53)

The headgear and personal ornaments of the Upper Stalo seem not to be described in the ethnographic literature. In late June, 1808, Fraser (1960:99-100), however, made the following brief journal entries relating to the people of the camp in the Yale area. "Their hats, which are made of wattap [split roots], have broad rims and diminish gradually to the top. Some [persons] make use of cedar bark, painted in various colours, resembling ribbands which they fix around their heads." And concerning their adornment: "Their ornaments are . . . shells of different kinds, shell beads, brass made into pipes hanging from the neck, or across the shoulders, bracelets of large brass wire, and some bracelets of horn."

At least in Fraser's day, facial and body painting was practiced among the Upper Stalo, evidently by entire groups at the same time.

- After having come down the Fraser to a point below Hope and having visited by this time a number of Upper Stalo villages, Fraser (1960:101) comments upon the physical characteristics of the "Indians in this quarter . . . [in comparison with] those in the interior." Included is the statement that "their skin and hair . . . [have] a reddish cast--but this cast, I suppose, is owing to the ingredients with which they besmear their bodies."
- Later Fraser (1960:103) arrived at a large village where the "Indians . . . appeared at first view to be fair, but afterwards we discovered that they made use of white paint to alter their appearance." If my positioning of this village is correct, this village may have been a Sumas or Nicoman settlement. It is apparent that even nearby communities did not necessarily paint with the same colors.

The function of this body coloring is not explained. It is possible that the colors were in some measure symbolic, that the two sets of villagers actually painted with the same color for the same reason, and that the color difference is explicable in terms of different circumstances.

The Settlement

Here is reported such information as is available on the Upper Stalo settlement in general and the Chilliwack in particular: on dwelling types and ancillary structures, on specific village and camp locations, and on the spatial arrangements of structures within the settlement perimeters.

Structures

These consisted of dwellings and shelters of three types; of drying racks, smokehouses, and storage shelters; and of the sweat lodge, puberty hut, and grave structure.

Semisubterranean Dwelling

The Chilliwack, like the Stalo tribelets up the Fraser and the groups in the neighboring Plateau, made use of the pit house as a winter dwelling, either occasionally (Hill-Tout 1903:360) or as their ordinary cold weather residence (Duff 1952:46). According to Duff, dwellings of this type seem to have been but seldom constructed downriver from the Chilliwack: they were, in fact, something of a luxury, the usual winter shelter being the plank house. Among these lower Fraser people, they were said to have been occupied only by wealthy families in some groups and, among the Sumas, by families desiring to get away from mosquitoes. This latter rationale for their use, it seems to me, cannot be discounted out of hand, for Wilson (1970:49) of the British Boundary Commission remarks on June 16, 1859, while at Chilukweyuk Prairie: ". . . the mosquitoes are something fearful, but . . . their regular season comes on next month & the month after when the water falls, when they are so bad that even the Indians clear out." The extent to which this insects later harassed his field parties, men and horses, and the Indians nearby is almost unbelievable. If semisubterranean dwellings were favored by the Sumas as a means of evading these tormentors, these dwellings must have been warm season shelters as well as--not likely instead of--winter structures, a point of considerable interest.

There are, however, other possible explanations for the upriver occurrence of the pit house and the lower Fraser distribution of the plank dwelling. The former may correlate with relatively heavy snowfall and the latter with lighter snow precipitation. Or with higher, firmer ground in the first instance, and in the second with lower ground where moisture would have tended to seep into the structure. This latter explanation seems eminently reasonable, yet two Chilliwack villages of the post-1830 period were located out on the Fraser plain, one at the Chilliwack River mouth and the other about halfway between its union with the Fraser and Vedder Crossing. In both of these population centers Duff, in 1949-1950, discovered depressions which he interpreted as semisubterranean dwelling locations. (Duff 1952:17, 37-38, 43, 46) Possibly by the 1830s the earlier bogier surface of this area had become firmer to the point where in some spots pit structures were feasible.

In their traditional upriver, canyon homeland, the Chilliwack made extensive use of these semisubterranean houses. Fortunately we have rather good descriptions of the construction details of these dwellings. The pit was circular, up to 30 and perhaps even 40 feet in diameter. The peak entrance was 10 to 20 feet above the floor, a considerably greater height than among other Upper Stalo tribes. There were no posts out in the floor area to support the roof: the roof was borne by four main posts set vertically against the pit wall. Their tops, notched to receive the principal rafters, reached upward to just below ground level. The upper ends of these rafters were lashed to a square hatchway, one rafter secured at each corner. From supplementary posts other lesser rafters ran from the ground to

the hatchway. The roof was pyramidal and only 4 to 4.5 feet above ground level. The center entrance was reached from the floor by a notched pole ladder. In better houses, these posts and rafters were smoothed; the former were carved above the bed platform and the latter were often painted. Sleeping platforms, six feet wide, were built four feet above the floor and were screened at their sides by partitions. Each dwelling was a multifamily structure, although only one cooking fire, under the overhead entrance, was provided for all. (Duff 1952:43, 46, 47; Smith 1947:257, 264)

These Chilliwack semisubterranean structures--those of the Nooksack are reported to have been very like them--differed notably from those of the Upper Stalo groups upriver from the Chilliwack, from the Thompson structures reported by Teit (1900:192-195), and from the various types described by Ray (1939:132-137) for the tribal groups in the northern and central Plateau (Smith 1947:365-366).

Plank Dwellings

Traditionally, houses constructed of planks were occupied by the Chilliwack during the warm months, being abandoned in favor of the pit dwellings when winter arrived. There were three types of plank structures in use in the general Chilliwack sector of the Fraser Valley. Presumably all three were found among the Chilliwack themselves, but the ethnographic data are somewhat less precise on this point than one would like.

- (a) A small, shed-roofed, detached house. If like the Tait structure as seems to have been the case, this dwelling measured on the order of 25 by 25 feet to perhaps 30 by 50 feet. It had its high wall in front and a door in the middle or corner. The walls were lined with plank beds. In the center of the dirt floor was located the single fire. (Duff 1952:46-47)

Apparently a very similar structure was observed by Fraser in late June, 1808. Very near the upper border of Upper Stalo country, he came to a settlement consisting of a single dwelling on one side of the river and "a considerable village" with similar houses on the other side. The one structure on his river bank was "an excellent house 46 by 23 feet, and constructed like American frame houses. The planks are 3 or 4 inches thick, each passing the adjoining one a couple of inches. The posts, which are very strong, and rudely carved, receive the beam across. The walls are 11 feet high, and covered with a slanting roof." (Fraser 1960:99)

- (b) A large, shed-roofed dwelling. As Hill-Tout (1908:360) describes this structure, it had a single-slope roof, the front and higher side "rising to 25 or 30 feet." Commonly there were only two doors, one at each end. The interior was divided, by hanging mats or screens of grass or reeds, into sections for individual families, each about 50 feet square. Beds were "reed mats laid one upon the another, the head-rests or pillows being rolls of the same." Over these mats wealthier families spread dressed skins and blankets of mountain goat wool. The tribal head--as well as, it may be supposed, the leader of each village--invariably occupied the central section of the dwelling. His brothers were located

next to him on either side, the oldest closest. Then came the lesser "chiefs and notables, and beyond these again the common folk." This arrangement of families provided the tribal and community leadership with maximum security from possible hostile raiders. In early years when the tribe was more populous and villages were larger, the houses were placed end-to-end "in an unbroken line for several hundred feet." In such cases, the structure housing the leadership and important people was positioned, again for defence, in the center of the row of dwellings. On festive occasions (e.g., during the winter dances), the internal divisions of the house were removed, thus opening the interior into one large space. (A slightly varying description of this dwelling is given by Duff [1952:46-49]).

That dwellings of this type were in use by the Chilliwack in the mid-1800s is made clear by Wilson (1866:287) who saw them on the Chilliwack River in 1859. They were constructed "much more substantially" than the dwellings among the other lower Fraser peoples.

[Their] uprights and ridges . . . [were] of solid timber, of great weight and size, roughly squared, and the sheeting of the ends and sides of thick planks of split cedar. With the slight means and rude implements possessed by the builders, the erection of one of these houses is a work of great labour and time. The houses vary greatly in size, some being as much as 60 or 70 feet long by 20 to 25 feet broad.

About 1860 only these Chilliwack dwellings and those at Fort Langley, among all the groups seen by Wilson, were ornamented in any manner. Those of the Chilliwack were adorned with "grotesque carvings, apparently representing tortoises, large snakes, and some animal of the crocodile type." (Wilson 1866:287-288)

- (c) A large, gable-roofed structure, apparently used as a year-round dwelling. Perhaps this style was a "fairly recent development" among the Chilliwack "coincident with a growth in size and elaboration of ceremonial and social functions," including potlatches and winter dances. (Duff 1952:47-49)

Temporary Summer Shelter

Mat lodges must have been used as temporary summer shelters (Duff 1952:50), though there are no ethnographic data concerning them.

A special summer shelter of importance to the neighboring Sumas deserves mention, both because of its unusual location and construction and because the Chilliwack evidently did not make use of it, demonstrating the hazards of extrapolating ethnographic data from one lower Fraser River tribelet to the next. In his journal entry of July 18, 1859, Charles Wilson (1970:61) of the British Boundary Commission writes:

Haig came down from Schweltya [Cultus Lake] & we went out to an Indian hut built in the middle of the lake upon piles. The old chief was very civil & after smoking no end of pipes of peace, we

had a good sleep, though the place was not what one would have chosen for a night's lodging; there being some dozen men, women, children & dogs besides the remains of one of our dead horses & a lot of fish hung up to dry, a fire & ourselves all compressed into a place hardly large enough for half a dozen human beings, still there were very few mosquitoes which made amends for everything.

This lake was Sumas Lake, a remarkably shallow, lowland body of water even in summer flood time and one in the midst of horrible mosquito country. I take it that the "hut" was both a fishing locus and a refuge from the tormenting mosquitoes, which the local Indians wished to escape no less than the Whites (Wilson 1970:49).

That this dwelling was not the sole one on Sumas Lake is demonstrated by Wilson's (1970:62) observation of July 23, 1859: "Old Low (my servant) & myself had a delightful sail across the lake to [Sumas] Headquarters, in one of our boats, much to the astonishment of the Indians on the lake, between whose houses we passed with a slashing breeze."

It is informative to note that on July 23, the day after his pleasant sail, Wilson (1970:62) and his companions took to the lake: "Having had no sleep last night, we all rowed out into the middle of the lake where we were soon fast asleep & did not wake till near sun set."

Evidently lake dwellings on piles were not in use among the Chilliwack. Two reasons for this are immediately apparent. Both Chilliwack Lake and Cultus Lake, the only two lakes of consequence in traditional Chilliwack territory, were mountain bodies of water surrounded by steep mountains (Wilson 1970:58, 65) and so presumably generally deep and hardly the environment for pile structures out from the shore. Further Chilliwack Lake was free of mosquitoes and at Cultus Lake these tormenting insects were "not quite so bad as down on the low ground" (Wilson 1970:60, 61, 65).

Subsistence-Related Structures

Fish drying racks were erected by the Upper Stalo on the highest available rocky points to catch the breeze. They consisted of a pole frame, tied together with willow-withe or cedar-withe ropes, supporting a roof of cedar planks or layers of brush to keep both rain and direct sunlight off the fish. In the deep shade under this roof were suspended horizontally parallel poles over which the fish were hung. The drying process required no more than 1 week if the salmon flanks were made thin; about 3 weeks if they were thicker. (Duff 1952:65 Plate III, 66)

Storehouses for the dried salmon were essential for their preservation to and through the winter. These structures, 5 to 8 feet square, were constructed of split boards and either tied in the branches of a large tree, reached by a notched pole, or less commonly elevated on poles. In any event, they were well above ground to keep the fish from moisture and safe from rodents. Sometimes a family's salmon caches were at some considerable distance from its winter village. (Duff 1952:67, 89)

Salmon smokehouses were constructed of cedar planks and were tightly walled and roofed. The smoking was accomplished over fires of alderwood. (Duff 1952:50, 67)

Sweat Lodge

Chilliwack sweat houses, constructed near a stream, were of two types. The common one was dome-shaped and large enough for only a single person. A frame of long vine-maple saplings with both ends thrust into the ground was covered with fir or balsam boughs. The inside was sometimes lined with maple leaves wedged between the framing sticks. When moistened by the steam, these leaves stuck together, making "an air-tight wall." The floor was covered with fir or balsam branches, except for the small hole dug into it to hold the hot rocks. The doorway was closed with mats or boughs. The rocks were heated in a fire just outside and carried inside with two sticks with flattened shovel-shaped ends. (Duff 1952:50)

The second variety was more permanent and larger, intended for two or more persons. Their shape and framing structure are not reported in the ethnographic literature. However, they were provided with cedar-bark roofs and were sometimes covered with earth. (Duff 1952:50)

Sweating was the practice with both men and women, the latter as often as the former. It is said that the sweating period lasted about 15 or 20 minutes and was routinely followed by a plunge into the nearby stream. (Duff 1952:50)

Sweating was engaged in by adults both for ceremonial purification and, sometimes two or three times weekly, as a cure for minor ailments such as colds or body pains. Among the Upper Stalo in general, "in spring, feeling poorly after a long winter, nearly everybody sweat-bathed." (Duff 1952:60)

Puberty Hut

A small brush hut, very like the sweat lodge, was used by Upper Stalo girls--presumably including the Chilliwack--for 4 days during their first menses. It was located not far from the village and was close to a similar hut in which an older woman stayed during this 4 day period. (Duff 1952:50) The point is not made, but the implication is that this woman served as the pubescent girl's mentor.

As among nearby coastal peoples and unlike the Plateau groups of the region, Chilliwack women were not isolated during later menstrual periods. (Duff 1952:50)

Grave Structures

The Upper Stalo constructed family vaults or special boxes to receive the corpses of family members. The vaults were gable-roofed structures of poles or cedar planks, raised on posts about 4 feet above the ground. The

grave boxes were fabricated of separate pieces of wood, not of a single long piece kerfed and bent as boxes were fashioned on the coast. (Duff 1952:49-50, 59, 94) On these receptacles were carved or painted representations of the guardian spirits of the members of the family that owned them (Hill-Tout 1903:363). Bodies were apparently individually wrapped in blankets. They were then placed within these wooden structures, in the cedar box of the person's family or laid in the section of the structure assigned to the family (Duff 1952:49-50)

In Upper Stalo country "roughly carved effigies," anthropomorphic and usually life-sized or larger, were sometimes erected near the burial box or house in honor of respected persons and were thought to be likenesses of the deceased (Duff 1952:49-50, 51). These sepulchers were in use among the Chilliwack, according to Hill-Tout (1903:363, 364-365). The large box which received the body of a person belonging to a family of the middle rank was ornamented on its exterior surface with painted or carved family crests, called "dream objects," depicting, for example, bears, mountain goats, and beaver. Boxes belonging to families of rank and wealth were placed in boat-like receptacles. Those of "meaner" families were nothing more than rough rectangular boxes. Human effigies, roughly carved in wood, were sometimes placed nearby.

To this point, only one early historic reference to grave structures among the Upper Stalo tribelets has been located. At the Tait village in the neighborhood of Yale, Fraser (1960:100) in late June of 1808 saw a new "tomb." It was "supported on carved posts about two feet from the ground. The sculpture . . . [was] rudely finished, and the posts . . . [were] covered all over with bright shells, which . . . [shone] like mercury."

Residential and Task Sites

Leaving Chilliwack Lake, the Chilliwack River flows swiftly westward through the Cascade Mountains to where Vedder Crossing now stands. From this point its short journey to the Fraser followed rather different courses through time. As already described (see Tribal Territory section), the river, according to tradition, at one time continued straight westward to Sumas Lake, a shallow body of water which, via Sumas River, drained northward into the Fraser. Then somewhat before 1830 it turned strongly northward at Vedder Crossing to wind, in changing channels from time to time, across the broad, marshy Fraser plain to the south bank of this major stream. In the late 1880s, leaving this line of flow, it broke through from the Crossing area to the upper end of Vedder Creek and flowed via this former creek course westward once more. After Sumas Lake was drained in the 1920s, the Chilliwack was carried by Vedder Canal to the lower Sumas River and the Fraser. (Duff 1952:14, 15, 43; Smith 1950a:339-341)

In early days--well before the 1830s--while the Chilliwack River was still moving across the low area to the Sumas River, the villages of the Chilliwack were located entirely along the steep-sided valley of the Chilliwack River between Chilliwack Lake and Vedder Crossing, not beside the river below the canyon mouth (Boas 1894:460; Duff 1952:43; Hill-Tout 1903:356; Smith 1950a:339-341). On the high rocky ridge at Vedder Crossing, the tribe maintained a tower of poles "with a platform on top, from which one

could see westward down the river to Sumas Lake and give warning of approaching visitors or raiding-parties" (Duff 1952:43).

Why at this time were the Chilliwack without villages below the canyon along the Chilliwack River to Sumas Lake and from that lake north to the Fraser? Three possible reasons occur to me: (1) the tribe was still a notable upper river and mountain group, to whom open prairie living failed to appeal; (2) the area was still actively claimed and utilized by other tribes, the Cultus Lake-Sweltzer Creek people immediately below the Chilliwack canyon mouth and the Sumas around their lake, its headwaters, and its river outlet down to the Fraser; and (3) the open country below the canyon was thought to be too exposed to occasional raids by Lower Fraser and coastal war parties.

And why were the Chilliwack with no villages in the low country between the lower Chilliwack River and the Fraser and on the Fraser bank defining the northern rim of this level expanse? Possible explanations (1) and (3) above apply to this region no less than to the Chilliwack River-side locations. In addition, this sector was typically one of bogs, marshes, and swamps (Duff 1952:43) and one in mid-summer bedeviled by incredible hordes of vicious mosquitoes.

Sometime prior to 1830 the Chilliwack River shifted its course to pass north from the present Vedder Crossing locality over the previously wet, spongy terrain, now filling in naturally to become a prairie. Only after this filling-in occurred, probably following the founding of Fort Langley in 1827, and, through the efforts of the Langlie traders, after the dangers of hostile raids by distant peoples had been significantly reduced, did the Chilliwack move their main villages downstream and closer to Vedder Crossing. Then, abandoning their canyon isolation as the bogs grew firmer and giant cedars grew in the area, they began more and more to establish villages out "along the lower reaches of the [Chilliwack] river, even venturing out on to the Fraser to fish. (Smith 1950a:339; Duff 1952:14, 16, 21, 43, 44) Smith (1947:266) places at "only three generations back" the first of these Chilliwack villages along the Chilliwack after it ran sharply northward from the canyon mouth across the former swamp and water areas.

Charles Wilson (1960:48ff) of the British Boundary Commission presents a vivid and unquestionably accurate picture of this lower Chilliwack River country as he saw it in the summer of 1859. In the interests of space, I omit my extended summary of this engaging and informative description. He speaks of the area's thick brush and tree belts, widespread mid-summer flooding, absolutely unendurable mosquitoes, snakes and sandflies, and roasting days and cold night air from the mountains. Also of its grass to the waist, flower cover, fine strawberries, and splendid views. Considering especially the general flooding and mosquito hordes, it is no wonder that the traditional Chilliwack had no summer settlements in this lowland Fraser plain.

It is less certain why in earlier years it was also avoided in siting winter villages. Perhaps it was too exposed to downriver raiders. Or it was too far from the mountains for the tribe to be comfortable. Or it was too distant from subsistence caches and sources, since the group had no Fraser River salmon fisheries. Or the water table was too high even in winter for the use of the favored semisubterranean dwellings. Or the open plain was

more exposed to cutting winter winds and biting cold than the tribe's mountain-flanked canyon. Whatever the explanation, the Fraser River lowlands within the Chilliwack drainage region were evidently not favored as winter village locations when the river path ran westward to the Sumas country.

Of much greater interest to this present study is Fraser's journey up the Chilliwack River from the canyon mouth to Chilliwack Lake in this same 1959 mid-summer time period. The contrast between this country, the old Chilliwack homeland, and the lower Chilliwack swamps, floods, and clouds of savage mosquitoes is very striking.

On July 27, Wilson left the mouth of Chilliwack River on his first and only journey to Chilliwack Lake. His pertinent journal entries are worth quoting at some length.

7/27. Got on horseback early in the morning . . . [to] be out of mosquitoes for some time whilst . . . on the [Chilliwack] lake. The greater portion of this day's journey was through low land, very thickly timbered, the soil to judge from magnificent Indian potato fields I passed through excellent; at last, after going over a very high hill, I descended to the valley below & found our first halting place by the side of the Chilukweyuk river, which here assumed the character of a mountain torrent & was glad to find the mosquitoes were not very numerous [I must mention] the kindness of an Indian chief & his family who were fishing near our halt [H]aving tied my horse went to have a chat with them; the old chief's wife took compassion on my wretched state [from mosquito bites] & having asked my permission, they brought out the paint bag & painted my face & hands with vermilion & certainly the relief was very great; you would have laughed to have seen me painted up like an Indian; after the operation a pipe was lighted & passed round the circle, everybody, women included taking 3 or 4 puffs. Then I took my leave, with a present of a splendid salmon & the chief's son, 'Charley', who is going to accompany me I am now leaving the mosquito country, . . . (Wilson 1970:62-63)

Where Wilson stopped for the night is not well described. It was probably just above the canyon mouth since he camped as soon as he had descended the high hill to the river side.

7/28. Wilson's journal reads in its relevant parts:

[The journey on up the valley] was very hilly, nothing but up & down over the spurs of the mountains, at one time toiling up then crossing the bed of a mountain torrent or going down an almost precipitous descent by a zigzag trail. Our halt [of the evening] was close by the river in a beautiful spot; the squitoes growing gradually less. (Wilson 1970:63-64)

His camping place of this night is uncertain, though it must have been somewhere between Tamihi (Tamahi on some Canadian maps; Tomyhoi on USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955) Creek and Slease (Silesia on USGS Concrete quadrangle 1955) Creek.

7/29. Leaving the train behind, Wilson pushed on to the lake, covering the mules' two-day trek in one day.

After about 5 miles the road became very bad, steep hills covered with loose stones which were rolling down under the horse's feet & winding round the edge of a cliff with the foaming Chilukweyuk beneath; after this the valley opened out & I had a level ride for about 14 miles. In one place Charley . . . showed me some berries, so . . . I got off & found myself in the midst of . . . black currents & raspberries in profusion & a beautiful red berry which grew abundantly on a shrub; one species of raspberry, a large yellow one, was unequalled in flavour even by the best in the garden at home. We also passed through a large fire. Luckily there was no wind, or we should not have been able to pass, the smoke was very thick and stifling; the fire extended right across the valley & up the mountains. . . . Nothing could exceed the dismal aspect of the country for the six miles to the lake over which the fire had gone, . . . When I got to the lake . . . I crossed over . . . to Haig's camp in a boat constructed by our men, a distance of 5 miles, . . .

Here ends Wilson's narrative of his three-day journey to Chilliwack Lake.

This narrative is of some special interest because of its description of the valley topography, of the Indian--surely Chilliwack--salmon fishing camp and its occupants, and of the wild berry field, known to his Chilliwack guide. My detailed geographic analysis of this ride may be omitted from this report, but the Indian camp and related matters deserve comment.

It is notable that Wilson speaks of meeting Indians at only one location during his three-day ride: i.e., when he was already in the canyon but still close to its exit. Since he was uncommonly comfortable with Indians, it may be supposed that he would have remarked upon any further encounters with native groups, especially since he had a guide from the one camp he mentions. This apparent absence of summer camps is perplexing, since Wilson implies that salmon fishing was underway at the one camp he encountered. Perhaps the canyon population had by 1859 become gravely reduced by disease or by mass movement to the Fraser prairie, although this area was customarily abandoned in mid-summer owing to the mosquito infestation as Wilson (1970:49) indicates was the practice of those otherwise on the plain. Perhaps there were Chilliwack who were for most of the year canyon residents but were, in the central summer months, off in the mountains, carrying out their normal seasonal food search. Or possibly the Chilliwack were in 1859 largely employed by the British and American boundary parties--at least we are told that some were assisting the British surveyors (Wilson 1970:49, 51, 54, 63, 64, 77)--and so were pulled away in 1859 from their customary summer camps.

With this very incomplete sketch of the Chilliwack Valley between the canyon mouth and Chilliwack Lake, as seen by Wilson in the summer of 1859, before us, we may now turn to his observations regarding Chilliwack Lake. This lake was known to Wilson by reputation at least six weeks before he had an opportunity to view it himself. On June 16, 1859, less than two weeks after establishing a Commission depot at the Chilliwack River mouth, he

entered the following observation in his journal, writing at his Chilliwack Prairie headquarters a short distance below the canyon narrows:

The Chilukweyuk . . . rises in the far recesses of the Cascade mountains & by its valley we penetrate the mountain range later on in the season. The Indians give a wonderful account of a lake near the summit, where bears, marten, marmot & salmon abound; a reconnoitring party sent forward give glowing accounts of the fishing. (Wilson 1970:49)

Hearing that there were no mosquitoes at Chilliwack Lake, he closed his Chilliwack depot on July 16 and sent the nearly mutinous men of the camp to the lake (Wilson 1970:61). Partly to seek relief from these insects, he himself left the Fraser plain for the lake on July 27, as already noted, and was pleased to find them decreasing in numbers as he ascended the river valley (Wilson 1970:63, 64).

On reaching the lake on July 29, at the close of his ride up the canyon as précised above, Wilson recorded his impressions as follows:

[Chilliwack] lake is very beautiful in the middle of the Cascade mountains between 3 or 4000 feet above the sea, lofty snowy peaks, glaciers close above our heads, the snow in some places within a few feet; the scenery is however small, the valleys being very contracted & the glaciers not of any very great extent. (Wilson 1970:65)

On July 31, he paddled a canoe over the lake to see more of it and wrote:

Some of the peaks are I should say about 6000 feet above the sea. It was a lovely day, not a breath of wind, the only sounds which broke the silence being the whistle of a marmot or the rumbling of falling trees or snow in the mountains. (Wilson 1970:65)

His encounter with the lake on August 5 contrasted sharply with his earlier pleasant paddle. While crossing the lake with a companion:

. . . one of the sudden mountain storms came on & caught me in the canoe; luckily it blew in the right direction, as nothing could be done but go right before it. I was steering and precious hard work it was; to let the canoe get broadside on in the least would have been an instantaneous upset & the water was so cold there would have been no chance of swimming; besides, we had to work away with the paddles to keep up with the wind or we should have been swamped by the water coming over the stern. The canoe literally flew through the water with the rain and spray flying past us. (Wilson 1970:66)

How sharply the mountains rise from the lake shores and how high they climb in a short horizontal distance--from a 2,000-foot lake surface level to as much as 7,300 feet in 2 miles--to Macdonald Peak--is clearly shown on the DEMN Skagit River quadrangle (1975).

The Chilliwack River above the lake was not visited by Wilson. Its course was followed, however, for at least some distance by two of the Commission cutting and surveying parties (those of Roche and Haig) on their journeys to the Skagit Valley (Wilson 1970:65, 73). But Wilson includes in his journal no topographic or other data concerning this upper valley area based on reports from these field teams.

The early location of the Chilliwack focus in the narrow valley back from the Fraser is of special interest, since it seems not to have been true of any of the other Upper Stalo tribelets (cf. Duff 1952:30-45). It is particularly notable inasmuch as the Fraser was so important to Upper Stalo life in general. As Duff (1952:16) explains:

The . . . [Fraser River in Stalo country] was their main source of food the year around. It was their highway, which invited travel in the two dominant directions of their lives, up-river and down-river, and which brought to their villages visitors, new ideas, sometimes raiding parties Up-river, the way was barred by the Fraser canyon, with its surging broken torrent which was almost impossible to negotiate by canoe. Below lived the salt-water Indians, some of whom were friendly and familiar, but some of whom were hostile.

Travel was predominantly by canoe.

This suggests that in this early period the Chilliwack were somewhat out of the mainstream of Fraser River and Upper Stalo life. If so, this would be consistent with the native view that their speech was then "somewhat different from that of the Fraser Valley Indians," perhaps more like Nooksack but, according to one informant, "not the same as Nooksack." While Chilliwack settlements were in these early times confined to the narrow valley of the Chilliwack above Vedder Crossing, their principal village was at the lower end of the river stretch, about 2 miles above the Crossing. (Duff 1952:43)

Twenty-two Chilliwack village sites are identified by Duff (1952:36 map 3, 37-39, 43-44) (Figure 2-4). Of this number, twelve were on the south bank of the Fraser, on sloughs connected with that river, or on a channel of the Chilliwack River below the canyon outlet. All of these were first occupied after about 1830 when the lower Chilliwack River changed its westerly course away from Sumas Lake and began to flow directly north from the canyon mouth. Because these twelve were postcontact settlements and were, of all Chilliwack villages, those most distant from the North Cascades region and so least relevant to this study, they are not considered further.

The remaining ten villages, situated in the narrow canyon above Vedder Crossing, were apparently either precontact or very early postcontact settlements. They lay on the direct Chilliwack River route from the Fraser River to the northwestern corner of the Park. Moreover, they were not distant from the Park boundary: the farthest (#13) was about 33 miles along the Chilliwack River from its limits and the nearest (#22) was only approximately 11 miles. For these reasons the available data on these ten villages, obtained by Duff (1952:36-39) from a knowledgeable, elderly informant, are summarized in Table 2-1. It is significant that all of these

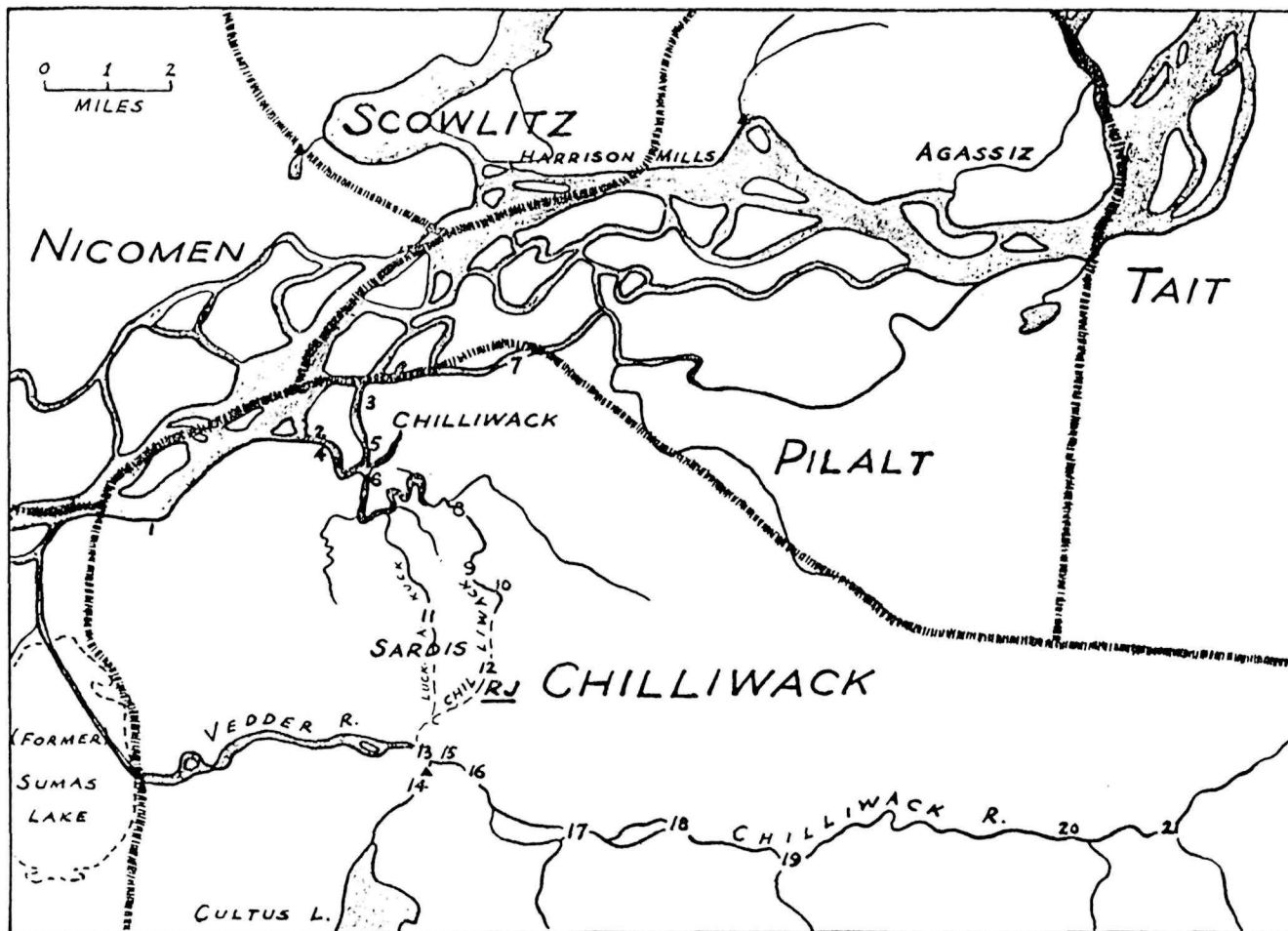


Figure 2-4. Territorial limits of Chilliwack near Fraser River and location of Chilliwack settlements (Duff 1952:36-39, 43-44, 36 map 3 slightly modified). Villages #1-12 were established after about 1830. Apparently villages #13-15 were early postcontact communities. Villages #16-21 (and #22 off map to right) were old Chilliwack settlements. Dotted stream courses plot Chilliwack River channels to Fraser in 1830-1880 period, before river assumed its Vedder River path.

Table 2-1. Chilliwack Villages along the Chilliwack River at and above Vedder Crossing, According to Duff (1952:36-39, 43-44)

Village No.	Village Name	Location ^a	Other Ethnographic References	Descriptive Data
13	<u>qaga'leʔal</u>	On a flat just above Vedder Crossing		One of the early main villages. Its establishment from a location somewhat upriver initiated the move down the canyon and out onto the plains.
14	<u>cuwe'li</u> , "dissolve"	On Sweltzer Creek which flows from Cultus Lake to Chilliwack River just above the canyon mouth.	Boas #1; Hill-Tout #8; Smith #5	Although Cultus Lake is of precontact date, it was said by Duff's Chilliwack informant not to have existed in "old times" (Duff 1952:43). The creek is obviously old and at this village site Duff observed 6 housepits in 1949-1950.
15	<u>θ'a'θəməls</u>	On a small flat a short distance above Vedder Crossing.	Smith #2.	Plank houses here; ground too rocky for pit dwellings.
16	<u>xe'las</u> , "slide"	On N. bank of river 1 or 2 miles above Crossing.	Boas #2; Smith #3.	Main headquarters of tribe long ago when Chilliwack River flowed to Sumas Lake (Duff 1952:43).
17	<u>layə'mθən</u> , "water swirling out in gushers"	At mouth of Lihumitson [Liumchen] Creek.	Smith #8.	Large village and one of the main Chilliwack villages.
18	?	On small flat at mouth of Ryder Creek.	Smith #9.	
19	<u>t'emiha'y</u> , "hermaphrodite"	At mouth of Tamihi Creek.	Smith #10.	
20	<u>i'a'yθəl</u>	A little above Anderson Flat, between Tamihi and Slease Creeks.	Smith #11.	A good fishery.
21	<u>səli'si</u>	At mouth of Slease Creek	Smith #12.	On both sides of Chilliwack River.
22	?	Below Centre Creek.	Smith #13.	Wiped out by slide.

^aFor geographic plotting of village locations, see Figure 2-4.

^bSee sections 2-4 immediately following for additional data.

ten settlements except for #13, a late but still pre-1830 community, are confirmed by other ethnographers, as noted below. In addition to these village-level population aggregates, a few dwellings, Duff (1952:39) indicates, were scattered from Centre Creek "up to Chilliwack Lake . . . and around the lake," an ethnographic fragment of particular relevance to this study.

Three earlier ethnographic sources furnish Chilliwack village information:

- (1) Boas (1894:454) mentions only two villages, both above Vedder Crossing, equating with Duff #14 and #16 (Table 2-1). He provides no locational, demographic, or other data beyond recording the name of the mythical founder of each.
- (2) Hill-Tout (1903:356) lists 12 Chilliwack villages. Eight were still occupied in the 1890s, not one located by Hill-Tout. Of these, seven can be matched against Duff's village roster, and so on this evidence were sited out on the Fraser plain and were of post-1830 date. The eight is sūwā'lē, #14 in Duff's roster, which Hill-Tout describes as "the former headquarters of the tribe," and as having acquired its Chilliwack name, "melting away," in reference to the fact that the people here once died in great numbers. Evidently it was located on Sweltzer River immediately above the Chilliwack canyon exit, for this is where Duff (1952:38) positions his village #14. Five of the twelve, sūwā'lē and four others, were old "settlements on the upper reaches of the Chilliwack River." These latter four are described as having been "contiguous to Sūwā'lē," but cannot be otherwise located from Hill-Tout's information, nor can they be matched with certainty with Duff's villages. Unless these prove somehow to be identical, under different native names, to old settlements in Duff's roster, they give us four additional villages on the Chilliwack River between the western canyon opening and the Chilliwack Lake area.
- (3) Marian Smith (1950a:334 fn. 14, 339-341, 340 Figure 1) lists 14 Chilliwack villages, the general locations of which are shown on Figure 2-5. Of these 14, only a single settlement (#1) was sited below Vedder Crossing, explicable, she observes, by the fact already noted that "the lower course of the Chilliwack River was once marsh" and by the circumstance that "the Chilliwack had no old villages along the Fraser." Because this community was a late one and outside the early Chilliwack canyon homeland, it is without central interest in this study.

Villages #5-7 in Smith's "Chilliwack" settlement catalog are identified by her with the Cultus Lake group, settlement #7 having been their "home" village where "they had been . . . a long time." If they were in fact affiliated with the Cultus Lake people, they should not appear in her Chilliwack settlement list. Duff (1952:38), incidentally, includes village #5 in his roster as Chilliwack settlement #14, saying nothing about its inhabitants having been members of the tribe that occupied the Cultus Lake sector.

In contrast with village #1, Smith's settlement #2-13 were all on the Chilliwack River upstream from Vedder Crossing, though this is not clear from

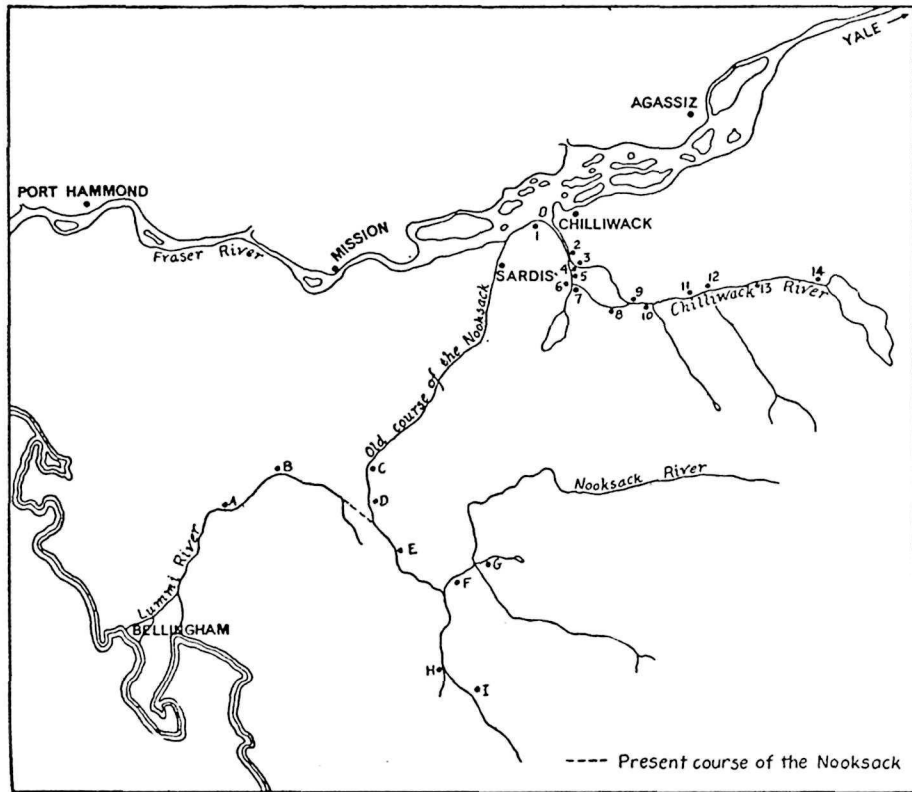


Figure 2-5. Location of 14 Chilliwack villages as plotted by Smith (1950a:339-341), based on her own field data. Nooksack villages on Nooksack River and lower end of "Old course of the Nooksack" are designated by letters. Villages F and G appear to fall within Chilliwack boundary as this is plotted by Duff (see Figure 2-1).

her distribution map (Figure 2-5) which is inaccurate in several respects. Villages #2-7 were regarded by the Chilliwack, Smith (1950a:240) states, as their old "head villages," with #2 and #3 the most important of the six. These six were "not more than a quarter of a mile apart." Evidently there was a tight community cluster just above the canyon mouth, for Hill-Tout speaks of a group of five villages in this same area and Duff's villages #13-16 (Table 2-1) were all in this same locality.

The data provided by Smith (1950a:340-341) regarding these 14 villages is compiled in Table 2-2.

With these four field data records before us and with Hill-Tout, Smith, and Duff each listing one or more villages not found in either of the other two accounts, it is worthwhile to compile a master list of traditional Chilliwack settlements above the Vedder Crossing area (Table 2-3). An effort has been made, on the basis of the available information, to list these sites in an upriver order, divided into a Vedder Crossing cluster, a Sweltzer River group (originally occupied by Cultus Lake people but later taken over by the Chilliwack), and a Chilliwack River string from just above Vedder Crossing upstream to Chilliwack Lake. In addition, both Smith and Duff mention single dwellings or very small villages on the Chilliwack River close to Chilliwack Lake and around the shores of the lake.

Viewed from the perspective of this study, these data are of immediate interest in several ways. At least within the "tribal" memory of Chilliwack ethnographic informants, the Chilliwack population concentration was near or at the mouth of the river canyon. The degree to which the villages thinned out as the Chilliwack River was ascended is well demonstrated by the data plotted in Figures 2-4 and 2-5. And indicated also by the fact that only an occasional small settlement was located between Centre Creek and Chilliwack Lake, a distance of about 4 miles, and around the shores of the lake itself. This downriver concentration appears to have increased somewhat before 1830 as villages shifted their locus slightly closer to the canyon exit. Soon the population flowed out onto the alluvial plain along the various mouths of the Chilliwack River in its northward course. This movement must have drawn people from the canyon strip, particularly in view of the general tribal population decrease immediately prior to and during this time period.

One may wonder whether Chilliwack villages extended along the lower Chilliwack River "long ago" while, emerging from the canyon above the present Vedder Crossing, it flowed straight west to and into Sumas Lake according to native informants. Apparently this was not the case, for Duff (1952:43) reports: "At that time the Chilliwack tribe lived in several villages along the steep valley of the river up as far as Chilliwack Lake" and had their main headquarters at xe'las (village #16, Table 2-1) in the lower canyon. Indeed, "another group of Indians lived at the present location of Cultus Lake These the Chilliwacks called swi'ł̓č̓a, and they spoke a language 'a little different' from Chilliwack" (Duff 1952:43). And, in fact, the village of cuwε'li (#14, Table 2-1), located on Sweltzer Creek just upstream from its junction with Chilliwack River, was at this time largely, if not wholly, a swi'ł̓č̓a community (Duff 1952:43).

There is a strong implication that in protohistoric and early historic years the Chilliwack, owing to prevalent intertribal hostilities, were

Table 2-2. Old Chilliwack Villages and Old Cultus Lake Settlements (starred) above Vedder Crossing according to the Field Data of Smith (1950a:340-341).

Village No.	Village Name	Location	Other Ethnographic References	Descriptive Data
2	<u>tsótsəmaus</u> (tʰə́təmaus)	Less than 0.5 mile above Vedder Crossing bridge where small creek entered Chilliwack from the north.	Duff #15	Location of a famous dwelling called "watery eaves."
3	<u>xélas</u>	Here a small creek reached Chilliwack from north. Nearby a rockslide and steep hill.	Boas #2; Duff #16.	
4	<u>siyéaq^u</u>	Just above Vedder Crossing		Name = "burnt over."
5	<u>*s'wé'li</u>		Boas #1; Hill-Tout #8; Duff #14.	Village of Cultus Lake people.
6	* ?	At mouth of Soowahlie [Sweltzer] Creek, where a creek enters from the south.		Two dwellings of Cultus Lake people and another .25 mile up the small creek.
7	* ?	On a flat beside Soowahlie Creek near its mouth and a large rock ("those blow flies").		Four or five large dwellings. Home village of Cultus Lake people.
8	<u>layúmsa</u>	Near Lihumitson [Liumchen] Creek.	Duff #17.	
9	<u>t'apt'óp</u>	On a flat 1 mile above #8.	Duff #18.	A large settlement.
10	<u>t'ammiáx'</u>	At mouth of Tomyhoi [Tamihi] Creek.	Duff #19.	Name = "deformed."
11	<u>iáiaθa</u>	On Chilliwack 6 miles above #10.	Duff #20.	River very deep at this place.
12	?	Opposite mouth of Slease Creek.	Duff #21.	Quite a large settlement.
13	?	On a mountain side just above Slease Creek, 9 or 10 miles below Chilliwack Lake.	Duff #22.	Two or three houses. Landslide once destroyed the houses, killing all but one family.
14	?	Several dwellings at head of Chilliwack River and on Chilliwack Lake.		Houses were "some distance from each other."

Table 2-3. Composite Roster of Chilliwack Villages at and above Vedder Crossing and of Early Cultus Lake Villages Compiled from Tables 2-1 and 2-2.

-
- A. Vedder Crossing Cluster
- (a) Duff #13
 - (b) Duff #15, Smith #2
 - (c) Duff #16, Boas #2, Smith #3
 - (d) Smith #4
 - (e) Hill-Tout^a
 - (f) Hill-Tout^a
 - (g) Hill-Tout^a
 - (h) Hill-Tout^a
- B. Sweltzer River Cluster^b
- (i) Duff #14, Boas #1, Hill-Tout #8, Smith #5
 - (j) Smith #6
 - (k) Smith #7
- C. Chilliwack River String (from Cluster A to Chilliwack Lake)
- (l) Duff #17, Smith #8
 - (m) Duff #18, Smith #9
 - (n) Duff #19, Smith #10
 - (o) Duff #20, Smith #11
 - (p) Duff #21, Smith #12
 - (q) Duff #22, Smith #13
-

^aPerhaps a member of Sweltzer River Cluster.

^bEvidently early Cultus Lake villages, later taken over by the Chilliwack.

uncomfortable beyond the shelter of their canyon. Indeed, they maintained a high platform lookout against enemy raiders near their downrivermost village (Duff 1952:43). The area was also unsuitable for occupation because of its marshy surface and other particularly summer conditions to which reference has been made. Possibly, too, the district was held by the Cultus Lake people or the Sumas or, unlikely, some now forgotten tribelet.

Assuming that no Chilliwack settlements were located on this early, lower western river reach, it appears very probable that in the 1700s, prior to the appearance of the first known epidemics from Western sources, a substantially larger Chilliwack population inhabited the Chilliwack canyon above Vedder Crossing than in post-1830 years. Were these canyon villages larger or inhabited more consistently year after year? Were there additional settlements, especially in upriver sectors, perhaps around Chilliwack Lake, and even along the river above the lake? Evidently only archaeological investigation can answer these questions. But these are issues of major importance for an understanding of the traditional native utilization of the North Cascades Park area. For the upper, southern end of the present Chilliwack Lake is no more than 1 mile from the Park boundary.

It is of interest that extensive, periodic village splits and population movements to new localities were recalled for the protohistoric period by informants of the Tait group (Duff 1952:30-34, 44). Some involved single families, others parts of villages or even entire communities. Some were to nearby sites as roots, game, and firewood became scarce. Others were of a more major nature as when groups attempted to reduce exposure to raiders from other tribes, affecting as much as half the Tait tribelet and taking the people some distance to a new segment of the Tait territory. It may be that this internal mobility was made easier by the unusual absence among the Tait of any feeling of internal unity, such that their status as a single tribelet may be questioned. And it may have been encouraged by the Tait control of an important segment of the Fraser River and their possession of numerous excellent salmon fishing rapids, rocks, and ledges. Certain of these were naturally more productive than others and, moreover, it may be assumed that the productivity of individual sites varied somewhat with the season and year. The Chilliwack case is obviously different, at least in the sense that they evidently saw themselves as comprising an ethnic entity, were rather less exposed in their canyon home to extratribal raids, and were not the possessors of a rich and varied major river sector. But it is still plain from the above data that village relocation was by no means unfamiliar to the Chilliwack. This is not an insignificant point for an understanding of the utilization of the northwestern corner of the Park, particularly when coupled with the downriver population press mentioned above. These facts again raise the possibility that the small settlements along the upper Chilliwack River and around Chilliwack Lake to which Duff's informant alluded may have been larger villages at an earlier time as well as the possibility that other communities beyond those remembered by the informant may have existed both on the upper and middle Chilliwack.

Village and Camp Arrangement

There is virtually nothing in the ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature describing how the typical Upper Stalo village and task camp (by task, season, and geographical location) were physically organized: what types of structures comprised the unit and how these were positioned areally. The scraps that follow represent the total data known to me.

With reference to the Halkomelem tribes in general--not the smaller Upper Stalo group, much less the Chilliwack in particular--villages were composed of several substantial wooden houses or--up the Fraser River--of one or more semisubterranean dwellings. They were "always placed close to water, on some harbour or river, where the inmates . . . [had] only to walk a few yards to launch their canoes, which when not in use . . . [were] carefully drawn up on the bank, and covered with bushes to protect them from the rays of the sun. The outside of a village . . . [was] the very acme of filth, . . . for all refuse . . . [was] thrown just outside the house, soon forming a large accumulation of shells, old mats, rags, and the putrid entrails of salmon." (Wilson 1866:287)

At Sumass, in Wilson's orthography, and various locations on the Fraser River, the village was "enclosed by a stout palisading of young firs, some fifteen feet high, fixed firmly into the ground," as protection against the ravages of northern coastal Indians (Wilson 1866:286).

The corpse boxes were usually but a short distance from the village (Wilson 1866:286).

The extent to which these data apply to the Chilliwack is uncertain. However, because their old settlements were exclusively on the Chilliwack River and Lake, it seems safe to assume that they beached their canoes near their villages. Further, because of their remote side canyon homeland, it is doubtful that their communities required palisade protection.

Domestic and Tamed Animals

For the Upper Stalo as a group, no clear and reliable ethnographic or ethnohistorical information relating to domestic animals or to wild forms kept in the village as tamed animals has yet been located. Duff (1952:71) reports only that the early dogs were not well or consistently described by his informants: they were like wolves, smaller than wolves, or in the case of bear dogs (very questionably it seems to me) like St. Bernards.

For individual tribelets within the Upper Stalo group, we have no more than the following two references, the second of special interest. Neither, however, describes the physical traits of the animals.

- On June 28, 1808, Fraser (1960:99), then at the uppermost village of the Tait on the Fraser River, observed that their dogs had recently been shorn to yield the hair that was woven into "rugs." The use of dog hair for this purpose was later noted by Fraser (1960:101) at another Tait camp between Hope and Seabird Island.

- The Chilliwack, Hill-Tout (1903:388) reports, bred a native species of dog for its hair, which was woven into blankets.

Travel and Transportation

The Upper Stalo made and used three or possibly four types of dugout canoes (Duff 1952:51-53; Smith 1955:101-102). The area of these tribes seems, in fact, to have been a center of skillful canoe fabrication and out-trade. In most cases it is not perfectly clear, unfortunately, whether the descriptions apply to the precontact or post-White situation or both.

The following are the canoe types reported by Duff and Smith:

- The "Nootka or Chinook type." This was a large canoe, as much as 40 or even 60 feet in length and a fathom wide, "with high projecting bow and vertical stern-post carved as separate pieces." A large cedar tree was felled with stone chisels and hammers and a slab split off the log.

The log was turned over, and the ends were shaped with hammer, chisel and adze. Upturned again, it was hollowed by means of fire controlled by water, and the sides were adzed to the proper thickness, measured by a small stick through holes bored at intervals. It was then placed upright on two blocks, one under each end, for spreading. This was done by filling the canoe with water, putting in hot stones, then, when the wood softened, forcing many bent green saplings in crosswise, which, as they straightened, spread the sides of the canoe. The permanent cross-pieces were then sewn in place: a wide "captain's" seat at the stern and several smaller cross-pieces, one behind each paddler's seat. Bow and stern pieces were also sewn in place. The outside of the canoe was finished by smoking it with fir-pitch, which hardened the surface so that it would not crack in the sun. (Duff 1952:51)

This craft was used on the Fraser River itself up to the canyon above Yale and to make trips down to the salt water.

Because of the generally large size of these canoes, it may be reasonably doubted that the Chilliwack owned such large dugouts, at least until early in the nineteenth century. For until then the tribelet was generally restricted to the middle and upper Chilliwack River, holding no section of the Fraser River as their country.

- The most common and most typical canoe was an all-purpose craft which varied from about 15 to 30 feet in length and carried as many as 10 persons. Hollowed out of half a cedar log, it had a low, projecting bow with

. . . a mouth-like notch carved at the front. The bow meets the water with a sharp vertical cut-water, above which it flares widely to give lift in rough water. Flatly rounded in cross-section for most of its length, the canoe tapers gently to a point at the stern. The bottom as it approaches the

stern becomes V-shaped, almost keeled, and slopes gently up to the projecting stern. (Duff 1952:52)

In view of the characteristics of the water areas of the aboriginal and early postcontact Chilliwack country, it seems probable that craft of this widespread Upper Stalo variety were found also among the Chilliwack.

- A long, narrow, shallow "shovel-nosed" canoe was fashioned of a half cedar log.

The bow and stern were the same--wide, flat cut square across, and projecting far out over the water. The bottom was flat with no cut-water, or merely a suggestion of one. Often as much as 25 or 30 feet long, it was very low and narrow. Although ideal for gliding over the swift cross-currents of the Harrison, Chilliwack, and other tributaries, it was not constructed to take much wind or rough water, and its usefulness on the main river was limited. It was usually poled rather than paddled. (Duff 1952:52)

This shovel-nosed watercraft was able to turn quickly and was especially useful in rough water where it could "glide right across a cross current" (Smith 1955:102).

Here we have a canoe form that is definitely assigned to the Chilliwack (Duff 1952:52), one that must have met their limited water needs admirably.

- A fourth variety which may have been in use among the middle Fraser people appears to have been fitted with a vertical, heavy prow piece. The smallest held 12 men; a large one, 20 to 22 men. Three or four of these craft were said to have been available in each middle Fraser group to carry all the adult males in raids against coastal groups, when "travelling up-river to the Yale fishing grounds in summer," and in transporting people to "gatherings." (Smith 1955:102)

Assuming that craft of this variety were actually in use on the middle Fraser, it would appear unlikely that it was a Chilliwack canoe in early days, given their wholly side-river homeland, their apparent atypical Upper Stalo culture, their evident isolation, and their self-contained riverine-mountain orientation.

A fifth water craft type, according to Smith (1955:102), on the middle Fraser was a bark canoe, used for lake travel and also on creeks where it could be back-carried from stream to stream. It was fashioned of cedar, spruce, or even fir bark, and was, according to one informant, about 8 feet long and "quite wide."

Bark canoes were not in use among the Chilliwack, Smith (1955:103) reports. This is difficult for me to understand, however, for bark must have been available and there surely must have been segments of the Chilliwack River during some seasons when these craft would have furnished convenient transportation. They might also have been used to advantage on Chilliwack

Lake and later on Cultus Lake, after it became Chilliwack territory. Perhaps it might have seen service on the upper reaches of the Chilliwack River above the lake, if it was not everywhere altogether too swift and dangerous a mountain stream.

In view of the importance of Indian watercraft to the early White travelers in Upper Stalo country along the lower Fraser and the reported skill of the natives in manipulating cedar canoes in fast water and swift currents, it is surprising how little information regarding these craft as artifacts is to be found in the historical records.

- On his journey down the Fraser in June, 1808, and then back up in July, Simon Fraser (1960:98-102, 109-116) had ample opportunity to examine Upper Stalo canoes by the dozens, his party being dependent on negotiated or enforced loans of watercraft from the native groups they encountered. Unfortunately, however, he fails to describe their form and construction. He reports, in fact, only that at the village just below Yale, a Tait community, he "saw a number of new . . . [canoes], which seemed to have been hollowed with fire, and then polished" (Fraser 1960:99).
- Charles Wilson (1970) provides even less information. While serving with the British Boundary Commission in Upper Stalo territory in 1858-1859, he moved about by Indian canoe on many occasions. Not once, however, to my knowledge did he describe the Upper Stalo craft in artifactual terms.

Paddles were of maple with crutch or cross handles, those used by women being smaller than those favored by men. Steering paddles differed to some extent, but precisely how is not described. Poles, 10 to 15 feet long and of fir or occasionally cedar, were carried in all canoes for pushing the craft in shallow water. Bailers were of folded cedar bark with cross handles. (Duff 1952:53, Figure 1 a-c)

Coarsely woven, cedar bark mats and occasionally blankets were said to have been used as canoe sails by the Upper Stalo in precontact times (Duff 1952:53). Their pre-1800 occurrence among the Stalo may well be accurate, the sails having diffused up the Fraser from nearby coastal groups before the appearance of Whites in Upper Stalo country. But the ultimate source of the sail among the maritime native peoples appears to be still an open question: whether the idea derived from viewing early Euroamerican sailing vessels or long ago from seeing some wrecked ship from the Orient (Underhill 1945:91). How useful sails would have been as canoe adjuncts to the Chilliwack in their canyon country--as opposed to the tribelets along the open Fraser Valley--is unclear.

"Snowshoes were worn for land travel during the winter." The frame of vine maple was oval in shape with the front end turned up and with a webbing of deerskin strips. (Duff 1952:57)

Trails

Travel by the Upper Stalo was mainly by canoe with pole and paddle, except during the coldest months of the year when the river became covered with chunks of floating ice. Journeying up and down the valley through Upper and Lower Stalo country was easy via the river, the Stalo "highway" concerning which every turn, shallow, pool, snag, rapid, and beach were well known. (Duff 1952:16, 17-18)

Major land trails and water routes in the central segments of great river country--as opposed to small side trails--normally do not terminate within the area, but rather extend through it. So it was with the Upper Stalo Fraser River trails. This was no less true in prehistoric periods than in more recent ethnographic times. Thus an old, semirealistic art style with religious associations is believed to have originated in the classic Northwest Coast cultures and to have diffused, as one line of flow, up the Fraser, over to the Middle Columbia, and down that river to its lower reaches (Smith 1950b:26-27). Surely we are dealing here with a principal land-water route between the coast and the interior, with the Upper Stalo area as an important intermediate link.

But it is difficult to describe ethnographically such routes with their forkings this way and that. Consequently in the descriptions that follow the trails are treated as though they originated in Upper Stalo territory and fanned outward in various directions to the country of the tribal entities in the vicinity.

From just above Yale, the northeasternmost border of Upper Stalo territory and southern end of Lower Thompson country, upriver to Spuzzum the Fraser poured through a fearful canyon. Difficult and dangerous though this river reach was, it was sometimes possible to navigate it during low water seasons. Indeed, the Stalo occasionally took cedar canoes up this narrow canyon to Spuzzum for sale.

These canoes . . . were larger than the Thompsons could make with the cedars they had available, and hence in great demand, as fairly large canoes were necessary in the rough waters of that region. (Duff 1952:16)

But "the usual method of travel to Thompson country was by foot, over steep and tortuous trails," with ingenious ladder constructions as travel aids. The difficulties of this route "were such as to keep cultural contacts with the Thompsons at a minimum." (Duff 1952:16)

To how great a degree the Chilliwack participated in these Fraser River trade and travel patterns is not reported. Assuming Duff's early Chilliwack River orientation for the tribelet as accurate, the group is unlikely to have been nearly as involved in the "old days" as were the other Upper Stalo peoples with their Fraser bank locations. On the other hand, the Chilliwack encountered Thompson parties--at least of the lower division of that group--in the mountains of the upper Chilliwack and perhaps of the upper Skagit.

Apparently no trails--at any rate, no horse trails of significance--led eastward from the Upper Stalo area over the mountains through Lower Thompson country to the Sinkaietk (=Southern Okanagan) or southern part of the Okanagan (=Northern Okanagan) territory. Though not without some ambiguity, McClellan (1855:197), a member of the Stevens' expedition, seems to be reporting as much when he records information received at Fort Okanagan at the Okanagan River mouth in late September, 1853:

Mr. Lafleur [who had charge of the fort] informed me that there was no pass between Mt. Baker and the Hudson's Bay Company's trail from [Fort] Okinakane to [Fort] Langley. This our subsequent examination verified. The information received here confirmed me in my previous intention of examining the Methow river, for they told me there was a good foot trail leading up that valley and over to the sound.

Evidently, to rephrase McClellan's statements, the Hudson's Bay personnel were unaware of any direct cross-mountain route suitable for pack trains between the Mt. Baker area, southeast of Langley on the lower Fraser, and the lower Okanagan River. Such a path would have taken parties roughly eastward over the high mountains to intersect at some point either with the Similkameen segment of the Company's Okanagan-Langley route or directly with the Okanagan River end of that route. This latter Similkameen-confluence to Okanagan-mouth stretch was also the southern terminus of the highly important north-south Old Okanagan Trail that linked Fort Okanagan and the company's establishment at Kamloops.

To view the matter from an Upper Stalo perspective, the customary route of Hudson's Bay travelers between the lower Fraser area and the Okanagan Valley plainly followed a series of low river valleys, crossing only one short, low watershed and avoiding altogether the mountains and their passes. Specifically, it was a roundabout path that ran from Langley up the Fraser, up the Coquihalla to its headwaters, overland to the Tulameen, down it and then the Similkameen, and finally down the Okanagan Valley to Fort Okanagan (Brown 1914:24, 29). This path was termed the "Fort Hope Trail" by Fort Okanagan and other Plateau traders (Brown 1914:29), since it reached the Fraser at Hope, where the Coquihalla empties into the Fraser, an area well within Upper Stalo territory.

Presumably it is to this circuitous trail that Brown (1914:12) alludes when writing in the following note of the Similkameen route:

[The] Okanogans and their neighboring tribes used to frequently visit the coast in the vicinity of the mouth of the Fraser, going thence sometimes by the Methow route and sometimes by the Similkameen route.

That this Similkameen trail was used by the Okanagan rather heavily in post-horse times is attested to by Teit's (1930b:250) ethnographic field information. On the other hand, this cross-country route from the Okanagan River to the Thompson River via the Similkameen and Nicola is dismissed as unimportant by Teit (1930b:250, 252) as a prehorse travel and trading route. His field data suggest that material items of Okanagan and more eastern and southern provenience appear to have reached the Lower Fraser tribes rather

less by this trail than by way of Okanogan Lake to the Thompson River and Thompson tribe. (For further details see Lower Thompson chapter below.)

Perhaps it was this trail that may have been involved in prehistoric times in cultural trait and complex diffusion between the middle Fraser and middle Columbia. For example, in her discussion of the rock art of the Fraser drainage, Puget Sound, and The Dalles area of the Columbia River, Marian Smith speaks of two possible paths by which petroglyphic artistic styles might have spread southward from the Northwest Coast. One of these was down the coast to the Fraser mouth, up the Fraser to its upper drainage, and then over to and down the Columbia, this route carrying the dot-and-circle design. Of the two paths, Smith suspected this one via the Fraser and middle Columbia to be the older. (Smith 1946:309, 316, 320)

The trail between Fort Langley (and Fort Hope) and Fort Colville followed this same Fraser, Coquihalla, Tulameen, Similkameen path to the Okanogan and then led eastward overland to Kettle Falls (Palmer in Brown 1914:29, 34-35).

The Methow line of travel commented upon by Brown would have brought Plateau Indians over the Cascades into the Skagit area and then to the Fraser Valley somewhere below Chilliwack country. For this reason it is discussed in the Skagit section of this report. It was this Methow trail that Alexander Ross (1956:37) attempted to follow in 1814, with Southern Okanogan guides, in his futile effort to journey from the lower Okanogan River over the Cascades to the salt water. It is not without relevance that this trail was so disused by 1814 and so poorly known to Ross' guides that its precise line of travel was lost about as soon as the party left the Methow River mouth.

Having said this much about the high-altitude Methow fur trader and Indian trail, it is of interest to note a possibly relevant ethnographic observation by Teit (1930b:250) presented from the Okanogan perspective: "In some places a few people [of the Okanogan group] occasionally made special trading trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties." Whether the ranges alluded to were in part the high ones of the Cascades is not made clear and further, if so, whether these lofty trails led to the Upper Stalo country is in doubt. But as the trade data to follow make clear, Okanogan parties are known to have negotiated some trails to the lower Fraser.

Whether the Chilliwack on occasion made their way eastward to visit and trade with the Plateau Okanogan and Sinkaietk and perhaps with even more eastern groups like the Colville is unclear. If so, they may have gone via the roundabout Fraser-Coquihalla-Similkameen trail noted above. But since the tribe, exceptionally for an Upper Stalo people, traveled widely in their own high territory in exploiting their unique environment and special subsistence resources, Chilliwack parties may sometimes have made their way over the towering mountains to the upper Skagit River in Lower Thompson country and then through the passes to the Similkameen and ultimately to the Okanogan Valley. The Chilliwack, however, were traditionally on rather bad terms with the Lower Thompson, whose country bounded the Chilliwack homeland--and, in fact, all Upper Stalo country--on the east. This social circumstance may in itself have discouraged eastward travel both by the

longer, less onerous Fort Hope Trail and by some more direct, mountain pass route.

Travel north to the Lillooet homeland was not difficult so far as the terrain was concerned, for Harrison River and Lake were easily navigable. In fact, a trail, the "Harrison-Lillooet" (=Cayoosh or Cayoush) trail first "discovered" by Anderson, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, led north from the Fraser up Harrison River, by Harrison Lake, up the Lillooet River to Lillooet Lake and then to Anderson Lake, across to Seton Lake and down to the Fraser River where the present community of Lillooet is sited. This trail was "cut" by Company men, but was still impassable to mule trains until 1859. Because of its circling route, it avoided the worst of the dangerous obstacles of the Fraser canyon sector (Mayne 1862:43, 50, 56, 93, 129-138). I presume that this path followed a series of old Indian trails from the country of the Scowlitz and Chehalis, both Upper Stalo groups, north to the Lillooet and then east to the Shuswap. Nevertheless, because Upper Stalo relations with the Lillooet were generally hostile, at least in historic times, most Upper Stalo tribeslets saw little of the Lillooet. Duff 1952:16)

To travel southward the Upper Stalo moved on foot. Evidently this north-south contact was of some importance in recent traditional times. According to Smith (1950a:331), one or more trails led from the Fraser River via the Chilliwack River and then with several short portages down to the Nooksack country. Presumably this has reference to the early period when the Chilliwack River still flowed west to the vicinity of Sumas Lake and then north to the Fraser. If so, one route probably moved up the lowest segment of the Chilliwack, passed Sumas Lake, ascended upper Sumas River, and passed over to the Nooksack Valley. Or, of course, from Sumas Lake ascended Nooksack River during the period when, blocked from its customary westward channel, its outlet to the sea was via Sumas Lake and the Fraser (cf. Duff 1952:16). It was by this route that in "aboriginal times" grass used in fishnet weaving moved from the Thompson Indians to the Nooksack and sturgeon glue for sinew-backed bows was carried from the Fraser River to the Nooksack (Smith 1950a:332). Whether overland from the headwaters of the Sumas to the Nooksack Valley or via the diverted, north-flowing Nooksack River, the trail would have lain to the west of traditional Chilliwack territory. Hence the extent to which the Chilliwack made use of it is an open question. Still, in light of their relatively short distance from Sumas River and Lake and especially of their possible Nooksack-like speech and apparently rather aberrant Fraser River, Nooksack-like culture, it would be surprising if the tribe failed in early days to travel this route to the southwest to some extent.

With the establishment of Fort Langley and Fort Yale of the Hudson's Bay Company on the lower and middle Fraser respectively, this Chilliwack-Nooksack-Lummi route became very important as the shortest trail between Fort Yale and northern Puget Sound.

Concerning Chilliwack trails in particular we have very little information and this wholly, at present, from the journal of Charles Wilson, a member of the British Boundary Commission. In his record for 1859, he records several land journeys he and his colleagues made to various points in and through the area which is assigned ethnographically to the Chilliwack.

But he states that most of the trails that he and his surveying field parties followed were their own paths, not old Indian trails (Wilson 1970:58). The remainder were surely traditional Chilliwack routes, such as that (probably those, one on each river bank) which led up the Chilliwack Valley from its lower end to Chilliwack Lake (Wilson 1970:49, 62-65), linking the various Chilliwack villages in early times and permitting access to resources below the canyon mouth and especially upstream into the Cascades high country. And such as, too, those up the small tributaries of the Chilliwack, like Tamihi Creek and Slease Creek that brought resource-searching parties in traditional times into the mountains south of the Chilliwack. Unable in other instances to distinguish between surveying party routes and established Indian trails, I report here only one other "track," that which followed the upper Chilliwack River--above the lake--an unspecified distance and led ultimately to the Skagit country.

Regarding this route, Wilson writes on several occasions:

- (a) On July 30, 1859: "One of Roche's men came in from the Skagit valley beyond the Cascades & told us that a fearful fire was raging there. He had great difficulty in passing it. (Wilson 1970:65)
- (b) On August 2: "Haig left with a party of men for the Skagit valley" (Wilson 1970:65).
- (c) On October 9: "I was getting rather anxious about Haig & was glad when I heard he had got down to the [Chilliwack] Lake; he only just got in in time & passed over nearly 2 feet of snow on the summit of the pass across the Cascades & to add to his other misfortunes, the provisions cached or hidden for him on the mountains has been plundered by bears or something or other, . . ." (Wilson 1970:73)

It is a pity that Wilson is not more explicit in regard to this route, but he was no geographer. It seems probable that Roche and Haig were not following the easiest trail to the Skagit Valley, but were cutting their way along the 49th parallel to the Skagit, it being their task to survey and mark this difficult line. In this case, they were obviously not following an old Indian path. The simplest Chilliwack to Skagit track south of Chilliwack Lake appears to have been that which moved up the Chilliwack River, by Bear and Indian Creeks, about 8.5 miles above the lake to the mouth of Brush Creek, ascended this stream to Whatcom Pass, and then followed Little Beaver Creek down to the Skagit River, now the west shore of Ross Lake. (Just such a trail is marked on the Green Trails, Mt Challenger map.) From this point a ride of approximately 6.5 miles north up the Skagit Valley would have brought the surveying parties back to the border.

In relation to Chilliwack country trails in general, Wilson (1970:70) makes the interesting observation regarding forest fires and their influence on trail use, at least with mule trains and presumably likewise by humans alone:

These fires are great drawbacks to us & sometimes stop up the trails for days. The dry moss catches from the least thing, a flash of lightning or a spark from a pipe may kindle a fire which

will run for miles and miles; it is a grand & awful sight to see the power of the flames over the enormous trees. (Wilson 1970:70)

Trade

Trade--and, I conclude, travel--among the Upper Stalo had a distinct upriver-downriver orientation. Upstream, it was with the Thompson Indians. To them they took dried salmon, rush mats, and goat-wool blankets and in low water dugout canoes, these generally to their relatives and friends. In return the Upper Stalo acquired "soopalalie-oil," dried saskatoon-berries (i.e., serviceberries), and Indian hemp. (Duff 1952:95; Smith 1955:102, 103; Suttles 1957:169 fn. 39)

Reference to "soopalalie-oil" requires brief comment. Soopolallie (the more common current spelling of this Chinook jargon term) is the soapberry (*Shepherdia canadensis*; also called russet buffalo-berry and foamberry). Its orange-red, sour-bitter berries were widely eaten as a confection by the native groups in southern British Columbia. They were consumed either fresh or boiled, made into cakes, and dried for later use. Sometimes the juice obtained from them in the cooking process was collected and poured over the drying cakes. Fresh or dried, the berries, with the addition of cold water, were beaten to a froth, now often termed "Indian ice-cream." "Throughout . . . [British Columbia, dried] soapberries have been a major item of trade" among Indian peoples. (Turner 1978:138-141; see also Hitchcock and Cronquist 1981:302 and Clark 1976:324) I am not sure at this point what Duff means by the "oil" of the "soopalalie" and how it was used; but I suspect that it is a slightly confounded reference to these dried berries or their cakes and to their value as a luxury food.

To the downriver people near the Fraser River mouth the Upper Stalo took dried salmon in particular, for which they secured fish, "wild potatoes" (see "roots" section), dried and occasionally even fresh clams, and sometimes sealskins. Shells, too, evidently flowed up the Fraser River as trade items.

- In his journal of June 28, 1808, Simon Fraser (1960:99-100), when in the Tait village at Yale, observed ornaments of "shells of different kinds" and shell beads as well as shells in great numbers attached to the exterior of a newly erected mortuary structure. These shells and perhaps the shell ornaments already fabricated almost certainly had a coastal provenience.

Likewise indicative of coastal trade were items of Western origin noted by Fraser among the Upper Stalo.

- Fraser (1960:99) "saw few or no christian goods" among the people at the first village of the Stalo he encountered, this in the canyon. In the village in the Yale vicinity, however, he saw "brass" wire bracelets and "brass" pipes (Fraser 1960:100). If truly brass rather than copper, these objects or at least their materials were certainly non-Indian trade items probably from the coast. Still further downriver, at a village in what I take to have been the upper end of the Hope to Seabird Island reach, Fraser (1960:101) saw "a large copper kettle shaped like a jar, and a large English hatchet."

Duff implies that most of the trading was carried out as merely one component of the frequent visits made by the Upper Stalo to the tribes in these upriver and downriver directions. (Duff 1952:95)

Without probing the archaeological data in any depth since the present study is ethnographic in nature, it is still of historical interest that as early as 1907, Harlan Smith (1907:439) saw in the prehistoric artifacts of the lower and middle Fraser Valley evidences of early river-route trade. For example, ground stone and bone projectile points, ground-slate fish knives, bone harpoon points, beaver-teeth dice, and a carving style in bone occurred both on the coast and up the Fraser River. This fact, he held, attests to the proposition that interior Fraser people were influenced by nearby coastal tribes. Similarly, the inland presence of whale bone, dentalia, olivella shells, and shell pendants from the Pacific shores "proves the existence of intertribal trade" up the Fraser River (Smith 1907:439).

On the other hand, "it is probable," Smith (1907:439) writes, that:

at an early time a migration took place from the interior to the coast and to Vancouver Island. This migration carried the art of stone chipping, the use of tubular pipes, and geometric decorative art, to the coast, and in later times the custom of depositing artifacts with the dead.

Whether right in migration as against culture flow through trade and other intertribal social links and whether correct in specific artifact details as known from later archaeological research, these data suggest the degree to which in early precontact times the Fraser River brought artifacts and cultural knowledge into the Upper Stalo area from both inland and the maritime shores.

Some trade items flowed to the Upper Stalo from Plateau tribes whose country lay east and southeast of the Thompson. Even in prehorse days some came from the Okanagan and via the Okanagan from sources both down the Columbia and from Salishan tribes off to the east. In early times they appear to have moved northward in group-to-group exchange and to have flowed predominantly from the lower Okanagan River area by Okanagan Lake and the trail to Kamloops on the Thompson River, a journey made mainly by canoe, and finally down the Thompson and Fraser. Later, following the introduction of the horse, the more direct overland trail up the Similkameen, over to the Hope region of the Fraser, and down that river was the more commonly used. The use of this more direct route was also encouraged in early post-horse years by the disappearance as a tribal entity of the Athabascan Nicola, whose territory lay in the Nicola Valley and the upper Similkameen and who, traditionally hostile to the Okanagan, comprised a barrier to Okanagan trade movement west and northwest via these stream valleys. Larger parties became involved; trips were made more frequently; and more and heavier trade items were transported by the individual parties. (Teit 1930b:250-255)

Evidently in both the prehorse and posthorse periods many more Okanagan trading groups made the journey to the Fraser than Upper Stalo parties traveled to Okanagan country. Perhaps, in fact, the upriver Halkomelem never undertook this trip. Teit (1930b:254, 255) reports:

In July and August, when the route was open, Similkameen and Okanagan sometimes crossed the Cascade Mountains and visited the people of Hope on Lower Fraser River. After horses became common this trade became important and was followed annually The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, . . .

The Upper Stalo gave their Similkameen and Okanagan visitors packs of the best kinds of dried salmon, salmon oil, and dentalia and other shells. In return they secured Indian hemp-bark and twine, dried serviceberries, and dressed buckskin. In later years they even sold these interior trading parties salted salmon. (Teit 1930b:254)

According to Walters' (in Spier 1938:77) Southern Okanagan informants, "coast people" traded to their Southern Okanagan visitors for one buckskin enough dentalia or other sea shells to trim one dress. Before being exchanged, the shells were sorted by size and color to make each bundle uniform. All bead sizes, however, were of equal value. Whether these coast folk were Upper Stalo or groups at the western terminus of the Okanogan-Methow-Skagit trail is uncertain. Yet Teit's data above attesting to Upper Stalo involvement in bead bartering suggest the probable applicability of Walters' information to the inland Halkomelem, whatever her specific population reference.

Intertribal Relations

The prehistory of the Chilliwack and the Chilliwack area lies beyond the general scope of this report. But concerning the protohistoric period it is relevant to note that Hill-Tout (1903:406; 1904:311) viewed the Coquitlam near the Fraser mouth and the Chehalis of the Harrison Lake region as remnants of a former population (Duff 1952:12). Further, Hill-Tout (1903:355) believed that in the not too distant past the entire Fraser Valley below the Yale-Spuzzum sector was peopled by non-Halkomelem groups. For this view his argument runs thus: ". . . intercourse between the different tribes [in the lower Fraser country], as far as can be gathered from themselves, was never very free or extended, the nature of the country forbidding this." This argues for a relatively recent spread of the Halkomelem up into the Fraser area. For given their relative isolation from one another as a consequence of traveling difficulties, the speech of the individual groups from the Cowichan and Nanaimo on Vancouver Island to the Tait high up the Fraser River would have diverged to a point of mutual intelligibility, as was not the case, if they had been long residents in the region.

These reconstructive propositions require brief examination. Unquestionably group isolation contributes importantly to linguistic drift and divergence. But it is difficult to understand Hill-Tout's explanation of the group isolation to which he alludes in the simple environmental terms which he proposes. All of the relevant data of Duff, summarized at various points in his report, suggest that the Fraser River "highway" between the uppermost Halkomelem group (the Tait) and those tribelets at the river mouth was relatively easily navigated in canoes under most weather conditions.

If isolation there was among these Halkomelem groups, a substantially more telling argument, it seems to me, could be made for such as the result of intertribal conflict both among the Halkomelem peoples and between them and their neighbors in early times, a situation to which Duff's ethnographic data and the Fort Langley documents amply attest. Only after the establishment of the Fort in 1827 and after the traders and missionaries had had an opportunity to exert their influence were these traditional enmities relaxed.

Is there any explicit support for Hill-Tout's thesis of a fairly recent movement of Halkomelem-speaking groups up the Fraser Valley? Duff's (1952:12) field research a half-century later than Hill-Tout's revealed no migration memories among the Upper Stalo. Accordingly, Duff doubts any relatively recent population flow up the Fraser. But neither Hill-Tout nor Duff appear to consider the possibility of language diffusion unaccompanied by any significant population movement. Evidence exists for just such comparatively late speech shifts among groups immediately south of the Fraser River. Hence it seems that, modifying somewhat Hill-Tout's central proposition, the notion of a relatively recent spread of the Halkomelem language up the Fraser--not necessarily associated with an actual migration of people--is in fact a theoretical possibility, in spite of some intergroup enmity.

Of particular relevance in this context is Smith's (1950a:334) conclusion that ". . . a Halkomelem-speaking culture has recently displaced a Nooksack-speaking 'Middle Fraser' culture in the area around Chilliwack." Duff (1952:12) clearly interprets Smith's postulation as involving an actual population displacement, for he comments that his informants knew of no traditions of migrations or of earlier populations in the middle reaches of the Fraser. That Halkomelem speech has in fact spread in the general area is, however, indicated by the fact that the Nooksack have within relatively recent memory abandoned their own, unique Coast Salish language and adopted the Stalo dialect of Chilliwack (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:1).

Any consideration of the cultural position of the Chilliwack vis-a-vis their neighbors must take note of Marian Smith's (1941, 1947:266; 1950a:335-338; 1950b; 1952:83-85, 89, 90; 1955; 1956) pre- and protohistoric reconstructions of an old "Foothill Cultural Province," a later "Middle Fraser Culture," and a short sequence of Bone and Stone Cultures, and more especially of her views of the Chilliwack in relation to these early postulated, areally-limited cultural configurations. These data are not easily presented in summary form because of certain real or apparent changes in her formulations through time, because of the largely speculative quality of her formulations, because of the fact that a detailed, coherent listing of the material and social traits that characterized these cultural subareas is rarely provided, and because of a certain lack of clarity in presentation. Yet not to mention briefly these postulations and the subsequent criticisms of them would be to neglect a significant chapter in the development of the anthropology of the Upper Stalo area and the Chilliwack position within it.

According to Smith (1941:198), the Coast Salish on the eastern side of Puget Sound considered the ethnic groups in their region as falling into three distinct divisions on the basis of location and overall lifeway pattern and distinguished these tribal groups by separate terms. These were (a) the

"inland" groups that "ranged about the source waters of the rivers in the foothills of the Cascades"; (b) the "river" groups in villages "situated above the tides on the lower reaches of the large streams"; and (c) the "salt water" people of "the Sound and its various arms." The first of these categories included the peoples whose country lay in the upper reaches of the rivers between the Puyallup and Nooksack. Unfortunately, Smith fails to present lists of cultural traits distinctive of each of these three tribal categories. Still, if accurate, these observations indicate that these "inland" peoples and cultures west of the Cascade crest represent in some measure a separate string of tribes, the distinctiveness of which in the protohistoric period was recognized by the local Indians themselves. Surely the Chilliwack must be placed in this group, though Smith limits her review to tribes south of the international border.

Analyzing the ethnographic data, Smith (1941:203-206; see also 1940:31-32, 44-47; 1950a:336-337) herself proposed a somewhat different alignment of these tribes. She found them to be divisible into (a) an Inland Puget Sound group of tribes distinct from the coastal, (b) Northern Puget Sound, (c) Central Puget Sound, and (d) Puyallup-Nisqually groups. The Inland group, along the western foothills of the Cascades, consisted of the Skagit east of (b), of the Snoqualmie upriver from (c), and of the Muckleshoot upstream from (d). The Skagit shared cultural traits with the downriver Swinomish, as the other inland people did with the coastal groups with which they were paired. But the Skagit possessed as well important non-coastal traits in common with the other two members of its Inland group. A number of these latter cultural elements were environmentally related: clams, seals, and other salt water products provided a negligible component of their diet; hunting was almost as important as fishing; cross-country travel by land was important and, being more difficult than canoe movement among the coastal groups, contributed to the absence among them of the large social gatherings of potlatch proportions that occurred in the salt water tribes. Other common inland traits appear to have had no special or immediate ecological root: class distinctions were based on behavior rather than on inheritance; kin lines were socially insignificant in a formal sense; guardian spirit power dances were individualized, not systematized. At this early stage of Smith's thinking, the Chilliwack are not mentioned as a member of their "Inland" tribal string, but they undoubtedly belong with the group.

Relying largely on limited ethnographic data, bolstered by some linguistic and archaeological information, and interpreting these data from a time perspective, Smith (1950a:336; 1952:84) believed that the inland, upriver, or foothill culture was in place "by approximately 2,500 years ago." It extended from The Dalles northward on both forested faces of the Cascades and Coast Ranges to the upper Lillooet area and via the interior river systems to and including the Bella Coola of coastal British Columbia. This culture comprised the western periphery of the Plateau area from the Carrier of British Columbia to the Klamath of southern Oregon, as recognized by Ray (1939:145, 147), and the mountainous eastern fringe of the adjacent Coastal area. The only cultural items indicated by Smith in 1952 as particular to this Province are stone carvings in a special (undefined) style, a pacifistic orientation, and "the slight importance given to rank" (Smith 1952:84).

The ancestral Chilliwack--or more properly the population of the Chilliwack Valley at the time, an important point not noted by Smith--are

considered to have been one of the component groups within this Province. Two conclusions appear to follow from the above interpretations of the data: (1) these old "Chilliwack" had their primary cultural affinities with groups to the north and south of them on both flanks of the Cascades, not with the coastal peoples as in more recent periods; and (2) the environmental similarities of the two sides of the mountains were then a more powerful cultural molding force than the high Cascade mountain masses were a barrier to group contact and cultural diffusion. These conclusions may have in them some element of truth.

Still, as Suttles (1957:169-170, 178), has pointed out, Smith's larger postulate of a Foothill Culture Province rests on very insecure ground. Most damaging to her proposition is the fact that she fails to provide the extended catalog of cultural traits and complexes required to establish it as a separate culture subarea.

Further, again as Suttles (1957:170) has observed, Smith's north-south line on the eastern face of the Cascades fails to conform to tribal lines as drawn by Ray (1939), whose westernmost longitudinal Plateau subarea Smith purports to embrace within her newly created Province. I suspect that she is intending to split these western Plateau tribal units into two segments, a Columbia River salmon component and a backcountry, more balanced hunting, gathering, and fishing for smaller fish component, only the latter being incorporated into her Province. This would parallel her separation of the west-of-the-Cascades groups into salt-water peoples and inland, riparian peoples, a division to which reference has been made above. The important difference between these eastern and western tribal clusters is that on the Coast these divisions were made by the Indians themselves, while this was not so on the eastern flank of the Cascades. In this latter region, individual tribes "owned" and made extensive subsistence use of both riverine and back-hill regions. If this division of individual Plateau tribes is her intent, it is a shame that she does not say as much.

The "Middle Fraser Culture" of Smith (1941:205-206; 1947:258; 1950a:336-339; 1950b:35; 1952:83, 95; 1956:272; see also Codere 1948), a later development in prehistoric times as one of several small, regional cultural types, may have evolved from the life patterns of the earlier Foothill Province. It was a unique cultural manifestation "peripheral" to and geographically intermediate between the cultural composites of the Gulf of Georgia on the west and the Upper Fraser on the east. The few cultural traits itemized by Smith at various times as especially associated with this cultural nexus include "elaborate attention to wild-root crops as a source of subsistence"; a divided riverine/salt water subsistence orientation, utilizing the marine territorial resources of other tribes; the manufacture and use of both flaked and ground-polished stone tools; the use of elaborate semisubterranean dwellings as well as plank structures; a certain uniqueness in mythology; speech of the Nooksack or closely related variety; and a special physical type. This cultural mode, "more complex than [the] surrounding and intruding cultures," survived in residue form into the late protohistoric lifeways of the Nooksack, Chilliwack, Fraser River groups from Mission upstream to Yale, and people of southern Harrison Lake (the Scowlitz and Chehalis [Figure 2-1]). In late prehistoric or protohistoric times, the more northern of these peoples came under the cultural and linguistic influence of the Halkomelem folk, with their coastal traits, who spread up

the Fraser Valley to add a coastal veneer to the "Middle Fraser" substratum. Nooksack was the only "Middle Fraser" survivor into the full historic period; the Chilliwack retained this earlier life style "until the time of intensive European contact."

This posited Middle Fraser formulation requires some comment. As already noted, Smith (1950a:336-337) earlier described the Nooksack and Chilliwack as having had a strong inland, riverine orientation without a significant salt-water component. Whatever the Nooksack case, irrelevant to this present study, her own Chilliwack information and that of others strongly imply that in adding here to the Chilliwack life style an important salt-water resources use, she fails to distinguish between the traditional culture of pre- and protohistoric times and that in the postcontact period. Her documentation of Chilliwack travel to the sea with the Nooksack appears, in fact, to be limited to the post-midnineteenth century time level. The general ethnographic information summarized in this present Chilliwack chapter strongly suggests that journeys to the coast of any frequency as an aspect of the subsistence quest would have been out of Chilliwack character in pre-Fort Langley days (i.e., ante 1827), though it might have been a less dangerous trip with the Nooksack than straight down the Fraser to the Strait where hostilities were often possible. As in this instance, Smith is at many points unfortunately loose with her ethnographic time control. This frequently makes it difficult (sometimes impossible) to ascertain in her statements, reconstructions, and postulations whether she is describing the prehistoric life of a group, its ethnographic traditional, protohistoric and immediately postcontact culture, or some phase of its rapidly changing post-White lifeways.

In carefully reviewing Smith's Middle Fraser argument, Suttles (1957:162-164) agrees that the Nooksack were probably somewhat closer linguistically to the Stalo tribes on the Fraser than to the other groups in the vicinity. Following his lexicostatistical approach, Swadesh (1950:159 Table 1) found that Nooksack held in common a higher percentage of vocabulary items (out of his selected 165 items) with the Stalo dialects than with their other linguistic neighbors, the Halkomelem dialects of Vancouver Island being a near second. Suttles' (1957:163) own limited Nooksack linguistic findings show that Nooksack and Halkomelem were also "closer to each other" in their sound system than either was to other nearby dialects and languages. And he agrees: "It is probable that the strongest cultural ties, like the strongest linguistic ties, . . . [were] with the Chilliwack and other tribes on the Fraser." Still these Nooksack-Stalo linguistic and Nooksack-Stalo-Lillooet cultural similarities were not so great--and their differences from their neighbors not so great--as to warrant viewing them as comprising a unique Middle Fraser subareal complex.

It is not the task of the study to review such archaeological data and interpretations as contribute to an understanding of the early cultural development of the Fraser drainage. Accordingly, only brief and summary attention is given to three of Smith's somewhat tangled and highly speculative attempts to synthesize the meager archaeological findings available in her day relating to the middle Fraser region--and to a largely unknown degree to the people of the Chilliwack Valley--and to the pre-White cultural interaction of the area with the Plateau and Northwest Coast.

In the late 1940s Smith (1950b) attempted to reconstruct four precontact cultural manifestations: an Early Bone Culture, a late Bone Culture, an Eastern Stone Culture, and a Coastal Stone Culture. In the Fraser country from Yale "westward to the open sea," the Early Bone lifestyle seems to have either developed into or continued through some aspects of the Eastern Stone Culture. The movement south of the classic traits of Northwest Coast life began toward the close of the Late Bone period and continued into the protohistoric, following the coast southward and up the Fraser on east to introduce traits into the Eastern Stone Culture. The latter, turn about, spread from its place of origin down the Fraser to the coast. Smith concludes, with Kroeber, that "the lower Fraser drainage [was] a main, if not the main, early cultural focus of the Northwest Coast," and sees the Early Bone, with its equal adaptation to riverine and marine life, as the culture involved.

In the mid-1950s Smith (1956), again using the "meager and unsatisfactory" archaeological data supplemented by ethnographic information, reviewed the prehistory of the area in terms of both her Bone-Stone reconstructions and her hypothesized ancient Foothill Culture Province, the latter with "the western longitudinal subarea of the Plateau, Inland Puget Sound, and middle Fraser" as its nucleus. Among other efforts she constructs tentative culture-development sequences for the Columbia-Fraser region from an ancient, widespread, assumed North Pacific Rim substratum to the ethnographic cultures of this large area.

Her major attempt at archaeological reconstruction, however, involves a longer time span and considerably broader geographical area. To consider only those aspects germane to the particular interests of this report, Arctic influences, Smith (1956:286-287) contends, moved down the coast roughly 2,500 years ago and filtered up the Fraser into the Plateau without any large, sudden migrations. This early southward flow was not repeated until ethnographic times, when slate-grinding and the Halkomelem language diffused up the Fraser from the coast. Smith (1956:282-284, Charts II and III) sees her Interior or Foothill Culture as having contributed to both the later Puget Sound and Middle Columbia cultural developments. Through a merging of this Interior-Foothill life pattern and coastal traits, the Fraser Climax was born in the lower and middle Fraser areas.

This climax culture is equivalent to her Early Bone Culture, with an approximate 1,500-2,000 years ago date. The remarkable stone sculpture of the Fraser was clearly associated with this climax. This stone-carving complex, however, extended beyond the up-river sector of the lower and middle reaches of the Fraser River: it occurred also in the lower and middle sections of the Columbia River. While representing a single discontinuous trait distribution, the two Fraser and Columbia areas may have been connected by the wood sculptures of the Puget Sound regions. At any rate, they were trail-linked by a communication line from the Middle Fraser and Nooksack valleys via Snoqualmie and other nearby passes to the Yakima-Vantage region and hence to the Columbia downstream, all within the Foothill area.

Much of the trait assemblage of this rich early culture is thought to have been perpetuated in the Late Bone, Eastern Stone, and Coastal Stone cultural composites, the three covering the entire Columbia-Fraser region. The Middle Fraser culture is seen by Smith as a daughter culture of this

Fraser Climax (Smith 1956:284, Chart III). During this later time span cultural traits flowed down the Fraser Valley from the interior to the coastal shores and local cultural variations developed. In its later Middle Fraser development the Fraser Climax, Smith contends, persisted into the historic period only among the Nooksack, although retained into very recent times by the Chilliwack.

All of this reconstruction is, of course, now dated by more recent and more technically proficient archaeological research, and so is largely of historical interest. But it illustrates the extent to which in this middle anthropological time level, between the very early work of Boas, Harlan Smith, and others and the more contemporary research of Borden and his successors, attention was paid to cultural movements up and down the Fraser through what has been in late times Upper Stalo territory and the possible contribution of the area's peoples over a very considerable time span to the cultural development of a much wider region.

So much for Marian Smith's various archaeological and ethnographic reconstructions, as best I can trace and comprehend them. One cannot but applaud these early efforts toward a synthesis of the limited data of her time and attempt to unravel her presentations since they frequently relate directly or indirectly to the Upper Stalo region and the Chilliwack. There are, however, substantial problems both in understanding and accepting her postulations: to me her papers exhibit a persistent lack of clarity and a bothersome failure to interrelate the different reconstructive formulations presented from year to year. There are other difficulties also, some having already been noted.

An intensive and extensive critique of her manipulation of the basic information, particularly the ethnographic, and of her time-tied cultural reconstructions has been undertaken by Suttles (1957). In this excellent point-by-point review, Suttles produces convincing evidence that Smith's data and formulations based on them lack credibility in many respects bearing on the Upper Stalo in general and Chilliwack in particular.

Her formulations demonstrate a fragmentary and often quite faulty and simplistic understanding of the relevant archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic data available in her day and consequently a critical misapprehension concerning their implications. She draws hasty conclusions regarding the diffusion of cultures and movements of tribes. In Suttles' carefully documented judgement, no convincing evidence of any sort exists for either the Foothill Culture Province along the Cascades flanks or the postulated later Middle Fraser Culture in the Mission to Yale sector of the river. The Province is nothing more than a typical case of culture overlap on the boundary of two long-recognized culture areas: the interior Plateau and the Northwest Coast, both in their Fraser River manifestations. The Middle Fraser Culture, in turn, rests on no persuasive data differentiating her proposed member groups culturally from their neighbors. Suttles' soundly based and well-argued weighing of Smith's data, point by point, and of her conclusions seems thoroughly reasonable. Hence the several papers of Smith in the 1940s and 1950s are of significance for what she attempts rather than for any lasting contribution to our comprehension of the linguistic and cultural history of the downriver segment of the Fraser Valley.

In principle, Marian Smith's Foothill concept has some appeal, even if her arguments for its existence as a culture area in itself or at least a major subarea are singularly poorly documented. A life mode with a special twist might conceivably have developed in prehistoric times as a regional response to the upriver, high altitude lake, lofty-rugged mountain, and heavy forest environment (especially on the west side) of the below tree-line Cascades. This would have been different in important ways from the strongly salmon-focused culture of the nearby Columbia and Fraser Valleys and from the maritime, littoral configuration of the Coast. In a way this would have paralleled, for example, the cultural similarity that Suttles (1957:173-174, 175) notes between the Bella Coola of British Columbia and the Puget Sound Salish, the consequence of adaptation to very similar geobioenvironments. This issue comes close to one central in this present North Cascades study: to how great an extent (if at all) were the traditional cultures of the Upper Skagit, Chilliwack, Lower Thompson, and Chelan--or at least one facet of them--similar owing to their exploitation of the Park resources, even though each tribe approached this ecological base from a somewhat different total-culture orientation?

We now move from the ethnoarchaeological reconstruction domain to the protohistoric and early postcontact ethnographic period. The Lower Stalo saw much of nearby coastal groups like the Cowichan, Nanaimo, Saanich, and Squamish who commonly entered their Fraser River territory in summer to fish for salmon. But even the upstream Upper Stalo frequently encountered downriver Stalo and nearby coastal parties when these folk passed in their canoes heading up to the very fast water above Yale, in uprivermost Stalo country, to fish and dry their catch for winter. There in the lower end of the Fraser Canyon was the finest salmon fishery on the river. (Duff 1972:11, 14, 17, 25)

Despite the above close downriver intertribal relationships of the Upper Stalo described by Duff, Simon Fraser's journal raises the possibility of a somewhat different situation in the early postcontact period. When Fraser (1960:100-103) and his party descended the Fraser River, they found it virtually impossible, once they reached the navigable stream below Yale, to persuade Indians, however friendly to them, to furnish canoe transportation beyond the very next village. Whether this reluctance rested on a fear of possible hostilities--such a fear of downriver people certainly existed once they entered Lower Stalo country (cf. Fraser 1960:104)--or had some other basis is unclear from Fraser's account. But the point is that these data could be taken to mean that the normal downriver range of intertribal relationships of any one Upper Stalo group was not great.

It must be assumed that the Chilliwack, in their canyon backcountry without fisheries of their own on the Fraser and apparently without customarily joining other Upper Stalo groups at their salmon fishing stations, could hardly have seen as much of the downriver people as their neighboring upper tribes.

While, according to Duff as noted above, relationships between Stalo groups were close, Stalo contacts with the Plateau tribes to their north and northeast--with the Lillooet in the Lillooet Valley and the Thompson of the Fraser country above Yale and of the Thompson River area--were significantly

less frequent and less uniformly cordial. Duff (1952:11) summarizes the situation thus:

Inland, the direct contacts of the Stalo were limited to trade and intermarriage with the Lower Lillooet and Lower Thompson. Warlike raids by the Lillooet and Thompson also occurred; sometimes even provoking the normally peaceful Stalo to undertake retaliatory raids. Difficulties of travel, however, prevented cultural contacts in this direction from being as important as those with the Coast As a result, a man from Yale commonly rubbed shoulders at the fishery with [Lower Stalo] men . . . but he seldom met his Thompson neighbours from a dozen miles up-river.

The uneasy Upper Stalo-Lower Thompson relationship pattern described above may well have generally prevailed, but on June 26, 1808, Simon Fraser (1960:97) found "some men of a neighbouring nation called achinrow" at a Lower Thompson village a few miles above Spuzzum, clearly within Lower Thompson country by Fraser's (1960:97) own journal testimony. These "achinrow" or "ackinroe" as the group's designation is more commonly spelled by Fraser were either the Tait individually or the Tait together with other (perhaps all) Upper Stalo tribelets. At least these particular Lower Thompson and Tait individuals were on a friendly basis when encountered by Fraser.

It would appear--as from Wilson's (1970) 1859 record--that the Chilliwack were friendly with the Halkomelem Sumas, who bordered them on their downriver flank. Chilliwack-Sumas links appear not to be addressed in the scanty ethnographic record.

If the data of Smith (1947:256-257) can be followed, the Chilliwack had an especially close and amicable relationship with the Nooksack whose aboriginal territory abutted theirs on the southwest (Figure 2-1). This relationship was maintained and cemented by frequent intermarriage and was encouraged by the apparent fact that the Chilliwack until about contact times spoke what is said to have been a Nooksack-resemblant language. As previously mentioned, at some earlier but not particularly distant time the Nooksack River evidently flowed northward to Sumas Lake just west of the Chilliwack country and then down to the Fraser River. This would have made comparatively easy the canoe journey to the Nooksack homeland. Even without this linking watercourse, the route from the Sumas over the hardly perceptible divide to the Nooksack Valley could not have offered difficult travel problems.

According to Smith (1950a:337), the Chilliwack traveled together with the Nooksack to sea-fish off Point Roberts, beyond the western limits of Nooksack country and "fully eighty miles" from the Chilliwack homeland (Figure 2-1). While Smith fails to report explicitly a beginning time-line for this practice, her documentary data plainly reveal it to be a postcontact pattern, indeed a post mid-nineteenth century one. This would be wholly in keeping with the ethnographic information which describes the traditional Chilliwack as basically a home-oriented, Chilliwack River and high country people.

Because of the generally uneasy relationship between the Upper Stalo and the Lillooet and because of the intervening Fraser River and the country of other Upper Stalo tribelets, the Chilliwack surely saw little of that group. But they are said to have encountered Thompson and Skagit Indians, with whom their relations were unfriendly at least at times. One of Duff's downriver Tait informants reported:

. . . Ohamil [Tait] hunting-parties formerly went back into the mountains, several days' travel east of the river. Often they would meet Thompson or Skagit hunting-parties, but there was no conflict. He had heard of conflicts between these groups and the Chilliwacks, however. (Duff 1952:21)

I interpret this statement as signifying that Chilliwack hunters also worked back into the country some distance east of their village area below Chilliwack Lake, presumably into the upper reaches of the Chilliwack River and perhaps beyond. And there they came upon Thompson and Skagit hunting groups with which they sometimes contended.

I have yet to uncover ethnographic data indicating much unequivocally direct contact between the Upper Stalo and Plateau groups east of the Thompson. The Lower Fraser tribes as a group were known, however, to the Okanagan (Teit 1930b:202; Walters in Spier 1938:78), to the Sanpoil-Nespelem (Ray 1932:11), to the Columbia of the Columbia Basin (Teit 1928:93), and even to the distant Flathead of western Montana (Teit 1930a:300), and were named by each of these tribes. These data bespeak some measure of contact between the Upper Stalo and the more eastern and southern Plateau tribes, although the degree to which this relationship was direct or indirect is an open issue. It is worth passing note that all of the names are obvious variants of a single underlying form.

Whether such direct contact as may have existed at an early time was generated by Upper Stalo as the traveling groups, or by the Plateau peoples, or by both sides in some measure is not described in the ethnographic literature. In one specific instance, however, one that may have transpired in the early 1800s, the visiting party was a Similkameen (Northern Okanagan) man who journeyed to Tait country to trade (see Intertribal Marriage section below) (Teit 1930b:216).

In summary, the social links of the Chilliwack were primarily with their immediate Upper Stalo neighbors, to a lesser degree with the Lower Stalo tribelets and the inland non-Stalo tribes to the south and southwest, to a still lesser extent with the nearby maritime peoples down the Fraser and on the shores immediately to the south of the Fraser mouth, and least of all with the Plateau groups on the north and northeast. Given the distinct Plateau-like slant of a good many elements in Chilliwack culture, the tribe's minimal contact with Plateau peoples in the ethnographic past is, it seems to me, especially noteworthy.

Intertribal Marriage

Most marriages among the Upper Stalo were with persons outside their own community yet with those in nearby villages. However, people living near their own tribal boundary often found spouses in adjacent tribes. High status families, irrespective of their residence, frequently outmarried with persons from even quite distant tribes. The Tait, for example, remembered marriages with the Thompson of Spuzzum, Nooksack, and Skagit as well as with a number of salt-water groups. (Duff 1952:95-96)

Occasional Upper Stalo marriages evidently occurred with Plateau tribes more distant than the Thompson, although how common this was in precontact days--if it took place at all--is unclear. One such instance was reported to Teit (1930b:216-217) in the early 1900s, that of a young Tait woman from Hope who married a Similkameen (i.e., Northern Okanagan) man, while he was on a trading journey to Hope. "The following year he took her back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it." When this event occurred is not stated, but Tait's context might be interpreted as placing it early in the 1800s. This is an interesting case from another perspective: it plainly documents the very substantial differences that existed between the life patterns of the middle Fraser people and their nearby Plateau neighbors.

So far as the Chilliwack specifically are concerned, we are told little, as far as I am aware, regarding intermarriage with other Stalo tribes. It has been contended, however, that the spread of the Halkomelem language into the Nooksack-like speaking Chilliwack group was the consequence of intermarriage with persons of nearby tribes with Halkomelem speech, the gradual growth of bilingual villages even into the early 1800s, and finally the near total loss of their earlier language (Smith 1950a:335).

The Chilliwack are known to have married members of the Nooksack tribe (Smith 1950a:331). Likewise they "sometimes intermarried with Thompson, although usually they would not move up to Thompson country" (Duff 1952:95). This antipathy toward relocating in Plateau country is of a piece with the case of the Tait-Similkameen union noted immediately above.

Warfare

Duff (1952:96) summarizes the Upper Stalo situation thus: "Basically a pacific people, the Upper Stalo fought little amongst themselves, but they were frequently attacked for slaves and loot by surrounding tribes, and sometimes were provoked to make revenge raids." The Tait regarded the Lower Lillooet as their enemies, for they were raided by them from time to time. They were "on fairly good terms" with the Lower Thompson, "except for some friction over fishing-stations on the river." In 1949-1950 the Chilliwack, however, clearly remembered one raid by Lower Thompson which resulted in the burning and looting of their large dwelling at a village on the Chilliwack River on the lowlands between Vedder Crossing and the Fraser River. (Duff 1952:96)

The really dreaded raiders, however, came from the Coast. These were the southernmost Kwakiutl who occasionally penetrated up the Fraser as far as

the Tait (Duff 1952:96), even up to Yale where they terrorized the local residents (Smith 1950a:334, 1955:102). In the late 1820s the fur traders at Fort Langley complained of the frequent raids on the Stalo in their home area by "powerful tribes from Vancouver's Island," including the Halkomelem-speaking Cowichan. They were so serious that the local Indians were forced to devote all their attention and energies to the protection of their families, and even in this they were not wholly successful. (Duff 1952:96)

Maritime raiders likewise moved up the Chilliwack River to attack the Chilliwack. According to Duff's (1952:96) Chilliwack informant,

they ascended the Chilliwack as far as Vedder Crossing, pulling their large double-ended canoes over the log-jams. On one occasion their canoes proved their undoing. Returning down the Chilliwack after a raid, they were forced out of their canoes at a sharp bend and attacked by Chilliwacks from the banks.

This is an instructive statement, for it suggests that the Chilliwack villages along the Chilliwack River in the narrow valley upstream from Vedder Crossing (i.e., all the really old-time communities) may have been comparatively safe from these coastal raiding parties. And that perhaps it was the protection by the Fort Langley traders as much as--or more than--a change in the course of the Chilliwack River to flow northward from Vedder Crossing directly to the Fraser River that encouraged the Chilliwack to expand out of their protohistoric canyon home and onto the plain to the Fraser south bank.

These damaging raids from salt-water country did not go entirely unresponded to, however. One famous Sumas warrior, accompanied by fighting men from all the upriver tribes, successfully carried out a reprisal raid against the Kwakiutl, breaking into a fortified house and killing all the men (Duff 1952:96). And the Chilliwack also, according to Hill-Tout (1903:358), occasionally mounted raids for slaves and plunder on settlements of other tribes down the Fraser. While their village and tribal leaders attempted to discourage such raids, they were unable to control "some restless, venturesome spirits, and these would from time to time persuade others less warlike than themselves to join them, by tempting them with visions and promises of the rich spoils they would secure and bring home." (Hill-Tout 1903:358)

Relations of the Upper Stalo with the more inland Salishan tribes were not entirely amicable. Fighting parties evidently reached over the Cascades at least to the lower Okanogan Valley, for Walters' (in Spier 1938:78) Sinkaietk (Southern Okanogan) informants reported:

The Lower Fraser Salish . . . were bad raiders. They usually set fire to the camps attacked and ran. For this they were considered cowards, not brave enough to stay and fight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sinkaietk and Lower Fraser people became friends and traded.

To some degree, hostilities also occurred within the Upper Stalo peoples themselves. Chilliwack traditions report "quarrels and contests" with the

Pilalt, their neighbors to the north just over the western end of the Skagit Range (DEMR, Hope quadrangle 1970). Generally these were generated by "one tribe overrunning the hunting-grounds of the other," the Chilliwack apparently having been mostly at fault since they often hunted in Pilalt territory. This is an interesting bit of information in Chilliwack subsistence terms, since it clearly attests to the special importance of game as a food resource among this group in traditional times.

Social Structure

Kinship Bonds

Kinship links were important to the Upper Stalo. Relatives were traced "in all directions for several generations": through both father and mother, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters and both lineally and collaterally. Children were taught who their relatives were, real known kin as opposed to both these and fictive relations. They were told to respect them and to feel certain that they could count on them as friends. Owing to the high degree of intergroup contact that prevailed, any person was sure to have relatives in other tribelets. The Chilliwack were bonded to other Upper Stalo peoples by just such kin links: one Tait woman, for example, reported relatives through a grandfather among the Chilliwack, Sumas, Nooksack, and Skagit. (Duff 1952:76) Apart from the Chilliwack point, these data are of particular interest since they demonstrate that relationship ties, at least in the early historic period, were not limited to Fraser River groups but left that stream and, following the west flank of the Cascades, reached the Nooksack and Skagit basins and two tribes of special concern to this study.

One of the prevailing social patterns of the Upper Stalo was that of visiting relatives in other areas, "usually during the slack period in late fall." At times, for example, they journeyed downriver as far as the saltwater Musqueam above the Fraser River mouth and there picked cranberries with their relatives. "These visits sometimes lengthened into winter-long stays or even permanent changes of residence." (Duff 1952:76)

The Upper Stalo had within the tribe no socio-political units of the clan type, social descent and property-owing groups comprised of relatives, real and fictive, who were considered descendants of a single ancestor. (Duff 1952:76)

Kinship Structure

How kinsmen are recognized and classified in a society are fussy and often complicated matters. The details of the Stalo system are of little interest in a broad cultural survey of this present kind. Nevertheless, its general outlines seem worth noting. Kin terms were actually few in comparison to the situation in many other Indian groups. As in our Anglo-American system, no terminological distinction was made between paternal and maternal relatives, although the Salishan peoples east of the Cascades commonly distinguished father's and mother's uncles, aunts, and grandparents by different words. Similarly, also unlike the interior groups, "father's father" and a "man's son's child"--and like relationships--were not

designated by a single reciprocal term, although such generation-reciprocal words were employed in terming more distant ascending and descending generations. For persons of grandparental and grandchild generations as well as of more distant generations, the sex of the person referred to, of the linking relative, and of the speaker were all irrelevant in the Stalo system: e.g., "grandfather" and "grandmother" were referred to by one word; "father's father" and "mother's father" by a single term; and "man's father" and "woman's father" by one word. But sex of the person referred to was expressed in differentiating "father" from "mother," yet not even in distinguishing siblings and cousins. The duty of identifying the kinsman's sex was allocated instead to the modifying article which had to be used with every noun. Differing from our system, too, the word for "parent's sibling" when the parent was alive differed from the term for that sibling when the linking parent was deceased, and separate words were used when addressing certain kin and when merely referring to them. (Cf. Duff 1952:75-76; Elmendorf 1961b; Suttles 1965)

Names and Naming

"Each [Upper Stalo] family line owned a stock of personal names," varying in importance and prestige. Most infants were given one of these names, from the block of either parent, as its first name within the first two years of life. It might be that of an earlier relative, a recently deceased kinsman, or even a living relative. In this last situation the living person was not required to give up the name in the process: indeed, an older kinsman might elect to share his or her name with a child to which he or she took a particular fancy. Among the Chilliwack this name was announced at a potlatch or at least a special ceremony.

In later life a person "could be given other and more important [family] names," probably accompanied by a potlatch or similar ceremony though for this Duff had no informant confirmation. To avoid diminishing the importance and prestige of a name, its recipient was selected with great care by the older person then carrying the name or by family members in consultation. There was evidently a clear opinion that names should be passed down to descendants with personal characteristics and presumably abilities similar to those of the persons who had earlier borne the name. Usually this was a son, grandson, or nephew, who not only possessed the appropriate basic nature for holding the name but who had also been trained by the man himself in those particular qualifications that would enable him to assume the name and attendant rank without sullyng it and diminishing its aura. Some people acquired several family names of esteem in this manner. Frequently the names were so old that their meanings were obscure, the people having "lost the high words in . . . [their] language." (Duff 1952:76-77, 82)

In the Chilliwack tribelet, the personal names of the dead could not be mentioned in the hearing of their survivors. They were not freely used, in fact, until they were given to certain family members in name feasts at some later time. (Hill-Tout 1903:366)

Property and Inheritance

Among the Upper Stalo, resource areas were typically not regarded as the exclusive property of the tribe or village, much less the individual. Thus sturgeon sloughs, berry patches, and hunting grounds were used freely by all nearby groups. "An apparent exception," Duff (1952:77) reports, "is the case of the Chilliwack, who were said to shoot intruders on their hunting-grounds." This seems at odds with Duff's (1952:72-73) statement noted above (see Hunting section) that if Upper Stalo "met hunting parties of other tribes, there was no conflict." Yet it would not be an unreasonable exception to the general Upper Stalo free-use pattern. For as we have noted, the Chilliwack could not have had in early traditional times Fraser River fisheries. Moreover, they seem to have spoken a tongue that set them apart from the Fraser River Halkomelem-speaking groups, which may possibly have had the effect of restricting the welcome at the salmon fishing rocks of the Tait below Fraser Canyon which was extended other Halkomelem tribes. Whatever may have been the cause, it appears probable that the Chilliwack were significantly more a mountain hunting people and less a salmon fishing tribelet than was the case for the Upper Stalo groups along the Fraser, who, Duff reports, exercised no real control over their hunting grounds.

Where an appearance of ownership existed, it "grew out of customary use rather than claims of exclusive right Large weirs like the sturgeon weir across Sumas River were built and owned by the community, but outsiders were also allowed free use." As an exception to this pattern were the salmon dip-netting stations that were family-owned, most on the Fraser in the upper end of Tait country. In general, dip-netting sites were owned by families belonging to the village closeby. The family head was considered the titular owner, but all "his descendants could claim the right to use it" and only a very mean-spirited man would prevent anyone, relative or not, from reasonable use of his station. In any event, at least in recent times, "practically everybody who wanted to fish could claim the right through kinship to use at least one station." (Duff (1952:77))

In general, the "owner" and his sons and younger brothers used the fishery together. As a group they built, rebuilt, and repaired the drying rack that went with the station, each having a number of rack poles from which to hang his fish to dry. The dip-net, however, was usually made and owned by the fishery "owner," but was left on the river bank for all to use. Because there was ordinarily room for only one man to fish at a time, the men took turns, the wife to each cutting up and hanging to dry the fish that he caught. So plentiful were salmon in early days that a man could take in one hour all the fish his wife could process in a day. If the "owner" were too old or otherwise enfeebled to fish himself, others shared their dried salmon with him. (Duff 1952:77-78)

Dwellings "were built and occupied by the members of extended families." As with the dip-net fisheries, the title to the house rested nominally with the family head, who could not dispose of it outside the family group. (Duff 1952:78)

A man's canoes, weapons, implements, and the like were his own to dispose of as he chose. Dying, he could give or will anything to anyone, as to a son who had been caring for him. When he died, the property was

disposed of in various ways. That which had been willed was taken as the deceased had wished. A few favorite belongings were first burned in a "burning feast" four days after the funeral. The remainder could be taken by anyone prior to the second, ritual fire, with the first choice going to the person who had conducted the funeral ceremony and the relatives who had helped most with the rites. Then others could take what they desired. The remainder was destroyed in this final burning. (Duff 1952:78)

The Upper Stalo had very little inheritable non-material property: no special privileges, social positions or offices, or guardian spirits or guardian spirit songs. The two exceptions were the *sxwaxwe* mask and important personal names. The use of the mask, costume, and ritual "were obtained from either parent and passed on to all children (exactly like the right to use a fishing-station)." Apparently myths, even the origin myth associated with the mask, were not inherited, at least in the sense that they could be narrated only by certain persons. (Duff 1972:78)

The important names, already mentioned in the naming section of this study, were family property, but the person who was using the name "usually had the right to choose his successor." If this was not done, all the relatives were involved in the choice. While all younger siblings, children, grandchildren, nephews and nieces, and so on were possible successors, both primogeniture and a sterling character that would not "spoil" the name were important criteria in the decision. In general and under these constraints, a name went to a young person as close as possible to the direct line of descent. (Duff 1952:78)

In addition to the masks and associated elements and to the valuable family names, spells and certain other supernatural powers could be passed on. Yet these differed from the masks and names to the degree that "instruction and training were more important than heredity, which merely suggested the most logical recipients." (Duff 1952:78-79)

Regarding property and attitudes toward it on the part of the Chilliwack specifically, only two ethnographic observations have been identified. One, already reported, is the group's concern about their hunting territory and their efforts to protect it against interlopers. The other is a note by Hill-Tout (1903:359) stating that the tribe "held their possessions more in common" than was the case among their neighbors. In support of this generalization, however, only a single illustration is provided, the village food sharing pattern (see Village section below).

Hospitality and the Potlatch

One of the notable cultural traits of the Upper Stalo was the generous hospitality extended to others. Simon Fraser was received graciously at every village with neat mats spread and plenty of salmon in wooden dishes. This kindness toward others--especially evident in the matter of food--was related to the general pattern of frequent intervillage visiting by well-liked, even remote kinsfolk and was made possible by the Upper Stalo abundance of food resources. (Duff 1952:89-90)

The potlatch that was so well and complexly developed among the coastal peoples was likewise an Upper Stalo practice though in a much diluted form. Duff (1952:87) writes:

Every important social event . . . was signaled by a public ceremony. Bestowing an important name, building a new plank house, renewing a grave-house or the blankets holding the dead, a funeral--all required a public gathering where important persons could be "hired" to "do the work" and where the assembled people could witness the event.

The host and his family provided the guests' food, paid the officials and workers they hired, like the food preparers and servers, and accumulated the piles of goods for general distribution, largely to those to whom they were in debt for past favors. But occasionally at the close of the main potlatch, a scramble was arranged, in which the host threw out a stick representing a horse, canoe, or other valuable. (Duff 1952:87-89)

Only the richest families could finance such a complete potlatch at the time. Others, being forced to accept food loans and defer payments, announced at the ceremony when they would give a "paying off" potlatch. Sometimes such a deferred payment ceremony was held decades later, by which time the necessary property had been accumulated. It is apparent that "high-rank people gave the most numerous and impressive potlatches, and that they could not attain or hold a high status without doing so." (Duff 1952:88)

Potlatches were entirely social events in the sense that the possessed no religious component. Occasionally, however, competitive potlatches were held; in these one tribe or wealthy family tried to embarrass another by conducting a ceremony so expensive that the other group simply could not match it. If possible, they took place in the summer or fall when the weather was pleasant and firewood needs were less severe. Some, however, were held in winter, coupled with--but not part of--spirit dancing. And occasionally a family took advantage of a large dance gathering to announce a family status change--e.g., a new name for some member--and to distribute gifts. (Duff 1952:88-89)

A hypothetical "paying off" potlatch is described by Duff (1952:88-89) substantially as his Chilliwack informant presented the information. It fits the pattern outlined above but offers several illuminating details. Moreover, it deals explicitly with the Chilliwack and consequently deserves special notice in this study.

The man who organized the ceremony was old and had incurred debts over the years not yet repaid: to speakers who had announced the family names of his children; to people who had bathed the bodies of family members and prepared them for burial; to those who contributed food, blankets, and so on for the funerals; to persons hired from time to time to change the blankets of the corpses or to make a new grave box; to those who had helped in building a new dwelling; to people who had honored him with gifts of blankets or canoes or the like at their potlatches; to those who had at some time brought food gifts to long-past dinners he had given.

The ceremony is held in the largest house around--for a payment to the owner--and attended by old and young, not only those to be compensated for past kindnesses or services performed. It begins with the announcement of a new name for a grandson or granddaughter, with several chosen, prominent witnesses paid on the spot and the statement that the potlatch is being "given" by the young person, for whom persons had been hired to act as spokesmen during the ceremony. Then payments with interest are made for all the old man's still unsettled obligations in order of their occurrence. In each case a speaker announces the name of the person, the services performed, and the amount paid. The objects are given by the speaker to a runner who takes them to the person named, or, in the case of a rich potlatch recipient, to a prominent person or two appointed by the recipient to bring the payments to him in return for a small share of the property received. (Duff 1952:88)

Finally, from a large platform in the house, "the host or speaker throws things down so that anybody present can scramble for it." Very long blankets--sometimes 15 yards long--might be tossed into the crowd. Everyone who can seize a piece; a man comes around with a knife and cuts off each person's section; the recipient takes his piece home, unravels it, and reweaves it. This event might be followed by a scramble from the river edge or from a canoe out in the stream, the people scrambling for the objects by swimming or from canoes. (Duff 1952:88-89)

A potlatch of this kind might last three or four days, the sponsors feeding the people twice daily from long platters sent to where the people were encamped. (Duff 1952:89)

Evidently a similar potlatch or part of one was witnessed by Wilson, a member of the British Boundary Commission, on October 23, 1859. He was encamped at the time on the lower Chilliwack River, either at the Commission's depot close to the river confluence with the Fraser or, less likely, at its sometime Chilliwack headquarters near the Chilliwack River not far below its canyon mouth. He writes:

We had a grand festival amongst the Indians, several tribes coming to a feast here. These festivals are annual; held at different places & the chiefs give away presents; he who can give the most being considered the greatest. Some gave away between 3 & 400 blankets besides guns & other things, absolutely reducing themselves to poverty; the chiefs were seated on high scaffolds & threw blankets to the crowd beneath who were armed with long poles on which they tried to catch the blankets & then a regular scramble ensued, some of the blankets were quite torn to pieces by the scramblers. It was a very exciting scene (Wilson 1970:74)

Apparently for all the rather special environmental and cultural aspects that seem to have set the Chilliwack apart from the rest of the Upper Stalo, the Chilliwack participated in the potlatch ceremony with full vigor. It might be supposed that, without direct access to their own Fraser River salmon fisheries in the old days, they would have been a "poor," rustic people. But these narrative data seem to suggest that this was not necessarily the case. Could their immediate access to the special resources of their upriver mountainous homeland and their apparent extensive

exploitation of the resources of the area have provided them with raw and prepared or fashioned materials in wide demand among the neighboring, more river oriented peoples?

Socioterritorial Units

Three levels of socio-political units existed, according to Duff (1952:84), among the Upper Stalo: the extended family, village, and "tribe." Nothing is said about the nuclear family as a functional unit and component of the extended family.

Extended Family

The Upper Stalo extended family was both a kinship entity and a local social unit. Comprised of "a nucleus of males--a man, his brothers, their sons, grandsons, etc.--with their wives, children, and other dependants," it was the largest--evidently Duff would say "only"--functioning kin group, though kinship bonds stretched far beyond the extended family and were important links in various practical ways. It was sometimes quite large in numbers, especially if it also included multiple wives and many children owing to high wife fecundity. And if the family head was of sufficiently high status to attract nephews, sons-in-law, and even more distant relatives. (Duff 1952:84)

Functionally, the extended family "was the most important and closely knit economic and social unit. It was the largest unit which was strictly exogamous. In it the children grew up, receiving their education from the grandparents." (Duff 1952:85)

The extended family was likewise the smallest local unit. Each Upper Stalo village had as its core one or more extended families. (Duff 1952:84)

Village

Winter villages--as opposed to camps occupied in most cases during the rest of the year--consisted of one or more extended families. They were local units and, when comprised of only a single extended family, were kinship units as well. Even where made up of several extended families, they tended to be a loose kin entity, for the constituent families were typically related in some manner. (Duff 1952:84-85)

In pre-White times, few Upper Stalo villages could have had populations of more than 50 persons. In the Chilliwack case fewer than 300 persons "claimed more than twenty village-sites, and even though they probably occupied only a few sites at a time, the average village size must have been very small." The Upper Stalo tribelets spent much of the year away from their winter villages, often at fishing camps "which must have been much larger than the winter villages." (Duff 1952:85) Presumably in the earlier, protohistoric period before the introduction of Western diseases, the population was greater, but whether the individual winter villages were

larger on the average, or more villages were occupied at any one time, or--more likely--both situations prevailed, I do not know.

Among the Upper Stalo tribes, according to Hill-Tout (1903:359), the Chilliwack village was unique in its food sharing pattern: residents ate together as a single family. One "person" (i.e., evidently one family) was appointed each day by the "chief" to provide meals for all villagers, thus, among other ends, caring for the sick and aged. But in the food distribution distinctions were made according to social rank. Food-stores were always separated into three kinds and "packed away separately on the house shelves over the beds." The choicest portions, placed at the back of the stores where they were best protected from injury, dust, and smoke, were given the village head (and presumably his family). The second best food, stored in the middle, was for the family of the house owner, their friends, and others of their social rank. Inferior food, placed in the very front, was served to common folk. Since in the Chilliwack view this last group was at this low social level because they were lazy and poor providers, they received what they deserved and were not encouraged to continue their thriftless ways by sharing in the better foods of their more industrious and foresighted covillagers.

In speculating on the functioning of this singular sharing system, it is worth noting that the eight Chilliwack villages occupied in Hill-Tout's day were all very small, as, we have seen, Duff noted was generally characteristic of Upper Stalo villages in wholly traditional times. The population of the largest consisted of 12 adult males and the smallest of but one (Hill-Tout 1903:356). The average size of the eight was six males of adult status. While Hill-Tout's description of this community eating arrangement within the Chilliwack village might be questioned on the grounds of its highly unusual nature, it is conceivable that his account is essentially accurate, that the practice was made possible, even fostered, by the very small population of each settlement, by the kinship links that generally bound together the resident families, and by the absence among the Chilliwack of individual and family ownership of natural resources within the tribal limits.

The population of most Upper Stalo villages, Duff reports, was apparently quite fluid. Families moved individually from village to village, even into other tribes, permanently as well as for shorter periods, as when remaining with relatives for the winter. Villages as wholes sometimes shifted their location to then uninhabited places. As a consequence, nearly all favorable sites were occupied at one time or another. At times families and entire villages sought richer resources of food and firewood or simply a change of scene. Families also moved when interfamily friction occurred, or when for other reasons, they determined it advantageous to divide. However, a few villages at especially desirable locations were permanent in the sense that people had wintered in them year after year for as long as men could remember. (Duff 1952:85) None of these are mentioned by Duff for the Chilliwack.

On the other hand, according to Smith (1941:201), the individual family units of the typical Upper Stalo village were considerably less independently mobile through the year than among Puget Sound groups. They tended to remain together in their food quest.

In . . . the ethnic groups . . . [of] the Fraser River, food gathering was confined to the territory of the group. Drying racks were built at temporary camping sites and no outside social contacts seem to have compared with those within the group itself. (Smith 1941:201)

That the village is the "group" Smith has in mind in the above quote seems plain from her description of the contrasting pattern among the Sound tribes. Among these peoples the local units (i.e., villages) erected their combination dwelling-smoke houses near important salmon fisheries, where they could remain year-round if their salmon supply allowed it. But when these local units

dispersed, families went in opposite directions and at clamming grounds and berry and root fields often joined families from units which belonged to other extended villages. Socially, these people who met during the summer were as closely knit as were those of the contiguous winter quarters of the extended village. (Smith 1941:201)

Smith does not mention the Chilliwack specifically--or any other Fraser group by name--as following this generic Fraser River pattern. But given the cohesiveness of the Chilliwack village as revealed by their unusual commensality already remarked upon, a maintenance of the social integrity of the community through the entire subsistence cycle seems credible. Still, the Nooksack surprisingly, Smith (1941:202) reports from her own field findings, followed here the Puget Sound dispersal pattern. Accordingly, considering Smith's frequent emphasis on the cultural similarity of the Chilliwack and Nooksack, it is possible that the former likewise followed the Puget Sound pattern, though it would be out of character with such other social data as we possess.

Because Upper Stalo villages were small and all residents were generally related in some way, the villages were usually exogamous by necessity. But in the case of larger villages, it was possible for men to obtain wives from different family lines within the same village. (Duff 1972:85-87)

Unlike Lower Stalo villages and those of neighboring maritime tribes, the winter villages of the Upper Stalo lacked traditions of descent from mythical human or animal ancestors. (Boas [1894:454] differs on this point.) Accordingly, when families changes their village residence and entire villages as units shifted their locus, they possessed no powerful mythological unity with their earlier covillagers in the first instance and in both cases no mystical attachment to a time-distant ancestral locality. It may be supposed that the absence of such strong traditions contributed to the impermanence of the Upper Stalo winter village and its resident population, and to the meagerly developed concept of land ownership, essentially limited to extended family possession of fisheries. As already noted, "ownership of names and privileges rested in non-local kinship lines rather than in local 'kinship' units." (Duff 1952:85-86)

Tribe

In general, "the concept of a tribal unit [among the Upper Stalo] was neither clearly defined nor important in the native mind." Typically it was little more than a named social unit consisting of several winter villages or clusters of villages. These settlements were linked only loosely on the basis of close

kinship among the male nucleus of population, common environment and economic activities, common history, awareness of common traditions, political unity based on a recognition of a main leader and tribal boundaries As social and political units, the tribes seldom, if ever, had important functions. (Duff 1952:84, 86-87)

Tribal membership appears to have played little role in the selection of marriage partners.

So reports Duff. And yet Boas (1894:454), writing on the basis of his brief period of field research among the Chehalis in 1890, states that each Halkomelem tribe was thought to be descended from a single "mythical ancestor." He provides a roster of fourteen "tribes," and of the ultimate ancestor of each. This suggests, at the cognitive level at least, something more than the loose and ill-defined social unit to which Duff alludes. According to the Chilliwack, its founding ancestor was T e'qulatca.

In a very few instances, these village groupings--tribes--were so small, possessed a cultural history so distinct, and occupied a geographical area so special and removed as to lead to a greater social and political unity and to a more functional entity. Such was the case, it appears, with the Chilliwack.

The Chilliwack . . . are said to have recognized one main leader of the tribe and to have clearly defined and actively defended their tribal territories. The facts that the Chilliwack formerly lived in a fairly isolated cluster of villages and spoke a separate and distinct dialect have no doubt contributed to the formation of their concept of tribal unity. (Duff 1952:87)

The above circumstances of Chilliwack life--plus others like the tribe's occasional fights with raiding parties from lower Fraser groups and with intruding hunters from neighboring tribelets--may have led to a further cultural consequence: according to Hill-Tout (1903:359), the Chilliwack were "originally endogamous." By this he really means, I conjecture, that there was a strong tendency--perhaps even a formalized preference--for Chilliwack to marry within their tribe. Assuming this to have been informant-driven data and not merely a supposition based on an evolutionary model, current in his time, supporting an endogamous primacy, an early in-group marriage pattern would not be altogether surprising, given the geographical and cultural features mentioned above.

Later, Hill-Tout (1903:359) avers, "closer contact with the neighbouring tribes made a strict observance of this rule impolitic, and led to the taking of wives from other communities." One might doubt that in this early period

the mate-flow was as unidirectional as his statement implies: i.e., wholly into Chilliwack families. Indeed, it would be expected that more Chilliwack women married into other tribes and then remained outside with their husbands than women from other groups entered Chilliwack villages as wives of Chilliwack men. For it is difficult not to project at least an informal group-ranking ladder within the Upper Stalo region in which the Chilliwack, located off the main river with its limited salmonid resources and away from the river thoroughfare, occupied a relatively low status. Under such conditions the greater flow of women--and even occasionally of men--would have tended theoretically to have been out of the Chilliwack communities, there having been relatively little, on the average, to attract women and men from more central and richer tribelets into Chilliwack country on its small side-stream.

Social Rank

In Upper Stalo tribes, there were two ways of acquiring high social status: by birth and by achievement. High birth gave one a great advantage to attaining esteem but it failed to guarantee this. And a person of superior character and attainment could gain great respect on his own even though low-born. In short, "individuals and families differed in social rank because they differed in the degree to which they possessed the qualities which were admired and respected." (Duff 1952:80)

What personal traits were respected? They were wisdom and age that brought wisdom; ability; industry and the wealth in the form of a large dwelling, many wives, large and frequent feasts, potlatches, spirit dances, and so on that came about through industry; generosity; humility; pacificm; and supernatural powers. Skill in persuading people to do right, in settling rows, and in hunting and fishing skillfully and in getting others to be industrious in these activities were all important in generating respect. It is obvious from these valued attributes that respect was not limited to the high-born, nor necessarily withheld from them. Similarly, that "individual effort and ability could overcome the disadvantage of low birth." And also that more than one person of high prestige could be found in a single village. (Duff 1952:80)

Nevertheless, to be born "into a high-ranking family constituted a tremendous advantage. It brought control of wealth, access to respected names, and the opportunity for training for a position of high respect." Children of such families were thought to inherit the superior qualities of their family and were taught the proper attitudes and responsibilities of their position. The members of such a family were "talked up to." (Duff 1952:80)

High ranking people were expected to act humbly and, in fact, customarily did so, claiming no special honors, moving down from places of honor at gatherings, avoiding boasting, and the like. Evidently, however, these self-depreciating behavioral patterns were in part the consequence of a fear of the envy of some hostile shaman of low birth. Nonetheless, everyone knew that high-ranking people possessed superior abilities and everyone knew who they were. Children, in fact, were "taught who were their social equals, who were their inferiors." Interestingly, people of high rank wore nose and

ear pendants and some had their foreheads flattened. (Duff 1952:80) Plainly, high ranked persons could, in a way, afford to be humble, for their rank was made obvious to all by these distinctive cultural traits. Yet inherited privilege in the form of the *sxwaixwe* mask (see Dance section below) and the rights it granted figured prominently in Upper Stalo social functions (Smith 1941:202).

Families of high status "sought marriage partners in families of equal or higher rank, often at considerable distances." Such marriages were prestigious, possessed social and economic advantages, and involved the least danger of "spoiling" the family by producing offspring with undesirable social characteristics. (Duff 1952:81)

"To a certain extent, then, the Upper Stalo lived in a hereditary class society." But the situation was more complex than indicated above. For depending on differences in prestige level, high-class families in multi-family villages were loosely ranked in esteem at any given time and doubtless so also were families outside of the high-rank group. Beyond this, persons of esteem in different villages and even different tribes were ranked against one another in social, only incidentally political terms. (Duff 1952:81)

Though the high-rank/low rank distinction was based largely on heredity, this social rank system was not a closed system. A person of low class birth could rise to become a respected--i.e., high class--person by fulfilling the expectations and developing the superior personal qualities described above and so could establish a family of high prestige. In reverse, a high-class family could see itself "spoiled" by improper actions, wrong-headed attitudes, and injudicious marriages.

Perhaps viewing the Chilliwack class structure through conventional coastal eyes, Hill-Tout's (1903:357-359) characterization of the tribe's status levels seems on the surface overly rigid: "the people," he writes, "were divided into the usual threefold division of chiefs, notables, and base folk." (Evidently slaves [see next section] were seen by Hill-Tout as outside this class system.) To belong to the chiefly class a person had to be related to the village leader by consanguineal ties. The head of this class possessed a special personal name and title, the latter carrying the significance of wealth, in addition to his other names. The distinction between notables and common people was less firm. Like the chiefly group, the nobles were likewise rich, but they were also necessarily ambitious and intelligent, traits necessary for maintaining their high status. Any free person could become a noble by acquiring and generously distributing property and so by being recognized by common consent as belonging to the class. Commoners were such because they were "lazy, thriftless, [and] unambitious," and consequently poor. Hence the noble and commoner groups were not castes, for upward and downward movement occurred between the two levels. All things considered, this class structure, as Hill-Tout describes it, is not altogether far from Duff's fuller and more behaviorally oriented Upper Stalo account.

Slavery

The Upper Stalo took and owned a few slaves, even though the practice ran counter to their essentially democratic patterns. Some were purchased. Others, if I read Duff correctly, were members of Coastal raiding parties who somehow had been left behind and been captured when their mates fled home. Some were taken by Upper Stalo warriors (a disliked group) on raids of their own. (Duff 1952:82-84)

In his journal entry of June 28, 1808, Fraser (1960:100) records an observation that might be taken as evidence for institutionalized slavery among the Upper Stalo. Witnessing a dance by villagers--surely of a Tait community--just below the foot of the Fraser Canyon and the long stretch of dangerous rapids, he writes, according to the Lamb version of his narrative: ". . . the women . . . seem to be slaves, for in the course of their dances, I remarked that the men were pillaging them from one another." But then he adds: "Our Little Fellow [an Upper Thompson Indian accompanying the expedition (Fraser 1960:89)], on one of these occasions, was presented with another man's wife for a bed fellow." The two sentences together suggest that the "pillage" may have been only a form of socially patterned wife sharing or exchange, promoted by husbands in Fraser's eyes, and not evidence for the institution of slavery. For what it is worth, Masson, in editing Fraser's (1889:194) observations, has the explorer report: ". . . the women . . . seem to be their husbands' slaves, for, in the course of their dances, I remarked that the men were in the habit of pillaging them from one another [emphasis added]. Our Little Fellow was presented with another man's wife." This makes explicit what might be considered to be the implication of Lamb's version. It is possible, of course, that each woman involved in Fraser's observed arrangement was both a slave and a wife. At any rate, Fraser's account in the Lamb writing (almost surely following here the field journal more closely than Masson's statements), is very uncertain proof of slavery among the Tait in 1808, and, as edited by Masson, offers slavery no support whatever.

In general, slaves were not mistreated among the Upper Stalo, especially if good workers, although this depended on their owners. Indeed, the adoption of a slave girl as a family daughter was not unknown. Typically, however, "their hair was cut short, and they had to perform whatever menial tasks they were told to do. Worst of all was the social stigma attached to slavery, which [except under special circumstances] was passed on to the offspring." They were permitted to marry among themselves. Marriage between a free man and a slave woman was strongly discouraged, but when it occurred--against vigorous family opposition--the stigma could be "washed away" by a potlatch, the special circumstances alluded to above; the wife became free and the children were so on birth, both wife and offspring, in fact, assuming the rank of the husband. (Duff 1952:82-84)

Upper Stalo slaves were allowed to seek spirit power. When they died, they were usually given a proper funeral and were buried in the family grave-box or perhaps in a special box in the graveyard. As Duff observes, slavery, as among the Thompson Indians, was fundamentally "not congenial to the orientations of the [Upper Stalo] culture as a whole." (Duff 1952:82-84)

Coastal parties constantly entered Upper Stalo country on slave raids and sold their captives to other tribes. These raiding groups came even from the Lower Stalo tribelets, as well as from the Cowichan and non-Halkomelem-speaking maritime tribes. They came also from nearby northern Plateau peoples. (Duff 1952:83-84; Ray 1939:34)

According to Duff's informant, the Chilliwack neither kept nor took slaves from other peoples. Earlier contradictory evidence exists. Hill-Tout was informed that wealthy Chilliwack possessed several slaves of both sexes. Most were captives taken in warfare or by Chilliwack raiding parties who went out for them to distant settlements and, back home, sold them "to the more timid and less adventurous of the tribe." Slaves were not killed at the death of their masters, although they were sometimes sold to raise the property required for an appropriate mortuary feast. (Duff 1952:83, 84; Hill-Tout 1903:358-360, 366)

That the Chilliwack in fact held slaves is confirmed by the historical records. While, as a member of the British Boundary Commission, Wilson in 1858-1859 spent some time in the Chilliwack country, slavery was still an active institution. He reports: "A Chilukweyuk Indian, whose slave was employed for several months by the Commission, pocketed a large sum . . . [from this employment]; the money was of course paid to the slave, but his master was always near at hand on pay-day to look after the dollars." (Wilson 1866:290)

Duff's informant also reported that the Chilliwack, while not keeping slaves themselves, were raided for slaves by other groups. Here we have convincing historical data from the Fort Langley Journal. It reports that a slave-capturing expedition against the Chilliwack, by a force of about 70 Cowichan and Musqueam men, occurred in October of 1827 and resulted in the capture of "several [Chilliwack] women and children as slaves. A few days later a Chilliwack man went down in a canoe loaded with goods to ransom back his wife." (Duff 1952:83, 84)

Secret Societies

Secret Societies, so characteristic of the British Columbia coast groups, were absent among the Upper Stalo (Smith 1941:202). Surely this was specifically the case among the Chilliwack, though I know of no ethnographic statement to this effect.

Life Cycle

Birth and Infancy

Large families were desired by the Upper Stalo. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to space children two or three years apart, lest the infants be sickly. A single copious drink of tea brewed of crab apple bark, drunk soon after the birth of a child, was thought to prevent another conception for the period. There appears to have been no sex preference in regard to children. (Duff 1952:90)

During the birth process only the midwife was allowed in the house; the husband left for a walk in the hills. The parturient woman drank an infusion of certain herbs and leaves prepared by the midwife. (Duff 1952:90)

Soon after the birth the newborn infant's "legs were bandaged 'to make them straight'; his 'nose was fixed to make it straight'; and his face was massaged." It was placed in a cradle, of birchbark in earlier times and more recently of basketwork woven by the coiling process, and bound in place. In the back of the cradle was a shredded cedar-bark mattress. With diapers of cedar bark often mixed with down, the baby, hands at its sides, was laced in position to its neck. A hollow elderberry tube, extending through a hole in the cradle, kept the cradle dry. When carried by the mother on her back with a carrying strap over her chest, the cradle was placed in a roughly horizontal position--not vertically as was the case farther up the Fraser River. If the mother was right-handed, the infant's head was put to her right side, so it could easily be swung around to nurse. (Duff 1952:57, 90)

The Upper Stalo baby was removed from its cradle only for its daily bath--in warm water for the first few days and then in cold--and sometimes to be nursed. "If the young mother had no milk at first, milkweed was heated with boiling water and applied to the breasts." (The association of the white, milky latex of this plant with the woman's urgent need is apparent, though not commented upon by Duff.) Nursing continued for a year, or even for two if no later child was on the way. When the baby grew to the point where it could crawl, it was removed from the cradle but returned to it to sleep or to travel. It really left it only when it could at last walk away from it. (Duff 1952:90)

Twins were apparently neither feared nor especially welcomed. But to keep the two babies from dying owing to the proximity of people, families had to move and live by themselves. Twins, however, were thought to be powerful in affecting the weather. (Duff 1952:91)

Intentional frontal flattening of the Upper Stalo infant's head was practiced, according to Duff (1952:90), with a padded wooden board, but less frequently than among the coastal tribes. Yet Duff also reports that a coastal man with such a deformed head who moved to Tait country was laughed at. And Wilson observes in 1858 and 1859 that the custom of frontal flattening was not practiced then among those groups that we define here as Upper Stalo. (Duff 1952:91) I conclude that, if Duff's generalization is correct, it must relate to early, perhaps even precontact times. "Ears were pierced at the age of 8 or 9, and a string was put through the perforations to keep them open. High-rank persons also had their noses pierced." (Duff 1952:91)

At the birth of a child, most Chilliwack parents attempted to secure the services of one or more members of the sqoi'aqī (see Dance section below) to perform their dance. This provided powerful supernatural protection for the infant and gave it social status, including the right later in life to be ranked among the tribal notables. The ceremony included a formal washing of the child by the sqoi'aqi, a birth-feast during which its ears were pierced, and the first application of the cranium deforming pads. The ear piercing was carried out not by the sqoi'aqī but always by skilled persons, paid for their services with blankets, who performed the operation with a pointed

piece of pitch-pine. To prevent the hole from closing, the piece was left in the wound. (Hill-Tout 1903:366)

At the very few points where the above Chilliwack account intersects with Duff's Upper Stalo data, it coincides in a general way, except for the timing of the ear piercing action. It adds the new dimension of the sqoi'aqi role in the birth ritual pattern.

Youth and Puberty

Among the Upper Stalo the oldest male member of the local extended family, usually the paternal grandfather, was primarily responsible for advising, teaching, and disciplining a boy; the grandmother for a girl. Young children may, in fact, have spent more time with grandparents than with parents, for they were left with them when the latter went hunting, berry-gathering, or visiting. (Duff 1952:91)

Every morning before dawn and again in the evening, a grandfather made his grandsons swim and dive in the river to ensure that they became "well-to-do" when they grew up. During the day he taught them fishing, hunting, and other skills, and how to behave, work, and become a good person. During long evenings, he instructed them in social matters until they dropped off to sleep: who their relatives were; how they should act, by relating stories with a moral content; whom they should not marry because of their connections with families known over a long past for their mean or bad behavior. He likewise trained them for shamanistic and other spirit power, sometimes with the assistance of an old shaman. (Duff 1952:91)

From time to time the grandfather, using spruce boughs, whipped the boys, all relatives together but one by one, in the center of the dwelling "to teach them fortitude and courage." The lads were expected to receive this whipping without flinching. Sometimes older women did the same to their granddaughters. (Duff 1952:91)

Puberty among the Upper Stalo was recognized as an especially critical time for children. When their voice changed, boys were made to be particularly active in order to develop a life-long pattern of industry and endurance: they were, for example, forced to run long distances. (Duff 1952:92)

The Chilliwack data of Hill-Tout (1903:366) are no fuller than the preceding notes of Duff for the Upper Stalo in general. We are told only that "youths on reaching manhood . . . went apart by themselves for a longer or shorter time, and fasted, and bathed and exercised their bodies till they had acquired their . . . [guardian spirits]."

For Upper Stalo girls at the time of their first menses, the observance was much more formal and patterned. Duff (1952:92) summarizes the typical ritual thus:

At this time she was secluded in a hut of boughs for the duration of the [menstrual] period. She was constantly attended by her grandmother or any other old female relative. She ate sparingly,

mostly of soup, and drank just sufficient water through a hollow straw or bird-bone tube. She took emetics and laxatives, took sweat-baths and then plunged into cold water. But most of all she had to learn to work, to be industrious, because if she didn't learn it now, she never would. Her grandmother made her practise weaving or basketry, "training the fingers."

Reaching puberty, a Chilliwack girl underwent four days of seclusion.

For the first two days she must abstain from food of any kind; after this she might eat a little dried salmon, but no fresh meat or roots. After the fourth day the girl's face was painted, and she was permitted to walk abroad for a little distance in charge of some woman. On her return four . . . ["soothsayers"] would meet her and dance round her, each holding a salmon of different species in his hand. When this ceremony was over, she was taken to a lake and made to undergo a ceremonial washing and cleansing. She was never allowed to enter a stream frequented by salmon, or they would shun the stream thereafter. Throughout the four days of her seclusion she was kept busy in making yarn, . . . (Hill-Tout 1903:366)

At subsequent menstrual periods, an Upper Stalo woman was apparently not secluded but she was expected to observe certain activity restrictions: she "could not butcher salmon nor cut fresh meat"; she observed certain food tabus; she could not go into the woods lest, in her special condition, she be attacked by bears. (Duff 1952:92) Speaking of the Chilliwack alone, Hill-Tout (1903:366) reports that menstruating women were never permitted to eat hot or fresh foods.

Among the Lower Stalo, families of high rank celebrated a daughter's puberty with a potlatch with two masked dancers and the distribution of blankets and other property (Duff 1952:92). But I gather that these potlatches were not the custom with the Upper Stalo, for they are not mentioned by Duff (1952:87-89) in his discussion of the circumstances that gave rise to their potlatches.

Marriage

Among the Upper Stalo it was expected that eventually every person would marry. One or two bachelors were recalled by Duff's informants and were considered very odd. No unmarried women of marriageable age were remembered, though one female who wore men's clothing, was a good hunter, fisherman, and spirit dancer, and was married to a woman was recollected. (Duff 1952:79)

Monogamy was the rule, but polygyny was rather common among wealthy men who could afford several wives. An Upper Stalo instance of as many as 20 wives was remembered, most having been stolen by the man, a warrior and bully, from their husbands when they were visiting in the brawler's area. (I am not certain that these were all simultaneous wives.) A case of eight wives was recalled for the Tait. And an instance among the Chilliwack of nine wives--perhaps, however, not simultaneous spouses--was recollected, some of these women, at least, being from neighboring tribes and the result of

marriages made to establish fruitful intertribal links. (Duff 1952:79) Confirmatory data for the Chilliwack specifically comes from Hill-Tout (1903:359): "Polygamy [i.e., polygyny in contemporary terminology] was common among the Tcil'Qē'uk, a man having sometimes as many as ten wives. The number of a man's wives was ordered, as a rule, partly by his inclinations and partly by his ability to support them."

Occasionally a man who traveled a lot had wives in several places. (This arrangement is instructive since it demonstrates that the Upper Stalo must have had ways of providing a woman and her children with the services normally rendered by an in-resident husband. It must have been the woman's own extended family that somehow assumed these responsibilities.) (Duff 1952:79)

Polyandry appears to have been unknown among the Upper Stalo tribes (Duff 1952:79). The possibility of an early Chilliwack pattern of tribal endogamy--or at least a strong in-marriage tendency--has been discussed above.

"Girls married young, usually soon after their puberty observances." Boys were generally a few years older. Unmarried girls of high rank families were constantly chaperoned by a grandmother, mother, or other female relative. Girls of lower status families were not so rigidly monitored. (Duff 1952:92)

Marriage to first and second cousins was prohibited; otherwise there were no formal barriers of relationship. Yet in small villages--and even small tribelets--this proscription resulted in de facto village--and tribelet--exogamy. Neither the boy nor the girl had much say under normal conditions in marriage. The matter was determined by the family in conference, considering such matters as rank--high rank families required marriage with a spouse of equal rank--and the character and wealth of the other person and of his or her extended family. (Duff 1952:85, 87, 92)

At least three forms of marriage arrangements were current among the Upper Stalo.

- (a) In wealthy families the union was formalized with gift exchanges and much ceremony. The boy's grandparents, parents, and other kin together with the village leader carried gifts to the girl's village for her family. The leader first explained the group's mission; then the grandparents and parents spoke in turn. The boy was expected to remain silent. The girl's grandfather and then her parents replied. If both parties agreed to the union, it was publicly announced to all the people. The girl's family gave some return presents, and the bride returned with the boy's party to their village. At a later time, generally during the late autumn slack period, the bride's family, the leader of her village, and most of her villagers made a return visit to the groom's village and distributed return gifts to the husband's people. (Duff 1952:81, 92-93)

From a Chilliwack informant Duff (1952:93) received a description of a typical marriage ceremony that varied in certain details from the above

pattern. Inasmuch as Duff believes that the variations reported are recent innovations, they are not commented upon here.

- (b) Ordinary villagers followed a different marriage form, as did orphans, other boys with no one to talk for them, and widowers. Usually in this case, the man had the girl's blessing. Early in the morning he went to the girl's dwelling and sat silently beside the doorway. Ignored by her family and tested during the day by being splashed "accidentally" with water being brought into the house, covered with dust and floor sweepings, or scraped by firewood being taken in, he bore this unwelcome reception all day. Finally he himself carried firewood inside, only to have it thrown back out. This same ritual took place for several days to test his fortitude, until, if he persisted and the girl's family agreed to the marriage, he was led inside by the father or grandfather, seated on a new mat, and given food. The girl joined him on the mat, witnessed by all in the dwelling. Then the people, joined by the boy's people, danced and had a grand time. (Duff 1952:93)
- (c) In the case of low-class people with little pride, the boy crept inside the girl's house some night when her parents were away and spent the night. Thereupon the two were considered man and wife. (Duff 1952:93)

In addition to these three marriage patterns, the Chilliwack, though perhaps no other Upper Stalo people, held a marriage dance every few years in which young people could select their own mates. To the accompaniment of song, they formed pairs on the dance floor, witnessed by all present. The couples were then regarded as being married. (Duff 1952:93)

The newly married couple usually established their residence with the extended family of the groom--i.e., patrilocally. On the other hand, the actual situation might indicate the advantage of residing with the wife's people: her parents might have no sons,

or might be of higher rank, or might need someone to care for them, or, as in the case of some Chilliwack women who married Thompson hunters, the woman might be reluctant to move far away from her home.

A married couple of commoner status sometimes moved around fairly frequently. "Among high-rank families, however, especially where a man had more than one wife, residence was more strictly patrilocal." (Duff 1952:79)

Marriages between high rank people were considered permanent, divorces theoretically not having been allowed. If a bride left her husband, her people returned her unless she was being mistreated. In the case of commoners, however, separation and divorce seems to have been quite frequent. If a commoner man could not get along with his wife, he simply took her home and left her there. In one actual instance, a man kept trying different women as wives, until the ninth one was found to be congenial. Most separations occurred early in the marriage, before the arrival of children and to have been the consequence of incompatibility. (Duff 1952:79)

It is probable that virtually all men and women whose spouse had died remarried, unless already so old as to be cared for by their children. In

theory, high rank people, however, were not supposed to remarry out of respect for the deceased partner, but apparently this proscription was not often honored. The length of the mourning period varied according to rank, age, and special circumstances. Widows tended to remarry after a somewhat longer period than widowers: "a widow was felt to be different, even dangerous, because she was spiritually more powerful, and it was considered dangerous to marry her too soon" (Duff 1952:79). Duff may have phrased this matter correctly, but I wonder if the delay was not the result of a greater fear of a jealous dead husband than of any spirit power of the woman herself. In any event, as Duff (1952:79) explains, practical considerations--such as the need for child care--came close to governing remarriage. It seems obvious that, among the Upper Stalo, the complementary division of labor by sex almost mandated remarriage sooner or later, even when the marriage was childless and in spite of one's membership in an extended family and the pattern of sharing within the family.

Remarriage often took the following form:

[A] deceased woman's sister, knowing and feeling sorry for the bereaved husband and children, would often move in and take her sister's place. A man would similarly take over the care of a dead brother's family. In this way . . . the children kept the same grandparents . . . and their education went on without interruption. (Duff 1952:79-80)

Old Age

The elderly in Upper Stalo tribes were highly respected for their knowledge and wisdom. When they offered advice or criticized a person for his behavior, they were never answered back.

At large gatherings, the old people made speeches, giving advice to the young. At feasts, old men were served first, and the old people were given the choicest parts of the fish or game: the fattest part of the fish near the head, and the hind quarters of meat. Old people lived with whichever son or daughter was convenient. (Duff 1952:93-94)

Old people were in great demand as story-tellers, taking "turns in the evenings telling folk-tales and stories about specific people, and pointing moral lessons." Some elderly men traveled around, staying in one house for one or several nights and then moving on. They slept during the day and, for their food and lodging, told stories at night--even all night. They related their war experiences if they had in the past been out on hostile expeditions and told tales of the transformer and other mythical personages. They talked until their auditors were all asleep, with no one left to respond from time to time with the listener's encouraging formula *i?ay*. (Duff 1952:94)

Death, Burial, and Mourning

Among the Upper Stalo the preparation of the corpse and the funeral ceremonies were supervised by a shaman. The body was washed and wrapped in blankets by friends. Sometimes, at the direction of the shaman, it was removed from the dwelling through a hole in the wall "so the ghost couldn't find his way back into the house." The body outside, the shaman swept the whole structure and the immediate family with cedar boughs "to keep the ghost away and make him forget" the near relatives he left behind, since it was not unknown for a ghost to take the soul of a loved one with him.

The body was carried to the family grave-box or grave house, usually by visitors who were not close kin and who were compensated for their services. Often people came from a great distance to attend the rites. The funeral was followed by a feast for all who attended, furnished by relatives and close friends. All who had a role in the funeral were paid, either at the time if the expense could be covered by the family or at a later potlatch. (Duff 1952:94, 117)

Among the Chilliwack, as soon as a person died, the body was carried outside by one or more "soothsayers," the theory being that the longer it remained within the dwelling, the more difficult it became to drive the hostile ghost away and rid the surviving relatives of its inimical influence. The corpse was washed by these functionaries and painted all over with red coloring, doubled up and bound in a mat or blanket, and finally carried to the family's large mortuary box, if it was not yet midday. When a death occurred after noon, the body was laid off "by itself some little distance from the house till sunrise next morning." This was regarded as the most propitious time of day for a funeral, since by then all ghosts had departed to their own country. The corpse was placed in the box beside the remains of earlier family members, which were lying side by side within it. The construction details of these sepulchers have already been described. The edges or selvage of blankets and mats given to a deceased person--for, it was believed, the use of that person in his new, nonnatural state--were routinely torn off. This was done "to ensure the safety of the surviving relatives and break the power or influence of the . . . [ghost]." (Hill-Tout 1903:365)

When the body had been taken from the house, the "soothsayer" spread quantities of bullrush down all over the bed on which the deceased person had lain. He "set fire to it, and beat the bed and walls and surviving relatives with . . . [spruce branches] to drive away the sickness and ghost of the dead." All who had taken part in the death ceremonies were given "medicine" by the soothsayer "to protect them from the evil influence of the corpse." People were warned to avoid burial sites, especially after a recent death, lest they be harmed by the ghost of the dead person. (Hill-Tout 1903:364, 365)

In the mortuary rites of the Chilliwack there was, at a simple level, a Northwest Coast-like potlatch element:

All but the relatives of the deceased were paid for their attendance and service by blankets. If the immediate relatives of the deceased were persons of wealth, a feast would be held on the return of the party from the burial-grounds. If they were poor,

this would be held at a later date. It was customary among the . . . [Chilliwack] for friends of the mourning family to bring blankets and lay them on the dead body. When the mortuary feast was given, all those who had thus made presents were paid double of what they had given. (Hill-Tout 1903:365).

Among the Chilliwack, slaves were never killed at the death of their owners. Sometimes, however, as previously noted, they were sold to defray the expenses of the mortuary feast. (Hill-Tout 1903:366)

Four days later among the Upper Stalo groups a property-burning ceremony and feast were held. The disposal of the dead person's possessions was under the direction of one person, usually a shaman. Some objects that were most treasured by the deceased--his favorite clothing, gun, and other items he was thought to need--were first burned. From what remained his relatives and friends took what they wished and the rest were then destroyed by burning. (Duff 1952:94, 117)

The Chilliwack data describing the rituals occurring four days after the disposal of the corpse fail to mention this property-burning feature. In view of the paucity of information, this omission should not necessarily be interpreted as indicating its absence. According to Hill-Tout (1903:365), however, four days following the interment all who had participated in the ceremony bathed themselves and, with the exception of the husband or wife of the deceased, cut their side hair "as far back as, and on a level with, the ears" and beyond this point only the hair ends. These hair fragments were buried at "some spot where Nature was full of life." This locational vigor magically transferred to the persons, making them safe from the potential ill effects of their role in the burial procedure. (These hair fragments were never burned by Chilliwack as they were among the neighboring Pilalt, in the belief that burned objects lost their "spirit" component, causing their former owner to die.)

This four-day ritual among the Upper Stalo tribelets was followed "at daybreak or at dark, when souls and ghosts travel about," with a feast for the ghosts of the deceased, of his dead relatives, and of others. In a typical feast of this kind, dishes of food were set out for the dead person, for each of his parents, and so on for several past generations. Four portions of each food were placed on each plate. The official could "see" and name aloud each family ghost when it arrived to enjoy the meal and several stranger ghosts as well which chose to attend. He then burned two portions from each plate, one for the relative's ghost and one for a stranger ghost. When the ghosts had "eaten," the living guests ate the other two portions on each plate. (Duff 1952:94)

"Mortuary sacrifices," Hill-Tout (1903:365) reports, were called for "at certain times" by Chilliwack shamans, almost certainly referring to the same ceremony as Duff describes above although the details differ. "They were always conducted at sunrise." Everyone who had buried a relative or friend (surely "recently" is implied) assembled, bringing a quantity of choice food and other gifts. The shaman placed them on a circular platform erected to receive them. A short distance from this table, a large fire was kindled. In the intervening space, the shaman stood, while the bereaved formed a circle around the platform and fire. When all was ready, the shaman entered

the ring, and taking portions of the offerings, threw them into the fire, presenting them to the spirits of the departed. Food and objects remaining after the offerings were completed were distributed among the people.

Commonly in Upper Stalo groups the blankets around the corpse were changed every few years. Each such event was marked with a potlatch. (Duff 1952:94-95)

While every effort was made by the Upper Stalo to return to his home the body of one who had died away, this sometimes proved impossible. In such instances, the body was buried in the ground, the bones being sometimes later exhumed and carried home. (Duff 1952:95)

Recently bereaved persons, male and female, in Upper Stalo groups observed certain restrictions on their behavior, some of brief duration and others much longer. At the funeral feast, they sat facing the corner of the dwelling as they ate. For about a year they were expected to eat with no other people and to eat no meat or fern roots. For a year also, they, together with immediate family members, wore buckskin bands tied around their wrists. They cut their hair to shoulder length and burned the trimmed ends to prevent hostile shamans from collecting and using the material for witchcraft. (Duff 1952:95)

Mourning among the Chilliwack and the ritual acts associated with this condition are briefly described by Hill-Tout (1903:365). After his wife's death, a man was expected to wash his entire body to prevent his next wife from dying shortly. In carrying out his ceremonial washings, he avoided bathing in a salmon stream, lest these sensitive fish shun the stream ever after. Following his bereavement, a man abstained

from all foods for at least a day, and ate sparingly, with his face turned away from everyone else, for a further period of ten or twelve days. His food for the first four days was mainly 'medicine' made from herbs, &c. (Hill-Tout 1903:365)

A surviving wife was expected to observe similar behavioral restrictions. For example, she bound her wrists and ankles with wool bands. Other activities were tabued to both husbands and wives: e.g., they were not to utter the name of their deceased spouse while biting off and chewing pieces of fish, for otherwise they would soon die. Likewise, other tribal members observed certain proprieties in the company of persons who had lost close relatives. They, for example, never mentioned the names of the deceased in the latter's hearing. In effect, this tabu applied until, some time later, the avoided names were given to living family members at name feasts. (Hill-Tout 1903:365, 366)

Upper Stalo widows and widowers had a greater than normal chance of securing guardian spirit power and were thought to possess the power to kill plants by stepping over them. As mentioned above, immediate remarriage was thought to be dangerous to the new spouse. (Duff 1952:95)

Political Organization

Leadership

Among the Upper Stalo there were no chiefs, hereditary or otherwise, in the sense of a formally designated village leader, let alone a leader of a larger geographic area and population cluster. No one who had the authority to direct others. Leadership was entirely informal, based on respect. Such leaders as existed did not--could not--order others, but were followed by other persons and families owing to the esteem in which they were held. Accordingly, leaders in most affairs were high-ranked persons as defined above. They were the heads of their own extended family groups, those who made the day-by-day decisions regarding the management of family matters. In villages of more than one extended family, the family head who stood above the others in esteem held the greatest sway over the village as a whole; he was the village leader by consensus. When he spoke, the others listened; when he suggested or exhorted, the others took action. While this was particularly true of his own extended family, the members of unrelated families in his community also heard him and responded because of his personal reputation for wisdom in leadership. In intervillage relations, too, he naturally assumed the leader's role.

Without village chiefs in the proper sense, succession was not an issue among the Upper Stalo. The respected men, however, generally selected their successors, the ones to whom they passed their family name. In most cases it was a son, grandson, or nephew. Since these persons, to qualify for the name honor, had to be upright, good, wise men, possessing as well all of the other qualifications for the name and high status, they also necessarily had the qualifications that more often than not led them to succeed their name predecessor as village leader, if the predecessor had been one. But this was not a foregone conclusion, for no leader owned his office and so none could, in the native mind, pass it on as he did his respected name and often enough his family responsibilities. (Duff 1952:82)

In addition to this informal social leadership within the village, "most [Upper Stalo] villages of any size had at least one fighting man who assumed leadership of village defence or of war-parties." Typically he was not a high prestige, upper rank person, for pacifism was one of the qualities that brought high standing in the community. The fighting was left to the few men, typically aggressive, hot-headed persons, who had been trained and had received supernatural powers for warfare. Though these men were not truly respected in the ranking sense, they were considered a necessary component of the village for its protection. Sometimes in serious intervillage squabbles, one such fighting man of one village and another from the contending community fought it out, with the decision determining the outcome of the hostilities. (Duff 1952:81-82)

The above leadership structure was that which prevailed among the Tait and presumably the Upper Stalo in general. Apparently the Chilliwack had "a slightly more formalized pattern of tribal leadership" (Duff 1952:82). Because of our commanding interest in the Chilliwack among all of the Upper Stalo, I quote Duff's brief description:

Each village had a head man, and the tribe had one main leader, . . . Everything that happened in the tribe had to be reported to the main leader. The main leader was expected to take command in wars, although there were other war leaders who could undertake raids. He was expected to be of good character and friendly with everybody. Succession was from father to son, provided that the son had the necessary personal attributes, which he nearly always had because of his training. If the leader had no sons, his position went to the best-qualified younger brother or nephew. (Duff 1952:82)

It is instructive to compare the preceding brief statement with the somewhat more expansive description of the Chilliwack leadership pattern as presented by Hill-Tout (1903:356-358) at the turn of the century. Each village, he observes, had its own leader, the head of the most important community serving also as the tribal leader. The former at least were still functioning in 1900, for he records a schedule of the then existing settlements with their individual heads. The tribal leadership--and surely therefore likewise the village "chieftainship"--"was practically hereditary," the office generally moving from father to son, occasionally to a brother or cousin. A man, however, could be "deposed" if considered to have failed in discharging his responsibilities. These consisted in overseeing the secular affairs and general welfare of the group as would a father: he was expected, for example, to appoint "times for salmon-fishing, root-gathering, and berry-picking," and to be generous and kind-hearted. They also included leading community prayers and religious observances. Selfishness and neglect of his duties were regarded as just cause for a leadership change. The decision was made by the elders and "nobles"--the principal men of the group--meeting to consider the matter and it was they who notified the head of the termination of his leadership duties. Such a decision was said to have been characteristically uncontested. Deposition, however, occurred very rarely, since leaders took their responsibilities seriously. In fact, Chilliwack tradition, according to Hill-Tout, recorded in his time only one such deposition event.

The other tribal leader, Hill-Tout states, was the "war chief." Rarely, if ever, did the secular leader "act in a military capacity"; typically he attempted to discourage men contemplating raiding forays from carrying their plans forward. Rather the fighting leader was generally selected from "among the fighting-men of the tribe of account of his superior prowess . . . in warfare." The "warriors" were men who were "fond of fighting." Others engaged in hostilities only on those rare occasions when their settlements were attacked. Faced with the urgent need for such defensive action, all men--and sometimes women--took to arms.

To the degree that these two Chilliwack descriptions, both informant-based but secured fifty years apart, intersect, they are reassuringly in substantial agreement. They differ really in only one respect: Duff states that the tribal leader expected to receive reports of significant events within the tribe and that he himself guided fighters in hostilities. Hill-Tout offers no information on the first point and expressly remarks that the tribal and war leaderships were assigned to different men. As he observes, Duff pictures a leadership arrangement that was rather more tightly structured than that presented by Hill-Tout and that

placed broader responsibilities in the hands of one person. Hill-Tout's characterization, in contrast, positions the Chilliwack generally within the Upper Stalo mold as outlined by Duff. Whether in these differences one is correct and the other inaccurate or both are essentially right for different time periods is uncertain. If the latter, Hill-Tout's summary, based on field information antedating Duff's by a half-century, would presumably be the earlier. In this instance it would be interesting--but probably unproductive at this juncture--to speculate on the changes in the underlying social context that gave rise to these leadership shifts: the population movement from the dispersed villages in the Chilliwack canyon to the more nucleated villages on the Fraser plain, increased contact with other Upper Stalo peoples (and with Whites), augmented salmon fishing at specific tribal sites as opposed to a more general use of the subsistence resources of their earlier valley country, a sharp reduction in intertribal hostilities making specialized "war" leadership largely redundant, and so on. But these data, however sketchy, suggest the possible insights that may be gained by comparing primary reports from different ethnographic sources, different time levels, and different neighboring groups, even though the information may be too fragmentary to permit extended interpretation. There is always the prospect that additional information, ethnographic and ethnohistorical, may sharpen our understanding in such situations where the questions are perceived.

Transgression and Punishment

Troublemakers were exiled, deserted, or even in extreme cases killed. Large groups could never avoid some interpersonal difficulties: "there were always one or two persons causing trouble, especially women." Sometimes two families with members who could not get along moved away to different locations: "that is how the people came to live in little bunches all over the place." Or everyone would move, leaving only the troublemaker behind. When killing was considered the only, final recourse, as when a man continued to murder others for trivial reasons, the punishment was not uncommonly accomplished with the connivance and tacit permission of his relatives, who had themselves become outraged over his unconscionable conduct. (Duff 1952:89)

Religion and the Supernatural

The relationship between people and the supernatural world was essentially a very personal one. In aboriginal times there were no deities or spirits that were concerned, either hostilely or in a protective stance, with the welfare of groups--even of single extended families. Similarly, there were no clusters of persons that paid homage to any supernatural. The concept of a supreme deity reported for the Stalo is surely a borrowing from Western theology, one that was probably introduced in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was early enough to be partially integrated into the native culture before it felt the disintegrating influence of White contact and to convince contemporary Upper Stalo that it was an aboriginal concept. (Duff 1952:97-98, 119-120)

"The most immediate supernatural beings, the most rewarding sources of supernatural experiences and powers were the individual guardian spirits," sulia (Duff 1952:97). An understanding of the native guardian spirit world is the key to a comprehension of the traditional beliefs and religious practices of the Upper Stalo.

Guardian Spirits

No roster of individual guardian spirits among the Upper Stalo or even of guardian spirit classes is recorded by Duff. Nevertheless, from his informant narratives it is plain that they were often animals (e.g., deer, grizzly bear, wolf, mink) and at least sometimes birds (e.g., owl, loon, raven), fish (e.g., sucker), reptiles (e.g., double-headed snake), insects (e.g., moth, mosquito), other invertebrates (e.g., leech), and natural phenomena (e.g., thunder, fire) (Duff 1952:99-101, 103, 104, 106, 113). These data suggest that the number and range of these supernatural beings must have been quite large.

Speaking of the Chilliwack in particular, every Chilliwack, according to Hill-Tout (1903:361-362), had one or more guardian spirits. Presumably this was true of women as well as men, though this is not clearly stated. These "helpers" were required as protection against the supernatural powers, capricious and generally malevolent, with which the people endowed "every object and agency in their environment." Through a dream or vision, these guardian supernaturals could be derived, it appears, from any "bird, beast, fish, [inanimate] object, or element," or, rarely, even from parts of these beings and objects.

Among the Upper Stalo guardian spirits were acquired in two distinctly different ways.

- (a) Through a long, rigorous quest and a dream or vision of a spirit which granted a specific power that could be used at any time. Among these tribes this was the unusual method of developing a supernatural relationship, not the common procedure as in the nearby Plateau. It was, in fact, limited to prospective shamans and in a few cases to hunters, warriors, gamblers, and the like. Important powers--like healing powers--were acquired in this manner, indeed power in practically every significant field: apparently the person experiencing the dream or vision might request a specific kind of power. Nevertheless, except for shamans and those to become the greatest warriors, very few people attempted to secure powers via this vision/dream route; the rigorous training was too much trouble, particularly since supernatural power was not necessary to become excellent hunters, fishermen, gamblers, and perhaps even warriors. Guardian spirits secured in this manner were thought to be "constant spirit partners," in the sense of being available to assist at any time during the year. (Duff 1952:97, 98, 100, 102-103, 109)

A Chilliwack tradition (Hill-Tout 1903:367-368) tells of the remarkable experiences of a Chilliwack man who went to Cultus Lake to secure his "spirit helper," an encounter with underwater "unnatural beings" which

led to his becoming an important shaman. (See Myths section below for this tale.)

The physiographic features of the lake and its immediate surroundings that made it a natural arena for serious guardian spirit quests, especially for those that earned unusual and extraordinary spiritual results, are briefly described by Wilson (1970:57-58) in his journal entry of July 2, 1859. On that occasion he rode through the "forest and prairie" and then over the high ridge that separated his Chilliwack headquarters from the "Schweltya" (now Sweltzer) River and on to the northern end of the Cultus Lake. From there he crossed to the Boundary Commission base by boat. "The lake," he wrote, "is about 3 miles long, the mountains coming straight down, the water beautifully clear and intensely cold like all other mountain lakes; . . . We found Haig [the Commission man in charge in the area] encamped on the edge of the lake . . ." In his report of March 28, 1859, Colonel Hawkins (also of the Commission) reported that Haig's camp was "at the south end of Cultus Lake, owing to 'the rocky and precipitous character of the sides of the lake'" (Stanley in Wilson 1970:57 fn. 44), thus, reasonably, placing the base for surveying and marking the international line at the closest lake point to the border and explaining why Wilson required a watercraft to reach the camp. This brief Hawkins' statement also confirms Wilson's description of the mountainous faces of the lake shore. But the essential point in this present context is that it is not surprising that guardian spirits of exceptional power were acquired among these surroundings.

- (b) Through an encounter with a guardian spirit without any quest and receiving from the spirit only a specific dance and song to be performed at the winter spirit dances. No other powers were given in such unsought encounters. This was the usual method of securing a guardian spirit link: in fact, almost everyone received at least one spirit dance-song constellation during his lifetime. These winter dance spirits were considered to be present only in winter, and gave powers that were substantially weaker than those granted to persons who underwent the rigorous guardian spirit quest. (Duff 1952:97, 103-106, 109, 111)

The guardian spirits were thought to be the same in either case, merely granting different kinds of power depending on the circumstances of the person-spirit encounter. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that in the Upper Stalo view guardian spirits could not be inherited. (Duff 1952:97, 101, 109)

Shamanism

Upper Stalo shamans (sxwəɬɛ'm)--as with a few warriors and others as exceptions--secured their special guardian spirit powers through a long, arduous quest. Although theoretically obtainable at any age, success was more probable on quests undertaken soon after the death of one's spouse. Still more promising were quests carried out during childhood, the time, apparently, when most shamans began their search for a dream or vision and the resulting supernatural powers. Children were carefully watched for an

interest in this direction and for good character, and were encouraged to go out on quests if they appeared promising. Their training was supervised by a father or grandfather if either was a shaman or, if not, by an old shaman who was paid for his assistance. (Duff 1952:97, 98, 121)

Duff's (1952:98) description of a typical Upper Stalo quest is so succinct and comprehensive that it deserves to be quoted in full.

At first the young boy would go out with the shaman, or with a brother or small group of aspirants. By the time he was about 12, however, he was expected to go out alone and train. He might go out on successive overnight vigils, returning home at dawn, or he might stay away from home several days at a time, going increasingly farther from home on each successive vigil. Coming to a lake, a stream, a waterfall, he would stay for several days, fasting the whole time. He would make himself thoroughly clean by chewing laxative bark and by tickling his throat with a stick to induce vomiting, by sweating in a sweat-house, by frequent bathing and swimming, and by rubbing his body with boughs. All night long he would sing and dance. He would sleep only when exhausted, and then try to dream of the power he wanted. When he did go home, he would observe strict continence, and would avoid everything that was impure.

Certain localities offered better chances of a successful quest than others. Lakes were particularly favored, especially those thought to be inhabited by strange, unnatural creatures (slalakums). One could request supernatural power from any such being he chanced to encounter. Some questers even climbed into grave-boxes to await a power experience. (Duff 1952:98-99)

Each quest was expected to be long and generally unsuccessful--even unsuccessful every time. It was customary, in fact, for the searcher to see nothing on his lonely trips until he was 25 or 30 years old, sometimes not before he was 40. If a boy should receive some power in his teens, he kept the fact secret, continuing to undertake periodic quests for more and different powers. In any event, he normally did not use his powers until about 30 years old. (Duff 1952:99)

Few girls, at least among the Tait tribelet, trained for shamanistic powers: according to Duff's informants, they could not because they were not allowed to be alone before marriage and after marriage were "unclean" and too busy (Duff 1952:99). This, however, seems to me to be no more than a partial explanation, for, unless the shamanistic quest was restricted to high-rank families, commoner girls, less carefully chaperoned, should have had opportunities for power searches and, one might think, an even higher motivation for obtaining power and the success that it brought. Among the Chilliwack and other Upper Stalo groups, Duff notes, "some negligent parents allowed girls out alone; perhaps they could train." In any event, it is certain that there were very few female shamans among even the Chilliwack. Duff hypothesizes that most women shamans probably acquired "their power in less usual ways; for example, a quest later in life, through illness, or by inheritance." (Duff 1952:99)

The culmination of the power quest was a true dream, a vision when wide awake, or a "supernatural experience of fixed form. The guardian spirit appeared in human guise, instructed the individual, then revealed its true identity [by turning into its proper form as a bear, sucker, or whatever] and departed." (Duff 1952:99)

A shaman was able to secure additional power by meeting a slalakum, the unnatural but non-supernatural creature already mentioned. While encountering such a being caused serious illness in a lay person, a shaman could request power from it. If it consented, it assumed human form, talked to the shaman, and then reassumed its actual shape as it departed. (Duff 1952:99)

Occasionally shamanistic power was acquired in a strictly happenstance meeting with supernaturals in their visible guise: e.g., as an animal. Or by becoming very sick, the details of which are not described by Duff. Or when, badly hurt by a wounded grizzly, the bear appeared to him when unconscious and granted him power. Or when after a period of training, a boy received power (without its accompanying guardian spirit) from a shaman father who "blew" his power into him. (Duff 1952:100)

With the Upper Stalo guardian-spirit quest pattern described and Duff's few casual remarks relating to the Chilliwack before us, such specific Chilliwack data as Hill-Tout (1903:361) provides may be reviewed. To acquire his powers, a Chilliwack shaman, invariably a man,

. . . usually underwent a long and secluded training in some lonely spot in the forest or on the margin of some lake. This training consisted in prolonged fasts, trances, body washing and exercises, accompanied by invocations of the Mysteries. His 'medicine,' or 'power,' it is believed, was bestowed upon him by his guiding spirit or spirits, who appear to him and instruct him in dreams and visions

Not only the shamans, but every other [Chilliwack] Indian, had one or more guiding or protecting 'spirit.'

These fragmentary data suggest no appreciable difference from the general Upper Stalo quest pattern except at two points:

- (a) Hill-Tout indicates that Chilliwack women never undertook the search for shamanistic power and so never became shamans. Duff's information relating specifically to the Chilliwack is in mild disagreement.
- (b) Hill-Tout might be understood to suggest that persons not destined for a shaman's role secured their guardian powers in the same manner as did the shaman. Duff indicates that this was not the case.

Without additional pertinent data, it is impossible to judge between these two data sets regarding these two information matters.

Powers acquired by the Upper Stalo in the spirit quest were usually quite specific and related in some way to the characteristics of the guardian spirit in tangible form. Curing powers, for example, were not broadly such,

but were narrowly limited in their scope: e.g., to the curing of illness by sucking, a skill awarded by sucker and leech.

During their training quests shamans also secured secondary sidepowers. To illustrate, the ability to see and converse with souls and ghosts, which made shamans the logical ones to supervise funeral ceremonies. Or the power to see what was transpiring in distant places and to foretell the future as the size of coming salmon runs or berry harvests. (Duff 1952:97, 100-101)

Shamans kept secret the identity of their guardian spirits and their supernatural powers until they began practicing. Then there was little point in attempting to protect these hitherto concealed facts, for people could easily guess them from the shaman's professional actions, as their method of curing. Shamans were felt to maintain some vague personal relationship with their guardian spirits, in some cases restricting their own behavior and in others providing them with a certain leverage over the actions of the spirit. Shamans appear to have been prohibited from--or at least cautious about--killing their spirit animal. And to some degree they were thought to be able to summon or persuade their guardian spirit to do their bidding: to get, for instance, a grizzly to attack a specific person or thunder to produce a thunder-storm to someone's disadvantage. (Duff 1952:101)

Guardian spirits were generally not represented in paintings or carvings, although Duff's informants recalled one case of such a carving on a house post and another in which ancient, small human figures carved of stone in the round were thought to contain some of a shaman's power. (Duff 1952:101)

Shamanistic contests in which their powers were set to fighting one another occurred but evidently infrequently. In Chilliwack country these sometimes took the form of friendly competitions between two shamans attempting the same task, as sucking a painted red spot through a tree trunk from one side to the other. (Duff 1952:101)

Status and Role of the Shaman

Owing to their special supernatural powers, Upper Stalo shamans typically became important and respected.

Their abilities to cause and cure disease, to act as intermediaries between men and ghosts, to tell what was happening in distant places and what was to happen in the future, and to help out in wars brought them high respect as well as more tangible wealth. Most shamans were successful fishermen and hunters; most obtained several winter-dance spirit songs; and their general excellence in these fields was considered to be largely a result of their familiarity with spirit matters. Shamans were likely to be wealthy men, and wealth had implications of high status. (Duff 1952:101-102)

In addition to curing illnesses of supernatural generation, Chilliwack shamans conducted the mortuary rites. (Hill-Tout 1903:361)

There was, however, among the Upper Stalo, no class or grouping of shamans; rather they operated as individuals and saw themselves as such. They were, however, not the leaders in all religious ceremonies. Nor were they accorded any special consideration in their funerals, normally given a special burial, or particularly feared after death though they might be in life. (Duff 1952:102)

Illness and Curing

Among the Upper Stalo, illness associated with the supernatural domain came about in two quite different ways: by soul loss and by object intrusion. These ailments were cured--or at least attended to--by shamans. In addition, wounds and illnesses resulted from obvious natural causes. These health problems were addressed both by shamans and through home, lay remedies. (Duff 1952:97, 112-114)

Chilliwack shamans, Hill-Tout (1903:361) reports, were concerned only with inner, concealed ailments resulting from spells or "enchantment" generated by "maleficent and mysterious agencies." They were not treaters of wounds and similar natural bodily injuries. This latter information is in obvious conflict with the above general Upper Stalo data of Duff.

Shamans in the Upper Stalo tribes were paid for their services. "Good" shamans worked first and were paid when their efforts were completed whatever a person or family believed appropriate. However, some shamans--by implication less honorable and less well thought-of by the community--refused to expend their efforts and exert their skills until a satisfactory fee had been agreed upon. (Duff 1952:114)

The three forms of illness and their associated curing procedures may now be examined:

- (a) Illness through Soul Loss. Among the Upper Stalo, a person's soul might abandon his body when he was visiting some strange, "bad," or unnatural locality and remain there. Or it might be "shocked out of him" by a sudden, frightening encounter with an unnatural being (slalakum), rendering him unconscious for some hours. Or it might be stolen by a shaman either to cause illness or to compel the person to do the shaman's bidding. In light of Elmendorf's (1952:110, fn. 15) finding that soul theft by the dead as an illness cause was present from the Northwest Coast (including the Gulf of Georgia tribes) south to Oregon and likewise in the Plateau (e.g., among the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap), it is surprising that Duff's field research failed to pick this up as an additional soul "disease" cause among the Upper Stalo. In any event, to prevent death it had to be recovered by a shaman and restored to the person without much delay. (Duff 1952:97, 112)

In recapturing an errant soul, the shaman, summoned for the purpose, first informed the ill person of the circumstances of his soul loss. He then covered his head with a basket or cloth, and danced and sang his personal power song, accompanied by the spectators who drummed as well as sang his song with him. Through this song he called his curing spirit to him and presumably dispatched it after the missing soul though

Duff omits this detail. According to Elmendorf's (1952:112) ethnographic data, the recovery was probably sometimes on the trail to the dead, which was the belief elsewhere in the southern Northwest Coast and in the northern Plateau, or in the land of the dead itself, which was the theory in Gulf of Georgia area, in part of Western Washington, and in the Plateau section of the Fraser River. In any case, to return to Duff's information, the shaman seized the returning soul between his palms and blew it back into the owner's head. Sometimes to complete the treatment, the restoration of the soul was followed by the administering of plant medicines by the family. (Duff 1952:101, 112-113)

Chilliwack shamans, Hill-Tout (1903:361) reports, had the power to recover a lost soul or spirit, which, leaving the body, caused "sickness and fainting, and, if not restored in time, death." Curing was achieved by the shaman going "apart by himself," crouching down, covering his head and shoulders with a mat, and going into a trance. During this trance his own soul was thought to leave his body and go in search of the patient's absent soul or spirit. In its essentials, these data closely parallel Duff's general information for the Upper Stalo group and clarify the point about the shaman dispatching his personal soul in the search concerning which Duff is silent.

- (b) Illness through Intrusion. A person in an Upper Stalo tribelet could be made ill by a hostile shaman either for some reason of his own or for hire. By some method not described by Duff, he bestowed "power" to a bit of stick, bird's beak, little bell, short thread, "or anything" and "shot" in into the person to be harmed. A cure was affected by another shaman--one, for example, who had obtained his power from a sucker fish--who removed the foreign object or objects. Typically, after bringing his power close to him by his song, he advised the patient of the cause of his ailment, sucked blood from him, and finally the illness-causing agent itself, all without breaking the skin, leaving a mark, or hurting the patient. Extracted, the object was cut up and burned to prevent it from flying back to the malignant shaman. (Duff 1952:97, 113)

Concerning ailments of this type among the Chilliwack, it is only reported that their shamans had the ability to drive "out a disease caused by a magic spell or by witchcraft." To effect this, they beat a stick or board, sang, and danced around the patient. (Hill-Tout 1903:361)

If the Upper Stalo recognized an intrusive unfriendly spirit as a possible sickness agent, as was the case among nearby groups both on the coast and in the Plateau, Duff's (1952:114) informants failed to mention this fact.

- (c) Illness of Natural or Uncertain Causation. Wounds, even serious abdominal openings, were cured by some Upper Stalo shamans magically with the assistance of their guardian spirits. Other injuries--as a crushed chest with blood filling the cavity--and the accidental ingestion of harmful things, as sharp objects caught in the throat--were treated by shamans sucking the blood or foreign object out. Localized

ailments of uncertain genesis were cured by shamans blowing their spirit power into the person, which drove the sickness away. (Duff 1952:113)

"Minor indispositions" were relieved in the Upper Stalo tribes not by shamans but by recourse to the native materia medica of herbs, bark, roots, and the like, concerning which some persons were especially knowledgeable. Colds and other minor infirmities were treated by sweating in the sweat lodge. "Bad blood" was caused to escape by shallow-stroke lancing with a flint blade set in a cleft-stick handle so it barely protruded. (Duff 1952:114)

It has been observed already that, according to Hill-Tout (1903:361), Chilliwack shamans were not involved, as were those of Upper Stalo groups in general, in treating these ailments of natural or indefinite causation. An historical instance of relieving a very bad case of mosquito bites in a nonshamanistic manner is reported by Charles Wilson, who, like other members of the British Boundary Commission, were terribly afflicted by these insects in late July of 1859. After weeks on the lower Chilliwack River and being all but terrorized by the mosquitoes day and night, he left for Chilliwack Lake in part to seek deliverance from them in this high mountain environment. On July 27, heading up to the lake, he encamped along the Chilliwack River just upstream from the canyon mouth, finding the mosquitoes already reduced in numbers. But his "mosquito bites had turned into boils & riding was excessively painful. I must . . . [mention] the kindness of an Indian chief & his family who were fishing near our halt. I . . . went to have a chat with them; the old chief's wife took compassion on my wretched state & having asked my permission, they brought out the paint bag & painted my face & hands with vermilion & certainly the relief was very great; . . ." (Wilson 1970:63)

Guardian Spirit Song and Dance

Spirit song and dance complexes could be obtained by anyone irrespective of sex, age, wealth, and status. Most old persons had them. Shamans, too, possessed these song-dance pairs as well as their personal curing songs, demonstrating that the two systems were separate and distinct. (Duff 1952:106)

The song and dance of supernatural origin could be secured in four different ways, none involving the onerous spirit quest.

- (a) A song and dance pair was given a person in an unsolicited seizure during the winter dancing season, the pair having to be fully learned in a set of follow-up procedures. This was probably the most common method of acquiring a winter song and dance. Indeed, anyone wishing to secure a set could expect to obtain one in this way.

The spirit came to the person in a dream or, it was believed, actually entered him causing a seizure. It taught him a song and dance, which the person evidently performed in his dream or possessed state. This encounter was usually followed by a training or initiation "run" in the woods, accompanied by two persons of the same sex. During this "run" he

received still another song or the complete version of that which he had heard during his dream or seizure. (Duff 1952:103-104)

This stereotypic Upper Stalo pattern apparently varied somewhat among the Chilliwack. To abbreviate Duff's detailed account received from a Chilliwack informant, it typically took the following form:

The person dreamed his first song and sang it in his sleep. Hearing him, others were aware of what was happening. During the following four days he received very little food and water, the water in a cup with holes in the bottom or in a vessel from which he was compelled to drink through a bird wing-bone "straw." From time to time during these four days he sang his song in a choked and almost unintelligible manner; listening, other people attempted to learn it too.

On the fourth day he was dressed, painted red or black depending on his song, and tied in the middle of a long strap. With two men--or women if the person was a female--grasping the two ends of the strap, he was led into the forest on his "run" to receive the rest of his song or another different song. Guided by his two companions, to keep him from barging into trees, he moved at a run, then a walk and finally, nearing the tree, rock bluff, or stream where he was to receive his complete or new song, on weak and rubbery legs. Standing before the place, he at last sang his song, while his companions listened and learned it also.

Led back to his village, he visited each dwelling, still guided by his two "handlers," and received something from each house. He was then taken to the structure where--I take it--the winter dance was in progress. As he approached, the people started to drum. He entered backward, made four counter-clockwise turns around the room, still being held by the strap, and sat down. He was given a five-foot cane with four strings of deer hoofs and several goat wool strands tied near the top. (I assume from other evidence that his spirit was thought to enter this cane, which likewise served as a rattle.) He sang his new song, helped by those who "ran" with him and gradually by the entire audience. With cedar bark strips tied by his aides around his ankles, his legs just below his knees, and his waist and with a crown of his same material, he began to perform his dance. For eight days he had to eat alone, facing the wall. (Duff 1952:74, 103-104, 105)

Even persons not wanting this supernatural attention occasionally experienced it. Sometimes such people resisted it, at times successfully. Because it relates to the Chilliwack, a case of this kind, which happened to Duff's informant, seems worth noting.

One winter night a few days after the death of his sister's small son, he heard a scratching along the corner of his house. He looked out into the moonlight and saw a huge

manlike creature standing in the snow about 10 yards away. It was a se'sxač (giant [Sasquatch]) covered with long bushy hair. He closed the door. When he did, he began to hear songs, but he fought them off.

The following night his brother felt his house shake. "The door opened and this creature came into the lighted kitchen. My brother had a fit in which a song came to him." Apparently he acquired a song and dance from this being which he later performed as though they had been guardian spirit derived.

Once a person has one song and dance pair, he might obtain others during later winter dancing seasons, even as many as two or three in one season. (Duff 1952:104-105)

- (b) Spirit songs and dances were given persons by old dancers. Sometimes these were bestowed in generosity when a man, for some reason, failed to obtain supernatural power on his own. But generally, apparently, they were forced on a person against his will, sometimes via a seizure, as punishment for a slight, a mocking, or some other untoward action to which the old man took offense. Among the Chilliwack, at any rate, the affronted individual at times used his power rattle-stick as a club to force acceptance of the song. If the person so much as grunted or whimpered, he had lost, had acquired the song-dance complex against his will, and was compelled to commence the four-day training period. (Duff 1952:103, 105)
- (c) A song and dance pair was acquired in a dream at any time of the year. In this dream one "saw" a person--actually a supernatural--singing and dancing and then, on leaving, turning into his nonspiritual shape: e.g., a moth in one case. In this way a person learned his guardian spirit song and dance and acquired the dream-being as his supernatural helper. (Duff 1952:103, 105)
- (d) A song and dance complex was sometimes secured, at any season of the year, by a person walking alone in the forest. He heard a song coming from a tree or other natural object, learned it, and used it at the winter dance ceremony. It is unclear whether this spirit experience included a visual component. (Duff 1952:103, 105)

The Upper Stalo classified these encounters with the supernatural world into two categories that were evidently clear to them: into guardian spirit (sulia) experiences and into those that lacked this component. Sulia encounters included dreams or visions culminating a shaman's quest, song-dance dreams in which a spirit was viewed in human shape, performing a song and dance until the person learned them, and seizures during the winter dancing season in which a person received his song. While people attempted, at least theoretically, to keep concealed the identity of their spirit helpers from whom they had gained their songs and dances, this could not be done for long: the facts were too evident from the words of the songs and the miming actions in the dances. On the other hand, non-sulia experiences, in which guardian spirits were secured in only a very limited sense, included those in which power was acquired from an unnatural being (slalakum) or a song and dance from an old dancer, a spirit song while out on a "run," or a

song from a forest tree or other natural object. In these last two situations, supernaturals were plainly involved as the causative agent. (Duff 1952:105-106)

Apparently, then, to be a sulia occasion, a spirit in the shape of a "human" had to appear to a person, perform a song and dance until learned by him, and finally change into an animal or some other non-human form as it departed. It had, in short, to be actually "seen." In the non-sulia experiences there appears to have been no visual encounter and no power secured other than the possession of the song and dance. (Duff 1952:103, 106)

Little is known concerning the details of these spirit songs and dances, for they were no longer part of the living Upper Stalo culture for some decades before Duff's time. They were said, however, to have been all different. Moreover, all songs, some of which had words however few and repetitive, were all owned. While the owner was alive, no one else could sing it, except when accompanying him. This exclusive right of performance was protected, at least on occasion, by hiring a shaman to make the offender pay by falling ill. The owner sang his song not only in a religious or ceremonial context--during the winter spirit dances--but often in summer just for pleasure. Songs could not be given to others nor inherited by others. After the owner's death, on the other hand, they became public property and could be sung by anyone for pleasure. (Duff 1952:106)

Winter Spirit Ceremony

The most important public religious ceremony of the Upper Stalo was the winter spirit ritual when people performed their individual guardian spirit song and dance. This season lasted about three months, beginning and closing earlier among the upstream Upper Stalo than farther down the river. During this season spirit dances occurred almost continually in one village or another. (Duff 1952:103, 107)

The dance costumes evidently were not particularly elaborate and varied somewhat among the several tribelets. In some, a mountain-goat wool blanket was worn and deer hoof rattles on ankles, knees, and wrists. Among the Chilliwack, dancers were not allowed to wear the hoof rattles, four on ankles and knees, until they had danced for four years, and, in fact, may not have used them at all until quite recently, when they may have been borrowed from the salt-water Cowichan. (Duff 1952:107)

Some dances were small gatherings of relatives and friends in a family's semisubterranean lodge--in an above-ground cedar lodge among groups below the Chilliwack--with those in attendance helping the man sing his song and drumming as he danced. The host supplied the food and sometimes even paid them for their attendance and assistance. Another man might invite the group to a ceremony in his dwelling the following night. An so on. (Duff 1952:107)

Larger meetings occurred in large cedar-plank longhouses, which were used as well for potlatches and summer dwellings. In this case, a man and his family hunted and fished for several months before hosting such a large

dance, since he had to accumulate food, often with contributions from his friends. From nearby villages he invited as many people as his food resources would allow. In large gatherings people sat around the house, separated according to their village. "One person became possessed and danced at a time, but everybody helped by singing and drumming." Generally in performing they took their turn in order around the room; but occasionally a person became inspired out of seating sequence, being stimulated by a song resembling his own. It must be in this context that Duff (1952:107) reports that, when a power entered a person, he was forced to dance wherever he was at the time, under penalty of serious illness or, if the spirit was a strong one, even death. For Duff intimates that supernatural possession, followed by singing and dancing, was restricted to the winter dance season.

Often the dance host and others distributed presents in honor of some family member as a part of the winter dance. This, however, was not considered to be a potlatch inasmuch as, in general, no return gifts were expected. The closest approximation of a true potlatch occurred when on uncommon occasions valuables were given to a specific person with the understanding of a later return gift. On the other hand, a true potlatch was sometimes held--possibly only among Lower Stalo groups--in conjunction with--though not as a part of--a winter spirit dance. In these events food was prepared and served by hired people, not by the host and his family and friends. (Duff 1952:87-88, 97, 108)

Clairvoyants

The term "clairvoyant" seems a bit closer to the mark for the Upper Stalo se'uwa than Duff's term "fortune-teller," for it covers a broader range of their activities. Yet it is not perfect as the following ghost data reveal.

The se'uwa of the Upper Stalo--the Pilalt specifically--had supernatural powers, but these were inborn, not acquired through quests, training, or inheritance. They could see ghosts better than shamans, find drowned bodies and lost articles, see events taking place far off, and foresee future events and prophesy their occurrence. Most of these persons were women. They are specifically reported by Duff as having been present among the Chilliwack. (Duff 1952:97, 100, 114)

These Chilliwack "sorcerers" (yeu'wa, as Hill-Tout [1903:361, 364, 401] writes the term), both men and women, had a broad range of functions, as their counterparts had among the Pilalt. They were thought to have a "mystic language of their own." They were paid with gifts of blankets to injure an enemy. To achieve this objective, they washed their hands in water at sundown, repeating meanwhile the name of the person to be harmed. If the animosity were of moderate intensity, the victim fell into fits and had black spots appear on his body; if great, the person probably drowned or hanged himself. In an alternative procedure, "sorcerers" secured some bit of clothing or other belonging of the person to be damaged and uttered "mystic words over it." Again with blanket gifts, they were "commonly employed by the relatives of a deceased person" to persuade ghosts to leave and not trouble the survivors further.

They were present at the ceremonial bathing of the relatives and friends of the deceased on the fourth day after burial, and when the mourners were bathing they would go through their ceremonies, such as washing their hands and blowing water from their mouths. They did this to drive the sickness of the deceased away from the village and to send the ghost of the dead to some unfriendly settlement to cause the death of their enemies there.

Among the Pilalt, these "sorcerers" were still actively functioning as late as 1900, though whether this was likewise true of the Chilliwack is not stated by Hill-Tout.

Controllers of Magical Formulae

Spells (šiwil) were memorized incantations or occasionally songs with words in a strange, unknown language which, if managed properly and repeated verbatim, could magically cause good or ill by their own power alone. Thus they belonged to the supernatural world, but spirits, whether favorable disposed or otherwise, were not involved in any manner. No training was required to receive these formulae, inasmuch as they were obtained through inheritance. Nevertheless, a certain amount of training and level of purity were thought necessary to use them.

There appear to have been considerable differences in their form and typical uses among the various Upper Stalo tribelets and perhaps among persons possessing them within a single group. For example, one person might have several different spells with different functions; or a single formula with minor variations for different uses; or one spell with two parts, a good and an evil.

Although all of Duff's narrative examples involved males as active users of these formulae, it is plain that women, at least sometimes, were likewise the owners and employers of their own magical incantations. (Duff 1952:97, 115, 116)

Spells could be used in innumerable ways. To illustrate with Duff's specific cases. They could:

- Make very large, fighting sturgeon give up their struggle.
- Make a specific little plant bring success to a fisherman when it was tied to his nets or even cure sickness.
- Bring success to a hunter, even kill animals outright. In one case an old Chilliwack man, hunting mountain goats without luck, spoke his spell and at once "found six goats around the next rock."
- Be used to affect humans both for good and for evil: to cure certain sicknesses or, on the other hand, to cause incurable illnesses, as for revenge or in war.

- Be employed, for a fee, to part married couples, to bring estranged husbands and wives together again, or to make a person irresistibly attractive to another.
- Make a young man or a horse run swiftly in races. (Duff 1952:102, 115)

In many cases--possibly in all though Duff does not say so--the outward expression of a formula was accompanied by the necessary use of some object, as in certain of the above instances, and by some behavioral act, as in a four-time bathing in the young man racer instance. These points are made clear in a specific Chilliwack case in which an old Chilliwack man, bag-netting sturgeon from a canoe unsuccessfully in spite of his spell, changed his fortune by landing, bathing and massaging himself with conifer boughs, acts which were thought to purify him. (Duff 1952:115)

A spell was kept secret until its owner was about to die. Then he selected one child in the family who, he believed, could be trusted to use it for good and taught it carefully to him. The recipient employed it only after he became at least 30 years old. He found it gaining power as he grew older, even until very late in life--contrary to the experience of shamans with their power--and so his use of it in the service of others in increasing demand. (Duff 1952:115, 116)

Owing to their power to bring practical results in so many of life's domains, these formulae supplemented or were an alternative to seeking guardian spirit power among the Upper Stalo. Supernatural spirit power, which was atypical among the Upper Stalo peoples, was both more restrictive and in one form much more onerous to secure among the Stalo than in other tribal groups of the general region. As Duff (1952:116) puts the matter: "A man who owned a šiwil which ensured good hunting had no need to train for a guardian spirit which would make him a good hunter. All he needed a spirit for was to give him a spirit song [for use in the winter ceremonial]."

Prophets

In Duff's view, prophets probably existed among the Upper Stalo in precontact times, "perhaps individuals with the ability to see and hear what was going on in distant places, to perform miracles and cure." If so, they possessed, it seems to me, at least some of the powers of the traditional clairvoyant and shaman. The fact that the Stalo had a native term for this group (a'lia) different from those for clairvoyant (se'uwa) and shaman (sxwəle'm) suggests to me that, as Duff proposes, prophets were in fact part of the pre-White culture base and that they were in early days distinguished from clairvoyant and shaman. (Duff 1952:119, 121-122)

Among the Chilliwack, "soothsayers" (o'lla), to use Hill-Tout's (1903:361, 364) term, were invariably men. They treated wounds and similar visible injuries, these being of natural and comprehended causation rather than of supernatural genesis. More important were their functions of interpreting dreams and visions and of reading omens. They alone prepared the dead for burial and protected the living from the ghosts of the dead, which nightly haunted cemeteries and with which they alone could communicate.

They likewise played a part "in the puberty and other social customs of the tribe."

These data are generally consistent with the preceding generalized Upper Stalo summary of Duff and detail additional functions, at least for the Chilliwack, not noted by Duff.

With the appearance of the first Christian influence, Upper Stalo prophets adopted some elements of the new religion, fusing them with certain features of the traditional religion, and became proselytisers of their new doctrines. Two such persons are recalled for the Upper Stalo, neither, however, Chilliwack. These had visions. In one case it was of persons representing God who instructed him in details of a new worship structure--kneeling, praying, making the sign of the cross, and so on--and informing him of the imminent arrival of domestic animals and religious figures dressed in black. (Duff 1952:98, 121-122) In Upper Stalo belief, these prophets and their visions occurred in precontact times. Duff, to the contrary, believes that the first of the two prophets recalled by the people experienced his vision about 1840. Certain it is that the Upper Stalo were rapidly converted to Christianity through contact with the Hudson's Bay personnel at Fort Langley and with Catholic missionaries who entered the area in 1841. (Duff 1952:121-122)

Souls and Ghosts

Every Upper Stalo person possessed a single soul. In sleep it might leave the body temporarily without ill effect, wandering around, "seeing other places and meeting other souls and ghosts of other people, resulting in dreams." But if it left the body when awake and failed to return (or, I presume, failed to come back before a dreaming person awoke), sickness resulted. Then, if not recovered through the offices of a shaman, who could "recognize and converse with the soul, catch it in his hands, and return it to the owner's body through the head," eventual death was the inevitable consequence. Leaving the body permanently at death, the soul became a ghost. The treatment of the ghost of a person immediately after his demise and in the mourning ceremonies that followed has already been described (see Death, Burial, and Mourning section). (Duff 1952:97, 112, 116, 117)

In Upper Stalo belief, according to Duff's informants, there was no land of the dead to which souls or ghosts went. For a time after death, the ghost traveled around by night and returned to the corpse at dawn. It was this nighttime activity pattern that allowed those shamans and clairvoyants who had the power to see and converse with ghosts and to locate missing bodies of drowned or murdered people; sometimes they merely watched where the ghost went toward dawn. (Duff 1952:97, 112-113, 116-117)

On rare occasions laymen saw ghosts, especially those of dead troublemakers. Seeing them did the person no harm but actually touching them was thought to cause paralysis, at least in that part of the body which had made the contact. Ghosts could be driven away from a dwelling by lighting cedar boughs and brushing and slapping the walls with these. (Duff 1952:117)

Ghosts were also sometimes seen by Upper Stalo shamans in training, the sight rendering them unconscious for a time. Occasionally, however, they were able to shoot them with an arrow or strike them with a cane before losing their senses. In such cases they found, on awaking, a human bone--e.g., a shoulder blade or rib--lying where the ghost had been. (Duff 1952:117)

Concerning the spiritual entities associated with a living person, Hill-Tout (1903:364 fn. 2) was able to learn very little from the Chilliwack and what he heard was confusing, perhaps, as he himself observes, because the people themselves had no clear and uniform ideas about this matter. As he understood the situation, each individual was thought to have a spiritual being that was visible only to "soothsayers" (o'līa). This was fond of earth-life and, on the death of the person, continued to be attracted to the latter's former possessions--clothing, utensils, etc.--which explained to Hill-Tout why these objects were placed with or about the corpse on burial. The person's spirit, on the other hand, was the concern of the shaman and, on death, went to the hereafter.

Unnatural Beings

"Up in the mountains, deep in the forests, and in certain bodies of water, lived all manner of strange unnatural creatures" (slalakum). While anything very unusual and unnatural that might be seen was referred to by this term, it was also employed to refer to a number of specific creatures with definite form and characteristics. "In former days the sight of one of these powerful supernatural creatures was apt to cause soul-loss sickness, unconsciousness, and an upset stomach." (Duff 1952:97, 117-118)

"Certain places, usually bodies of water, were known to be the homes slalakums or to have . . . [generalized evil powers] of their own." In one lake, for example, strange men were seen paddling canoes only to disappear, "water-spouts and large waves were frequent, and sometimes the sound of beating hoofs was heard." Of the specific lakes mentioned by Duff, only Cultus Lake, immediately south of Vedder Crossing, and one other noted below were in or near the traditional Chilliwack territory. Because of their awesome properties, these localities were favorable places for shamans to train. (Duff 1952:99, 118)

The best known of these strange creatures in Upper Stalo country were the following, each with its own name, a generic term where more than a single being was known:

- The lake-dwelling, double-headed, snake-like creature. Because it describes just such a frightful being within the Chilliwack borders, the following Chilliwack account is particularly interesting in its detail:

[A two-headed snake-like animal] comes to the surface of small lakes and shoots a head out each end. Its body is a black sphere about 4 feet in diameter. The heads are round, about 6 inches in diameter, with round ears and red circles on the top. The farther out it sticks its heads, the smaller the central body part gets. It makes a noise like a duck, but

much louder. One was seen in lali'c, a little lake on Lihumitson [Liumchen] Creek (a tributary of the Chilliwack River). If you saw that animal in the water, you daren't turn around, because if you did you'd keep twisting until you were dead. (Duff 1952:97, 117-118)

- A cannibal woman, short and stout, who lived in a cave in Tait country. She gathered up children, pitched their eyes closed, carried them home in a big basket, and ate them. (Duff 1952:97, 117-118)
- An underwater bear that lived in a bay of the Fraser River in Tait territory. Seeing it caused sickness and even death. (Duff 1952:117-118)
- Huge serpents that lived near small lakes. (Duff 1952:117-118)
- Hairy giants (sɛ'sxəʃ: sasquatch), "men covered with dark fur, more than 8 feet tall, who leave footprints about 20 inches long." These awesome beings, usually sighted singly, are said to have been seen repeatedly in the early days, then not for a time, and finally began to be sighted once more about 1935. Typically, they were seen on moonlight nights, but were known to steal women as wives in broad daylight, as when, unprotected, they were out picking berries. What were reported as actual sighting experiences--even of women who, stolen, managed to escape at the price of being abnormal in some manner for some time afterward--were told to Duff by an informant, aged about 50 in 1949-1950, who had a friend whose grandmother experienced such a capture. If the person avoided falling unconscious--a frequent response--and fled, the creature followed, walking and yet keeping pace, for some distance. Usually in old times even seeing a sɛ'sxəʃ resulted in an illness of some kind. Sometimes these being raided storehouses for the dried fish; at other times, when carrying women away from a village, they killed them. (Duff 1952:97, 117-119)

Creatures similar or even identical to the above slalakum are reported ethnographically to have been widely seen among other Northwest Coast tribes. (Duff 1952:117-119)

Diversions

Art

There are next to no ethnographic data relating to forms of graphic and plastic art among the Upper Stalo. Geometric designs, however, were woven onto the exterior surface of baskets by the uncommon technique of imbrication (see Technology section) (Duff 1952:57). And representations of a man's guardian spirit were painted or carved on the posts of his dwelling, on his family's corpse box, and on his personal belongings (Hill-Tout 1903:363).

Carved representations on mortuary structures were noted by Simon Fraser on his journey of exploration down the Fraser in late June, 1808. He first saw them at the downrivermost village of the Lower Thompson, located at the mouth of Spuzzum Creek, and then saw them again at the Upper Stalo (i.e.,

Tait) camp in the vicinity of Yale. Because it helps to clarify his later brief Upper Stalo observation, Fraser's description of the Lower Thompson carvings is included here, though out of proper tribal context.

[The Thompson] tombs [are] of a curious construction
[They] are superior to anything of the kind I ever saw among the savages. They are about fifteen feet long and of the form of a chest of drawers. Upon the boards and posts are carved beasts and birds, in a curious but rude manner, yet pretty well proportioned. These monuments must have cost the workmen much time and labour, as they were destitute of proper tools for the execution of such a performance. (Fraser 1960:97-98)

Concerning the carvings at the Upper Stalo camp of 150 persons, Fraser (1960:100) comments that the posts of a newly constructed "tomb" were carved with "rudely finished"--in Masson's (Fraser 1889:194) edition, "neatly finished"--sculptures. These were presumably more or less like those he had seen the previous day further upstream, but this is not made explicit. In this instance, however, the supporting "posts . . . [evidently including the sculptures were] covered all over with bright shells"

The Chilliwack also painted and carved "family crests" on the outside of their mortuary boxes, figures representing bears, mountain goats, beaver, and the like. Near these sepulchers human figures, roughly carved in wood, were sometimes placed. (Hill-Tout 1903:363, 364-365)

The customary representational painting style of the large grave figures and house posts of the upper (i.e., middle) Fraser area, according to Wingert (1949a:77, 86-89), extended downriver to the Gulf of Georgia. This style was executed in historical days in monochromatic red or black, though it may have been in some cases polychromatic in earlier times. It was related to the traditional painting in the Puget Sound sector rather than to the art of the coastal regions farther north (Wingert 1949a:77, 86-89). Wingert (1949a:89-91), in fact, sees the upper (middle) Fraser area as having exerted an important influence on the development of at least one art style of both the Gulf of Georgia region and the lower Columbia, in this latter case via the inland route down the Columbia.

In his survey of the wood carving art of the Salishan-speaking groups of the Fraser drainage and of the coastal strip from Vancouver Island and adjacent mainland south to the Columbia River, Wingert (1949a, 1949b) studied all of the ethnographic specimens from the region identifiable in museum and other collections. On the basis of this research he characterized these Salishan tribes as having developed a less complicated and diversified wood carving style than that of the coastal groups farther north in British Columbia and Alaska but one that differed significantly from the classic sculptural art of those people. It evolved from a fine Salishan tradition of woodwork in cedar, using shell, stone, and bone tools. (Wingert 1949b:1, 2, 4)

Among these Salishan groups, Wingert recognizes five "major art areas." One of these, that of interest in this present study, was the "Straits of Georgia area," comprised of the coastal area at the mouth of the Fraser and of the lower and middle Fraser Valley up to and including the Yale sector.

The art of this region was, he holds, stylistically distinct from that of Western Washington, Puget Sound, Vancouver Island, and the Upper Fraser River, the other four of his carving art provinces. (Wingert 1949b:2, 63, 85-91)

An important art object--art at least from a Western cultural perspective--among the groups of the middle and lower Fraser was the *sxwaixwe* mask, the use of which was a hereditary right. As described by Wingert (1949a:87-88), they "were elaborately carved, with protruding eyes, pendant tongues, and surmounting bird or animal heads; and are profusely painted in red, black, white, and, sometimes, blue." According to Marian Smith's Chilliwack informant, masks were "painted with one's own paint" which "made the mask one's own" (in Wingert 1949b:15, fn. 39).

To his above description Wingert elsewhere adds more impressionistically:

Largeness of scale and treatment dominates the handling of [the] parts [of these masks]; while the expression results from the organization of the separately carved elements into an active, dynamic design. All of these elements correspond to objects in nature, although the masks are not realistic. In general, the style is elaborate, emotional, dynamic. (Wingert 1949b:106-107)

The carved and painted designs expressed a personal encounter with a supernatural being, which conferred some measure of supernatural protection and the right to fashion and use the mask. Typically, they were, however, prestige, not religious, objects, worn on social occasions as at marriages, potlatches, and when receiving visitors. The extent to which these and other more special functions were served in their wearing is outlined more specifically in the section that follows.

The above brief descriptions by Wingert of lower and middle Fraser sculptural painting and mask carvings appear detailed and factual. But are they? The answer is to be found in his American Indian Sculpture (1949b) volume. The problem relates directly to the tribal or areal affiliation of the corpus of sculptures he had at his disposal for study and from which he derived his generalizations and interareal conclusions. He remarks:

The specimens of wood carvings collected from this [large] Salish [coastal] area [from Vancouver Island to the Columbia River mouth] provide more than adequate material for . . . [this] study For the present paper, all available examples were examined, and from them those specimens were selected for illustrations which would present all of the various types and styles of carving. (Wingert 1949b:4)

But he had, in fact, only seven carvings, all cedar, from his Straits of Georgia art area, and not a single example surely from tribes in the Fraser River stretch from just upstream from the Musqueam at the delta to the Lillooet above mid-Harrison Lake and the Thompson above Yale. Of these seven the only carving of "known" tribal provenience was a chief's coffin from the Musqueam in the Vancouver area. (Wingert 1949b:86-91, 135-136, Plates 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38)

From these data it is obvious that Wingert had no certain Upper Stalo specimens available for analysis. This being so, it seems pointless to summarize his descriptions of the seven carvings and the generalizations he derives from them, all of which he regards as typifying the sculpture of his Straits of Georgia--including the middle and lower Fraser--art area. Further, in his discussion of the three sxwaixwe masks he follows closely the very questionable "power" and "crest" concepts generated by Codere (1948), more of which immediately below. It appears, in short, that we know nothing about the Upper Stalo and more explicitly Chilliwack sculptural traditions beyond the meager ethnohistorical and ethnographic information already noted.

Associated with the sxwaixwe mask was a myth narrating its origin. Versions of this in its Middle Fraser form have been recorded by Hill-Tout (1903:403-404) before 1902 from an informant at Chilliwack Landing, by Marian Smith in 1938 from a man at Sardis in old Chilliwack territory, and by Codere in 1945 from a Tait woman. These three versions all tie the myth's origin to localities in the Yale to Hope sector--old Tait country. They appear to constitute a single localized myth, as Codere's careful element tabulation reveals. But she also contends that they display a unique, enriched, integrated merging of two quite different concepts: (a) the private guardian spirit "power" idea important in similar myths of the Puget Sound Salish and (b) the totemic inherited "crest" concept of the Kwakiutl involving interest in ancestors, in masks, dances, dance paraphernalia, house posts and dishes, names, and formal privileges, and also in publicly living up to the requirements of one's status and thus maintaining hereditary rights and privileges.

Codere's example of the Kwakiutl sxwaixwe myth, recorded by Boas, is certainly heavy in the "crest" motif while that of the Skagit, collected by Haeberlin, is clearly "power" focused. But her analysis of the three conflated middle Fraser versions of the origin of the mask in terms of these two conceptual elements is far from convincing (Codere 1948:Table II). As Suttles (1947:161-162) has argued, her assignment of individual mythic elements into these two conceptual categories frequently seems artificial, impressionistic, and arbitrary when viewed in a larger ethnographic context. In Suttle's opinion, which I share, there is little convincing evidence to document the unique integration that Codere propounds.

Reconstructing the prehistory of the sculptural styles of the Coast and Fraser Salishan groups through an analysis of their apparent relationships, Wingert (1949b:118-119) concludes that it is much more probable that "the center of point of origin of Salish sculptural art was . . . up the rivers with the coastal art developing later under inland influences." But "upriver" in this context Wingert means simply on the upper reaches of the short coastal rivers on the east side of Puget Sound. But there may have been, he observes, a second separate center of origin up the Fraser, an opinion of special interest to this North Cascades study. Wingert (1949b:118 fn. 12) was aware of the published Boasian and Kroeberian views as to early Salishan movements up and down the Fraser Valley: how much, if at all, he may have been influenced in his own judgments by these earlier discussions is uncertain. At any rate he summarizes the stylistic evidence that leads him to his inland center hypothesis: e.g., (a) "the relative isolation or remoteness of the up-river points from the strong northern influences apparently made it possible for . . . [these upstream peoples] to preserve

more successfully the older character of their style"; (b) "the boldness and surety of their approach to problems of design and expression . . . [show] that they were working within an old tradition" These reconstructive arguments are not wholly persuasive, since, as Wingert seems to be aware, they may likewise be turned against an inland origin hypothesis. Whatever the conclusion regarding the sculptural font issue, "Salish sculpture," Wingert (1949b:122) contends, "represents an older southern tradition on the Northwest Coast which differs from the northern later and more richly elaborate style of wood carving." The correctness or otherwise of this proposition, like the validity of the other reconstructive conclusions based on the manipulation of his ethnographic style data can only be settled, in my opinion, by archaeological research and to the degree that this research is fortunate in recovering the essential, perishable artifacts from the earlier cultural periods.

Others also have assumed, according to Suttles (1957:175-176), a relationship between the stone sculpture of the Fraser and Columbia Rivers, but convincing proof of this kinship remains to be demonstrated. In fact, in his study of the precontact stone sculpture of the Pacific Northwest, Wingert (1952:22, 24) describes the "sculpture from the two areas . . . [as differing] strikingly in style." What similarities there are between the Fraser and Columbia lie in techniques and principally in pestle and mortar types. The differences occur in the frequency of other types of objects and in style.

A word now regarding prehistoric rock art, though being of a nonethnographic time level it falls properly beyond the scope of this North Cascades report. In 1946 Marian Smith published an article entitled "Petroglyph Complexes in the History of the Columbia-Fraser Region." Only one site was known to her from the "Middle Fraser" area, a rock figure on the western shore near the upper end of Harrison Lake. In the context of this Park study, this creates two serious problems. First, according to Teit (1900:166 map), this area was not in Halkomelem country at all but in Lower Lillooet territory, so the sculpture is of no direct Middle Fraser interest. Second, the artistic style of this single example is tacitly assumed to have been representative of the petroglyphs of the entire valley below Yale, an area from which none were known to Smith. Owing to these two facts, there seems to be little profit in discussing this Harrison Lake figure and the comparison Smith makes of its stylistic traits with those of Puget Sound and The Dalles.

Nothing seems to be known from ethnographic sources concerning stone sculpture, either in the round or as etchings, in the middle Fraser area. For this reason, and an exception to the exclusion of prehistoric data from this present study, I summarize here certain of the early archaeological findings in the region that possess what might be considered the characteristics of art objects. This is particularly important since frequent reference is seen in the literature to the stone art of the Fraser River region, with high praise for its "technical proficiency and . . . [its] strong, often astounding aesthetic qualities" (Wingert 1952:9).

Both hard and soft stone was used in creating the sculptures. The material was reduced to the desired shape by hammering and pecking, with a chisel-like tool in some cases to produce design details, and then sometimes

by grinding with a coarse hard stone or with sand and water to yield a smooth final surface. There is some evidence for the painting of the completed form. The art of stone sculpture disappeared from the Fraser Valley during the prehistoric period, but the time and circumstances of its disappearance remain unknown. (Wingert 1952:10, 25)

Several types of sculptured objects fashioned of stone are of special note:

- A seated figure with a knot headdress of some sort, either grasping a bowl in its lap or with a bowl before it. The front of the bowl is sometimes carved into an animal face. According to Harlan Smith (1907:420) examples had been discovered in his time from the "Fraser River Delta probably as far east as Yale, or even Lytton," the latter location in traditional Upper Thompson country. Wingert (1952:22-23, 34) speaks specifically of two examples from the valley from Yale down to the mouth. Stylistically they are apparently very alike. One, of serpentine, is of indefinite provenience within the valley (Figure 2-6); the other of lava comes from Hope. Typically these sculptures vary in size from moderately large to small, "are precisely carved, compact in design, and very specific in definition of detail (Wingert 1952:22). The treatment of the hair, the curve of the eyes, and sometimes the mouth all "recall the characteristic Pacific coast art." (Smith 1907:420-422, Wingert 1952:22)
- Mortars and dishes carved in animal form. The example in Figure 2-7, found near Yale in old Tait territory, evidently represents a human with bent arms and legs. The sculptured dish (Figure 2-8), likewise discovered near Yale, is also in this style: clearly visible is the large head at one end with the forefeet, but the intent of the remainder of the carving is less obvious. Simpler carved bowls (Figure 2-9) were in use in the middle Fraser region: (a), of volcanic rock, is from the Chilliwack River; (b) also of volcanic rock, and (c), of steatite, are both from the vicinity of Yale. (Smith 1907:426-428)
- Bird representations of unknown use (Figure 2-10). All those in this figure are from the neighborhood of Yale. Example (c) seems to be a recent carving and either imported from the Northwest Coast or fashioned in imitation of the coastal style. (Smith 1907:428-429)
- Human figures with small depressions on top to receive offerings, it is claimed. The example in Figure 2-11 is reported to have been "ploughed up on the Fraser Plains, near Sumas, Wash." (Smith 1907:430-431) This may be the large Chilliwack stone "statue" representing a human figure that Hill-Tout (1903:367) mentions as having been taken from the Chilliwack tribe to the Sumas group and thence south across the border. It may also be the large vertical, granitic stone carved as a human figure described by Wingert (1952:23, 34). Although he reports it to have been found "south of the Fraser River in the Puget Sound area," the catalog information accompanying the specimen places its location of discovery at Sumas, Washington. Inasmuch as this town is on the upper Sumas River which flows north--at one time through Sumas Lake--to the Fraser, the sculpture was evidently discovered in middle Fraser, Upper Stalo territory, not in the Puget Sound country. Moreover, if it is, in



Figure 2-6. Serpentine human figure with bowl: height 4.75 inches, width 2.5 inches. Reported to have been found in "Lower Fraser Valley," i.e., somewhere below Yale. (Wingert 1952:22, 34 catalog no. 99, Figure 40)



Figure 2-7. Stone mortar found near Yale (Smith 1907:426 Figure 189).

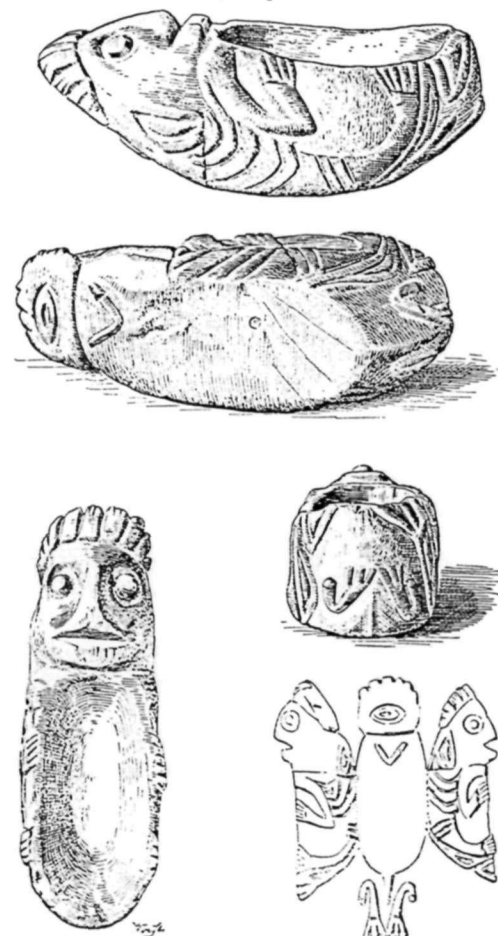


Figure 2-8. Stone dish discovered near Yale (Smith 1907:427, Figure 190).

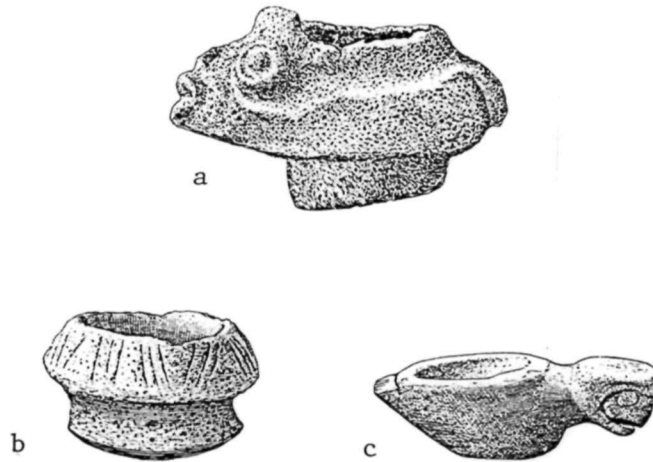


Figure 2-9. Stone carvings: (a) and (b) of volcanic rock; (c) of steatite. Object (a) from Chilliwack River; specimens (b) and (c) from near Yale. (Smith 1907:428 Figure 191)

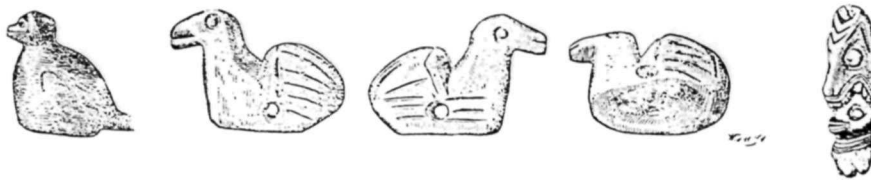


Figure 2-10. Stone sculpture from Yale vicinity. (Smith 1907:429 Figure 193)



Figure 2-11. Stone sculpture
with pit in top of head,
reportedly found near
Sumas, Washington.
(Smith 1907:430 Figure
195b)

fact, Hill-Tout's specimen, it was a Chilliwack rather than a Sumas artifact, though the question as to whether it was a Chilliwack creation or an imported object would still remain open.

- Small steatite carvings that "may represent charms or amulets. In a very simplified style, full or half-length human figures are depicted . . . The expression is animated and in some ribs are indicated by incised lines. This may have been a unique up-river style." While it is not precisely clear what river segment Wingert intends by his "up-river" comment, the area evidently included the Upper Stalo country. For one example of this style is a seated figure, fashioned of steatite, that was discovered on the Fraser near Yale. (Wingert 1952:23, 34)

Various utilitarian objects--pestles, pounders, clubs, etc.--were also decorated by carving portions, like handles, into animal or human form (Wingert 1952:24).

Prehistoric objects in the Fraser Valley from the canyon downstream have been found with etched geometric ornamental patterns. These designs are more varied than are the etched designs on the North Pacific coast. (Smith 1907:352)

There were interesting similarities--in addition to technology--between the prehistoric Fraser River-Puget Sound stone art and that of the middle and especially lower Columbia Valley, as already noted. These include like eye-forms (concentric circles and concentric ovals with pointed outer corners), a triangular forehead with the point at the nasal bridge, a partly open mouth, and conspicuous ribs. Yet there were striking differences also. As a whole, the local and regional style variations appear less diversified and marked on the Fraser than on the Columbia. The Fraser art also seems "less imaginative in its handling of life forms and more rigidly bound by the dictates of a firm and widespread tradition." (Wingert 1952:11, 22, 24)

Dance

Little is to be found in the ethnographic literature concerning traditional Upper Stalo dances. It is known, however, that their religious dances were closely linked to the possession of personal guardian spirits and the powers derived from them (Smith 1941:202). The only hard information available relates to the fairly elaborate sxwaixwe mask dance discussed below.

Nor is there, it appears, much to be found in the early historical records regarding Upper Stalo dance forms and the occasions that called for dance performances. Simon Fraser, however, mentions dances that were held in three villages--all probably within Tait territory--to entertain his party when it was passing along the Fraser River in the summer of 1808. Specifically:

- When at a village in the Yale district, Fraser (1960:100) witnessed, evidently in the evening, certain dances concerning which we are told only that during them "the men . . . [pillaged the women] from one another."

- Farther downstream near Hope at another Upper Stalo camp, Fraser (1960:101) and his party were "amused . . . with dancing," on this occasion during an afternoon traveling break. None of the activities are described.
- On his upriver, return journey in early July, Fraser (1960:115-116) witnessed "a variety of songs, dances, &c. during the evening" when encamped at a village which was either at the very northern end of the Upper Stalo country or just within the southern limits of Lower Thompson territory.

The sxwaixwe mask dance, on the other hand, has attracted some considerable ethnographic interest. The mask itself has been described in the preceding section. Through an analysis of its forms and functions and the traditions relating to it among the Upper Stalo and various lower Fraser and coastal tribes, Duff concludes that the mask was a Tait creation, probably about 1780. Still, this could hardly have been without inspiration in some form and by some route from the highly ritualized and artistic coastal societies, for both the artistic conception of the mask and costume and the function of the dancers were foreign to Upper Stalo culture.

The characteristics of the mask were altered as it diffused down the Fraser from Tait country and then among the nearby maritime tribes, as were its meaning, its uses, and the traditions recounting its supposed origin. In its earliest form, it is believed to have been given a Tait man by underwater lake people, whom he visited when, driven from his village because of a foul disease he had contracted, he tumbled into the lake by accident. Fashioned of wood and brightly painted, it had a human-like face, save for protruding tongue and peg-like eyes, and surmounting eagle plumes. The wearer of the mask wore a swan-down costume with a mountain-goat cape and deer-hoof rattles. (Duff 1952:123-125)

The Chilliwack acquired the mask and accompanying dance from the Tait through intermarriage and proceeded to make copies of the mask. From the Chilliwack and nearby Sumas it is said to have spread downriver to the coast. Among the Chilliwack, the functions of the mask and associated dance were primarily social. It was used, however, at funerals when, to honor the dead person, sxwaixwe dancers were

hired to dance around the coffin shaking their rattles and singing their song. Another was for a wedding; two sxwaixwes danced, then took part in the ceremony by joining the bride and groom's hands together. They were paid immediately. On the occasion of girl's puberty potlatch, one or more sxwaixwes might be employed to dance around with the girl "to show that she is . . . [of high status]." (Duff 1952:126)

These sxwaixwe likewise played an important role in the birth feast of the Chilliwack for those families who could secure their services (Hill-Tout 1903:366).

In other Upper Stalo tribelets, the masked figures took part in a social way "in the initiation ceremonies of a new spirit dancer [T]he person being honoured was dressed in a sxwaixwe costume and danced with other

sxwaixwes." Involving these functionaries in a ceremony made it very expensive and conferred on the family no right to use the mask again. (Duff 1952:126)

Sxwaixwe dances among the Upper Stalo tribelets were normally held outdoors, though occasionally in a large house. They were accompanied by much ritual, which surely added to the expense. Unfortunately, little of this ritual has been described. However, we are told that the dancers dressed within a temporary enclosure of blankets.

At a signal, the waiting drummers began to drum, and the dancers came out, backwards, after three incomplete attempts. When the dance was over, they returned to the enclosure after three unsuccessful attempts and entered, again backwards. While dancing, they made a high squeaking noise like the note caused by blowing on the edge of a stretched blade of grass. (Duff 1952:126)

The right to perform this masked dance was inherited by all Upper Stalo children of owner families. A woman rarely exercised this right herself, but either allowed her husband to use it or saved it for her sons. "Apparently no religious quest or initiation was required to become a sxwaixwe dancer." (Duff 1952:126)

It has been noted above that, according to both Hill-Tout and Duff, the Chilliwack possessed this sxwaixwe mask and dance. In confirming their presence among this tribe, the former (Hill-Tout 1903:358) understood that the sxwaixwe comprised a secret society. He learned, too, that the tribe possessed other "fraternities" that owned their own particular dances. But he was unable to secure any informant data concerning these esoteric social units and their activities and functions. Perhaps in the 50 years between his field experience and that of Duff, these groups and their rituals lost much of their religious associations and secrecy, allowing Duff to gather the data that came to him.

Apart from these groups with their dances and other rituals, the Chilliwack engaged in both religious and social dances (Hill-Tout 1903:358).

Music

The earliest effort by trained ethnomusicologists to record and analyze Chilliwack music seems to have been that of Frances Densmore, who in 1926 recorded ten melodies (Herzog 1949:95). These few are obviously not a proper sample of the tribe's traditional musical repertory. With a no better--and generally a worse--collection from nearby middle Fraser groups, similarities and differences between the traditional styles of the Chilliwack and those of their neighbors remain uncertain (Herzog 1949:95, 106).

Nevertheless, the data are sufficient to allow Herzog (1949:95, 96), using published materials including his own, to see traditional Chilliwack music as having shared the general musical traditions of the Salishan tribes of British Columbia and coastal Washington. The music of these peoples possessed the following characteristics in common with much of North American Indian music:

- Instrumental music was rare. Percussion instruments, used exclusively for accompaniment, predominated.
- Singing without instrumental accompaniment was rare.
- Many song texts consisted wholly or partly of meaningless syllables, often repeated.
- The singing technique was characterized by strong vocal cord tension, "intermittently relaxed and tensed anew for almost every tone," resulting in sharp accents, voice pulsations, and strong glides. (Herzog 1949:96)

In addition, the music of the area possessed a number of features that varied from North American Indian music in general in being either notably more or less widespread. Among these the following were worth noting:

- The total range within the typical song was limited.
- The melodic movement was often level or undulating and less commonly balanced between rising and falling, rather than primarily descending as in North American Indian music in general.
- In melodies of wider range, broad jumps were fairly frequent.
- Pentatonic scales were less common and small, half-tone steps more frequent.
- A consistent dominating rhythmic measure and rhythms based on three were more frequent; those based on five and seven were moderately common.
- The relationship of the rhythmic accompaniment to the voice rhythms was at times intricate, not simply coordinated.
- The skin-covered drum, sometimes square rather than the usual round shape, was less important and rattles and beating on planks, striking sticks together, and the use of other rigid percussion instruments more common.
- Structurally, individual melodies were more loosely, less sharply organized, as into contrasting phrases and minimally varied repeated phrases: i.e., more internal variation was permitted.
- Incipient harmonic part-singing of the drone type apparently occurred, a rare feature in North American Indian music.
- Women appear to have been almost as active as musicians and composers as the men. (Herzog 1949:96-98, 105, 106)

The detailed analyses by Herzog (1949:98-103) of his small corpus of Chilliwack songs is too technical for me to fully comprehend and for summary here. Further these songs may be somewhat tainted: they may contain "heavy and recent borrowings from non-Salish groups," since "Chilliwack has been for years a center for the gathering of members of many tribes for hop picking"

(Herzog 1949:101). Still, as already noted, Herzog considers the list of musical traits itemized above as properly descriptive of old Chilliwack music as a part of the general areal musical culture. From a broader perspective he concludes that the Salish songs of the Fraser and neighboring coastal areas as a whole, while representing "a somewhat specialized development of . . . [their] own," had a "good deal in common" with the music of the Northwest Coast (Herzog 1949:101-105, 106-109).

By ethnographers we are told next to nothing concerning Upper Stalo music and musical instruments. Rattles of two kinds were in use. One variety consisted of deer hoof devices attached by cords to a person's wrists, knees, and ankles or to a wand (Duff 1952:104, 105, 107, 124). The other was made of a bighorn-sheep horn, "split and shaped, with stones inside," attached to a stick (Duff 1952:105). Both types were used in dances involving the spirit world and in such a way as to suggest that the rattles themselves--or the wands with rattles attached in that instance--possessed some measure of spirit power. It would seem, therefore, these rattles were not, in our conventional Western sense, musical instruments and nothing more.

Drums are mentioned for the Upper Stalo as rhythm-producing instruments but are not described. Like the rattles, these were widely used in connection with spirit dances, curing rituals, and so on (Duff 1952:104, 105), but whether also on more secular occasions is not reported. The Chilliwack are said to have had both the board and stick drum and the tambourine-like skin drum. Hill-Tout (1903:392) offers no comment on the relative antiquity of these drum forms, but both may be presumed to have been part of Chilliwack precontact culture.

No other sound-generating devices that might qualify as musical artifacts--e.g., flutes--are referred to in the Upper Stalo ethnographic accounts. However, speaking of the Fraser River and nearby coastal Salish people in general, Herzog (1949:105) mentions whistles that may have diffused to them from the more complex Northwest Coast cultures to the north.

Did the Upper Stalo themselves classify their songs into categories or types, marked perhaps by special names, and, if so, on what basis was this done? We have two sets of data that hint at partial answers to these interesting questions bearing on one very minor segment of what must have been a rich middle Fraser cognitive world.

The Salish songs described by Herzog (1949:101-103, 106) are divided into: (a) power songs associated with doctoring, curing, and guardian spirit beliefs; (b) dance songs of more than one type, some serving also as power songs; (c) bone gambling songs, some likewise possessing religious power associations; and (d) lyrical songs, particularly love songs of apparently late date. Presumably these categories reflect in some measure the native song classification structure. There is, however, no statement to this effect, and it seems possible that Herzog's categories merely reflect the social contexts in which songs were said to have been primarily performed. Because the Upper Stalo as a whole are represented in Herzog's study sample by only the few Chilliwack songs, one may question how accurately the above song categories reflect the musical conceptual framework of the other Upper Stalo tribes, assuming that they achieve this goal for the Chilliwack. The

same may be said for the generalizations that follow. But for what they are worth, lacking more precise data:

- According to the premise that archaic styles "tend to be characterized by a restricted tonal range," Salish myth songs and "doctoring, curing, and guardian spirit melodies have best preserved their archaic character and simplicity, and bone-gambling and lyrical songs and to some extent dancing melodies less so.
- Considerable intertribal borrowing of gambling and dance songs occurred in the area.

The fragmentary ethnographic data come from Duff (1952:127-128). The Upper Stalo, he reports, had songs of various types, some spirit songs and a great variety for pleasure alone. Some of the latter were even composed on the spur of the moment to suit an occasion or a mood. Unfortunately, none are discussed at any length by Duff. But it is at least clear that the Stalo had their own system by which they classified their songs into types. For Duff speaks incidentally of:

šiwə'l: spirit songs

stə'ləm: ordinary songs sung for pleasure. Possibly within this class may be placed the:

sewe'lək: lively songs accompanying dances.

ti·u: slow songs. (Duff (1952:127)

How many other types of songs were recognized natively and the underlying conceptual basis for the distinctions made, save as suggested by the meager data above, have not, to my knowledge, been reported. Nor is it clear how this patently partial but fortunately native classification structure meshes with that presented by Herzog above. Perhaps Duff's spirit songs, ordinary songs, and lively songs equate with Herzog's power, lyrical, and dance songs respectively, but this is by no means certain.

Many of the non-spirit songs were love songs, composed and sung by both sexes, but others were nostalgic or even humorous. Duff provides a translation of one Tait song composed by a woman on "going back to her childhood home and seeing the path she had formerly walked along." This seems to be of particular interest because it expresses a deep emotion with which native Americans are rarely credited in the popular Western mind.

"Oh my tracks are still there, where I used to walk,
Oh my trail is still nice,
I nearly cried when I saw my tracks." (Duff 1952:127-128)

Games

A number of athletic games--undoubtedly only a very partial list--are reported for the Upper Stalo. Shinny, played by males, involved carrying, throwing, and catching two small balls of wood, tied about 10 inches apart,

with four-foot vine-maple sticks with a curve at the end. The field of play was a sand bar or cleared area with a goal at each end. The sides were always of the same number of players, who played until exhausted. (Duff 1952:127)

Other athletic contests included a reverse tug-of-war in which two teams of men pushed a long pole, not pulled a rope as with us. A hoop and dart game, played inside the winter house, consisted of throwing darts at a rolling hoop. Foot- and canoe-racing and wrestling, in which the opponents grasped each other's head and hair and attempted to throw the other, were also popular. (Duff 1952:127)

Gambling games were widely played, but little is known of most of them. However, it is said that the stick or bone game, in which one attempted to guess the hand that held the proper bone, was a favorite. Some gamblers sought the aid of their guardian spirit in guessing the correct hand; others watched the eyes of their opponents, who often tried to avoid revealing facial signs while they held the bones by keeping their eyes down. Each tribe--sometimes even individual players--owned gambling songs with which, when they had the bones, they attempted to confuse their opponents. Another gambling game was played with beaver-tooth "dice." (Duff 1952:127)

Smoking

Elbow pipes, considered aboriginal by Duff's informants, were made from soapstone obtained in Tait country. Straight pipes, though found archaeologically in Upper Stalo territory, were unknown to the Tait and Chilliwack with whom Duff consulted. (Duff 1952:61)

There are two early historical references to Upper Stalo pipes and smoking that are worth passing note:

- In his daily record of his canoe and foot journey down the Fraser River to the coast in the early summer of 1808, Fraser (1960:100) states that at a camp in the Yale area--obviously a Tait community--the villagers had pipes fashioned of "brass" hanging from the neck or across the shoulders. He considered these a form of ornamentation, as doubtless they were, but these artifacts were surely put to more practical use on occasion.
- Smoking by Chilliwack (at least Indians of the fishing camp on the Chilliwack River just upstream from the canyon mouth) is reported in Wilson's (1970:63) journal of July 27, 1859: "after . . . [the Indians had alleviated his discomfort from his numerous mosquito bites] a pipe was lighted & passed round the circle, everybody, women included taking 3 or 4 puffs." Who furnished the pipe and tobacco remains unstated, but one may suspect that they were Wilson's, partly in return for the Indian aid in relieving his pain. Nor do we know that this mid-nineteenth century practice--by both sexes--is a perpetuation of precontact cultural behavior.

Cognitive Culture

Time and Distance Units

The Upper Stalo calendar was moon-based, each month bearing a descriptive name. Most of these month names appear to have been forgotten by the late 1940s. But the one reported--that for about March--translates into "glowing coal carried in ashes in a clam-shell." (Duff 1952:128) This month term seems unusual to me in that it has no obvious reference to the procession of natural, seasonal events or to cultural associations with them.

Each season was also named. Years were recorded by knots in a ball of string, one knot per year. In the Upper Stalo view, this was a traditional, pre-White method of keeping track of time. If so, it was early put to use in recording days so that each seventh day could be recognized for worship. (Duff 1952:128)

We know nothing about traditional measurement units among the Upper Stalo tribelets as a whole, and very little concerning them for the Chilliwack. Among the Chilliwack, the fathom and fractions of this measurement were recognized as standard lengths. One fathom was the span between the tips of the second fingers of the outstretched arms of the average man. Three-quarters of a fathom was the distance from the elbow of one arm bent over the chest to the tip of the second finger of the other arm outstretched. One-half a fathom was measured from one hand in the center of the chest to the second finger tip as above. (Hill-Tout 1903:360 fn. 1, 394)

Astronomy

How extensively among the Upper Stalo the stars were individually recognized by native terms and grouped into named star clusters similar to our constellations, we do not know. The Chilliwack, however, identified the Pleiades as one such grouping and designated it by a specific term. The Great Bear (Ursa major) was called "elk": it was seen as always wandering around in the same circle, allowing people to determine the hour of the night by its position. (Hill-Tout 1903:396, 399)

Myths, Legends, and Tales

The Chilliwack, Hill-Tout (1903:369) wrote about 1900, "seem to possess but few folk-tales, or else they have forgotten them." From his several informants, he was able to collect only the very limited examples that follow. It is barely conceivable that, as he suggests, the people in his day, through strong missionary influence and general culture degradation, had lost memory of most of their mythology and traditions. Without question, however, they had had a rich body of folklore in early postcontact times, for they were surrounded by groups that are known to have had very extensive corpora of oral literature. It seems probable that for some reason Hill-Tout's informants were reluctant to relate to him such of their folklore as they recalled.

The Chilliwack mythical transformer and "wonder-monger" was called QEQä'ls. Concerning his activities Hill-Tout (1903:366-367) learned little. Apparently, however, he was invoked in prayer at times. Hill-Tout's informants recalled a large stone statue in human form, reportedly weighing more than a ton, that was believed to have been the work of QEQä'ls. One day, passing that way, he saw "a man and his wife, who in some way displeased him, and were in consequence transformed into stone statues." It was owned by a Chilliwack family, was taken to the nearby Sumas tribe by a Chilliwack woman when she married into that group, and was later sold and carried south of the international border.

Another tribal tradition concerning Qäls, the great transformer and principal deity, and his transforming activities is reported by Boas (1894:454, 463). That the Chilliwack believed in a mythical ancestor has already been mentioned (see Tribe above). This ancestor, like similar ancestors among other Halkomelem tribelets, is said to have met Qäls and to have been transformed. Some of these group ancestors were changed into plants and animals that abounded near the main tribal winter village, and others into rocks of remarkable shape or size that occurred not far from the village. The Chilliwack forefather experienced this same change, but his precise fate in terms of his new shape is not related by Boas.

The following tales relate to mythic times and mythic personalities.

- (a) The ancestors of the Chilliwack long ago were taught to fashion salmon weirs by Wren (Hill-Tout 1903:367). (For details of the barrier construction, see earlier section on salmon weirs.)
- (b) The Upper Stalo myth narrating the supposed underwater source of the sxwaixwe mask and dance (see Dance section above) appears among the Chilliwack in a somewhat different guise than in the Tait case already alluded to. In the Chilliwack version, recorded in considerable detail by Hill-Tout (1903:367-368), a youth on his vision quest visited Cultus Lake, at the bottom of which lived slalakum (see Unnatural Beings section above). He pierced a strong buckskin with many pointed bones, fastened it around him, and, holding a large stone, jumped into the lake. Sinking to the bottom, he landed on the roof of the slalakum dwelling. He found some of these people sick from his spitting into the lake and from the ashes of his fire dropping down on them. He cured them by wiping away these foreign substances. In return, he was given an object shaped like a long, stout icicle. Returning home, he found all the people taking sick at the sight of him. With his magical object he cured them and became a great shaman with special powers to cure people ill through contact with an "unnatural being." When a man from a neighboring tribe, hearing of the Chilliwack man's great power and the way in which he had received it, attempted to obtain the same power for himself at Cultus Lake, he rose to the surface only after a considerable time and as a skeleton, his flesh having been devoured by fish.
- (c) Long ago the Chilliwack were suffering from a great famine. The men went down the Chilliwack River looking for salmon, fashioned a weir, and caught a few. Selfishly the men decided to keep the news from their wives and children back home. A boy bound some salmon roe to his leg with bark and fled, pretending to chase butterflies. Reaching home, he

gave the news to his mother, who informed the other women. Greatly angered, the women beat their husbands' beds with pieces of bark. (Hill-Tout was unable to discover the magical import of this act.) Taking the blankets, paint containers, and painting-feathers of the men, they started out to find them. When they neared their husbands' camp, they beat the blankets with sticks and shouted to QEQä'ls to transform their men. The men heard them, saw their painting feathers floating in the air, and called the painter to paint them hurriedly. He painted them individually as different birds in color and then, in haste, the rest in black and white. When the women arrived, QEQä'ls, answering their prayer, turned all the men into birds. As birds, they assembled again on the Fraser River where they encountered Beaver, learned from him of the Salmon country, and were told by him that he would secure salmon for them so they could make peace with their wives.

At this point Hill-Tout (1903:369) discontinues his narrative, remarking that the remainder closely paralleled the myth of the Pilalt which he had recorded elsewhere. The following outlines the principal elements of this Pilalt myth:

Long ago there were no salmon in the Fraser, only steelhead. To secure salmon, Beaver led an expedition of 'Bull-head' Fish, Woodpecker, and an unidentified bird. Arriving at the Salmon village, Beaver and Mouse crept toward the dwellings to steal the chief's baby. Beaver feigned death on the path, while Mouse gnawed holes in the Salmon canoes and weakened vital points in their paddles. At dawn, a Salmon woman, fetching water, saw Beaver and called all to view this strange animal. Steelhead recognized him as a sly being that he had earlier met up the Fraser. When they were about to cut Beaver open, Woodpecker and the other bird flew by and the Salmon abandoned Beaver to catch the birds, who feigned lameness. Beaver entered the chief's house and stole the baby, hanging from the swing-pole, and rushed to the river. The expedition paddled off. The Salmon pursued, but most broke their paddles and were slowed by their canoes filling with water. In canoes and with paddles missed by Mouse, a few gained on the fleeing party, which was, in ignorance, paddling with the edge of their paddles. Snail, on the bank watching the chase, shouted to them to flat-paddle. Now the expedition pulled away from the Salmon people, who, abandoning their sound canoes, swam upriver after the four. As the party passed, they threw soiled baby's underclothes into the Coquitlam River, making the salmon there henceforth bad and difficult to dry. At the Chilliwack River they threw in a clean garment, so there the salmon were good and fine, easily dried and cured. At the Harrison River, they dropped more the child's clothing: there, later, something killed the salmon, causing them to die in great numbers. At the lower side of the fish weir at Yale they threw the baby itself in the water, making it rage and boil. The expedition then separated and became supernatural "unnatural beings." (Hill-Tout 1903:401-403)

According to tribal tradition, the Chilliwack have always occupied their Chilliwack River country above the Fraser plains. Indeed, one of their legends recounts the original springing of the river from its Chilliwack Lake

source, a marvellous event produced by a young man with guardian spirit power gained at the lake. With the assistance of his supernatural helper, he broke open the lake outlet, permitting the river for the first time to flood down the valley. (Hill-Tout 1903:356-357)

Miscellaneous Beliefs

Thunder was thought by the Upper Stalo to be caused by a bird, larger than an eagle, that lived on a little bare peak near Harrison Lake, and lightning by the bird opening its eyes. "The splinters of a tree which has been struck by lightning were dangerous and should not be touched." One of Duff's Tait informants reported that he has once burned some, and had discovered that "they gave off 'a different kind of heat' that caused little scratches on the skin to swell up and made him sick and feverish." (Duff 1952:128)

The Chilliwack conception of the afterlife was based on information concerning that supernatural world brought back by the spirits of individual shamans that had visited the region. As a consequence varying views of its character prevailed. (Hill-Tout 1903:361)

The sound of a crow's caw resembled the Chilliwack term for 'brother,' skak. It was believed that in crying "skak, skak!" the bird tried to claim its relationship with the people. (Hill-Tout 1903:388)

Use of the Park Complex

There is little in the published literature so far as I am aware explicitly demonstrating traditional Chilliwack visits to the northwest corner of the Park area and their use of the resources of the region. And yet circumstantial evidences of several forms testify to the fact that the area must have been extensively visited and utilized by the group in their subsistence quest and in other ways.

Subsistence Use

The region of the upper Chilliwack River above Chilliwack Lake and the nearby mountains lay within the traditional tribal boundaries of the Chilliwack, terrain wholly within the limits of the Park. That this high country was claimed by the Chilliwack testifies in itself to the fact that the natural resources of the region were utilized by the Chilliwack. For it is axiomatic that native peoples in the Pacific Northwest laid no claim to areas unused by them. Indeed, such a claim would be pointless, given the absence among them of any concept of land ownership for its own sake. Further, in the eyes of neighboring tribes, a group validated its claim to real estate only through extensive and continual use of its resources.

If it is concluded from these territorial-claim data that the Chilliwack must have used the upper Chilliwack drainage and its mountains within the Park borders, even though explicit descriptive support for this conclusion is lacking, are there circumstantial data to argue for this belief? In my

opinion, there are. This is the information describing general Chilliwack use of mountainous country, some of which must certainly have taken place in high elevation areas within the Park. More than this, inasmuch as the natural route to the high country from the Chilliwack River villages below the lake lay up the stream first to the lake and then on up the river valley, it seems reasonable to assume that of all the high altitude areas within the Chilliwack boundaries, the mountainous surfaces inside the Park were probably particularly frequented and their resources exploited. Indeed, the uppermost of the Chilliwack small camps--perhaps villages--around Chilliwack Lake in early traditional times may have been no more than a mile or two outside the Park perimeter. Further, the fact that Chilliwack hunting parties met Thompson and Upper Skagit out on similar mountain ventures is of relevance here, for the areas of overlap between the country borders of these three groups fell in part within the Park limits.

Unlike virtually all other Upper Stalo tribes, the Chilliwack were not a Fraser River and Valley people. Within their own territory they were restricted in pre-White days to the narrow, canyon-like valley of the Chilliwack River before it emerges onto the Fraser River plain. They had no great salmon fisheries comparable to those on the Fraser itself. Still salmon swam in the Chilliwack River, even many according to a bit of historical evidence, and upstream at least as far as Chilliwack Lake. One actual fishing locality within the old Chilliwack homeland--in the lower canyon area and plainly a salmon site--is reported in an 1859, casual remark of a member of the British Boundary Commission. It cannot yet be demonstrated that salmon ascended the Chilliwack River above the lake and into the Park region, but maps fail to suggest the presence of formidable falls or other barriers to spawning fish.

At any rate, the mountains and their forested slopes surely furnished a substantially larger part of the subsistence and other resources for the Chilliwack than for most (perhaps all) other Upper Stalo tribes. This is consistent with Marian Smith's definition of the prehistoric and protohistoric Chilliwack life pattern as a foothills one, rather than a strongly river-oriented pattern, a view with which, perhaps somewhat unwisely, Duff takes strong exception. The special importance to them of their mountainous terrain is also underscored by the fact that the Chilliwack, unlike other Upper Stalo peoples with their Fraser River orientation, possessed a relatively highly developed concept of territorial ownership and seemingly a sharper vision of territorial boundaries. To members of the Chilliwack tribe, however, the resource areas--hunting grounds, berry patches, and so on--were open to all.

High country use is likewise especially convincingly argued for by the fact that Chilliwack hunting parties, encountering Thompson or Upper Skagit hunters back in the mountains, sometimes fought them, which was generally not the case when other Upper Stalo met hunting groups from these two tribes. The Thompson must have been met, at least in part, in the Park area on the east where the Chilliwack-Thompson territorial claims were in contest; the Skagit were encountered on the southeast, again doubtless partly within the present Park boundaries. Finally, inasmuch as Chilliwack relations with the Nooksack, also an inland-oriented people, were close and friendly, and because Chilliwack territory extended to the Chilliwack River-Nooksack River watershed and even down into the Nooksack Valley at one point, the high

terrain between the two drainage basins, the easternmost end of which stretched a short distance into the Park, must certainly have been frequented by Chilliwack parties. In summary, except for the Chilliwack Valley itself, the traditional country of the Chilliwack was mountainous and most of the central and largest segment of this high elevation area was inside the northwestern boundary of the Park.

We now turn to the Chilliwack use of mountainous land as described or implied in the ethnographic and early historical accounts, assuming that unless otherwise specifically localized, they apply to the Park region at least as much as to the tribal high altitude areas outside the Park limits. Furthermore, included in the following summary is general Upper Stalo information concerning the utilization of mountain land forms on the grounds that, as noted above, these areas were of particular importance to the Chilliwack and so, again unless special negative local conditions prevailed, the information most probably applies to the Chilliwack no less, at least, than to other Upper Stalo peoples.

No organized ethnographic consideration exists detailing the importance of hunting and the various methods of game pursuit employed by the Chilliwack, or even the Upper Stalo in general. But there are hints as to the extent to which animals were taken by these Upper peoples for various purposes. Given the lesser importance of salmon fishing among the Chilliwack and therefore surely the greater utilization of mountain country in their subsistence economy, data describing Upper Stalo hunting and use of animal products can be presumed to apply broadly to the Chilliwack. In the animal tally below, only the mountain goat is mentioned specifically for the Chilliwack; the remainder are described for the Upper Stalo tribes in general or for some tribelet other than the Chilliwack, but not in such a way as to exclude the Chilliwack from their use.

- Black bear. The favorite meat. Skin used for robes. Bladder(?) used for storing salmon oil.
- Grizzly bear. Little used as meat because difficult to obtain.
- Mountain goat. Rated second as meat. Horn used in making points of hunting spears and fish harpoons. Wool used in weaving blankets and in ornamenting quiver tumpline and magical spirit canes. Bladder(?) used in storing salmon oil.
- Bighorn sheep. Horn made into rattles with stones inside.
- Deer. Much used for meat but considered dry. Hide used for breechclouts, shirts and dresses, leggings, moccasins, mittens. Brains rubbed on skins in the tanning process. Sinew used for bow strings and in attaching feathers to arrows. Antler used in making large sturgeon and smaller harpoon points. Hoofs used in fashioning rattles. Bladder(?) used for storage of salmon oil. Hide used to wrap dried meat in packing it from mountain hunting camps back to the village.
- Elk. Meat eaten but not much used since difficult to secure. Antler used in fashioning points for hunting spears and both large sturgeon harpoon points and smaller harpoon points.

- Raccoon. Sometimes eaten.
- Wildcat. Sometimes eaten.
- Beaver. A popular meat. Skin used in making arrow quiver. Teeth used as dice.
- Rabbit. Skins used in making robes.
- Groundhog. A popular meat. Skin used in making robes.
- Squirrel. Sometimes eaten.
- Martin. Sometimes eaten.

Among the birds the following are mentioned as having been actively sought by the Upper Stalo and so, it may be supposed, also by the Chilliwack.

- Ducks. Considered good food. Tail feathers of mallards used in feathering arrows.
- Geese. Much sought as food.
- Swans. Skins, with feathers plucked to leave only down, used in making sxwaixwe costume. Balls of down used in ornamenting sxwaixwe mask.
- Grouse. Much sought as food.
- Woodpecker. Not eaten. Tail feathers used in fletching arrows.
- Eagle. Feathers attached to sturgeon harpoons to allow harpooner to feel stream bottom. Feathers used in ornamenting sxwaixwe mask.

The data presented in the subsistence section describing Upper Stalo hunting and hunting methods need not be repeated here. It is sufficient to underscore what must have been the special importance of hunting to the Chilliwack. With fishing sites on Chilliwack River limited in number and productivity, it seems necessary to assume that more Chilliwack men must have been active hunters and that these must have devoted more of their time through the year to hunting activities and to scouring the small lateral valleys and the many mountain slopes of their country for animals--and for eagles and grouse among the birds--for food and their other useful products. The only animals specifically mentioned ethnographically as having been pursued by Chilliwack hunters are the mountain goat, one reference relating to the efficacy of magical formulae in taking the animal and the other noted in the paragraph that follows.

Hunting was carried out particularly in the fall when the fishing season was over and the animals were fat. Mountain goats appear to have been especially sought by these autumn parties which went to "Chilliwack Lake or beyond": this is to say, specifically into the high sectors of the North Cascades Park, where particular mountains were known as fine goat areas. These parties of entire families sometimes extended to several weeks, the women and children and even some men remaining in the base camps to butcher

and smoke-dry the meat on racks and to maintain the camps. A man could pack the dried meat of two or three goats from his hunting camp to his permanent village.

Deer were also hunted by the Upper Stalo in the mountains, pursued by hunters with their bows and arrows and sometimes with their trained dogs. Since both black bear and grizzlies were hunted, the former occasionally with dogs, surely some of these hunts were carried out in appropriate seasons in high altitude areas. Indeed, grizzlies were particular frequenters of the high country (Post in Spier 1928:11, 22). How many of the other hunting techniques--pitfalls, deadfalls, snares, and nets--were employed in the high country is not reported.

Of the very few food roots noted as having been obtained by the Upper Stalo, only the tiger lily, the balsamroot, and certain species of Lomatium grew in the higher elevations. The tiger lily (Lilium columbianum) was found upwards to subalpine elevations; balsamroot (Balsamorhiza sagittata) up the hillsides "to moderate elevations in the mountains"; and the Lomatium likewise up to moderate elevations in the mountains (Turner 1978:87, 102, 108, 116). Inasmuch as the Upper Stalo are said to have used these roots for food, it appears relatively safe to suppose that the Chilliwack were among the groups that dug them in their own high country.

In late summer, parties of Upper Stalo women--and so without doubt of Chilliwack women--accompanied by a few men, went to the mountains for a few days to gather berries and dry them on cedar bark mats spread on racks. Of huckleberries, the most important berries, two varieties grew at higher elevations and two on lower slopes. Sometimes patches of the higher altitude berries were burned to improve future yields. Another berry, red and bitter but so far botanically unidentified by me, also grew at upper elevations and was collected by these field parties. Of the other berries certified by Duff as Upper Stalo foods, only elderberries, it appears, were found in the mountains "to moderate elevations" (Turner 1978:132) and so may well have been collected by Chilliwack berrying parties within the Park borders. Black tree lichen, for boiling into "moss cakes," was also gathered from "certain trees high up in the mountains." Plants and plant parts--and doubtless other natural products and substances--were collected by the women on these journeys for technological uses (e.g., grass required in imbricating baskets [Teit 1930b:223]), to serve later medicinal needs, and for other purposes.

The Chilliwack secured a "brownish salt" from a peak that lay somewhat outside the Park perimeter. It is conceivable that other mountain sources of this food additive were available and exploited inside the Park boundary.

Village/Camp Use

Except perhaps for the Chilliwack River immediately above Chilliwack Lake--and hence just within the Park's southwesternmost boundary--the Chilliwack could have maintained few, if any, winter villages within the Park limits. The terrain and environmental conditions in general were simply too unfavorable. On the other hand, temporary open-season, small camps must have been scattered widely through the mountains and high valleys of the Park. These were occupied by parties for a day or sometimes up to several weeks

while hunting, berrying, and perhaps gathering roots in the vicinity. On occasion other camps must have been in use while the Chilliwack collected, for instance, plant materials for technological use, mineral pigments, and stone for fabricating utensils and weapons. To illustrate, red paints were needed to color the sxwaixwe masks and to apply to persons on their ritual forest "run" in acquiring a guardian spirit song and dance; pieces of slate were required in fashioning harpoon points. The sources of these raw materials are not specified in the ethnographic literature, but surely the Chilliwack must have looked to the mountain slopes of the Park area for some of these important materials.

Trail Use

The mountains of the Park were evidently criss-crossed by trails, some leading to the food and materials resource areas and others followed by parties en route now and again to visit other tribes. Obviously, the Chilliwack made use of the former travel paths. How frequently they made their way along the intertribal routes is less certain. Such data as we possess uniformly point toward a somewhat greater isolation on the part of the Chilliwack than for the other Upper Stalo tribelets ranged along the Fraser River. So far as Chilliwack-Thompson relations were concerned, Chilliwack still living in 1949-1950 recalled when, apparently somewhat after 1837, one of their villages on the Fraser plain was looted and destroyed by a Lower Thompson party. Further, the Chilliwack, quite atypically for an Upper Stalo tribelet, even fought their Thompson and Upper Skagit neighbors when they believed that they were encroaching on their hunting grounds. But it is doubtful that they engaged in hostilities on every such meeting and it is stated, moreover, that Chilliwack intermarriage with Thompson was not unknown. In addition, the Upper Stalo tribes traded mountain-goat wool blankets to the Thompson. Though the Chilliwack are not specifically mentioned as partners in such exchanges, the importance of mountain hunting to the Chilliwack would have made them logically a natural source of these blankets for the Thompson.

Precisely where these trails ran into and through those Park higher elevations that fell within old Chilliwack country is, unfortunately, not described in ethnographic contexts. But wherever they led, there must have been overnight camps here and there along them in especially favorable locations.

Other Uses

Still another circumstance attracted Upper Stalo--and obviously Chilliwack among them--to the mountains: the guardian spirit vision quest pursued by aspiring shamans, some men hopeful of becoming warriors of special prowess, and even a few others. In these searches for supernatural power, youths as they grew older journeyed continually deeper into the mountains to isolated lakes (particularly those noted for their resident monsters), streams, and waterfalls, where a spirit vision or dream might be experienced. At such a place they might remain for several days, performing various ritual acts--including sweating in a sweat lodge--to encourage a spirit encounter.

Though we are not informed of localities in Chilliwack territory within the Park circumference where dangerous, unnatural creatures existed, it would be most surprising if there were thought to be none, for these strange beings were varied in their forms and believed to be widely dispersed through more remote sectors of Upper Stalo country. These included lake-dwelling snakes with two heads, cave dwelling cannibal women, underwater bears, and huge serpents that lived near small lakes. Only the fur-covered giants--the sasquatch--on rare occasions left their back-country homes to come face to face with people berry picking and even to approach human habitations. In light of the particular interests of this report, it is a shame that we know nothing concerning traditional Chilliwack convictions regarding such abnormal, terrifying creatures in the mountains of the Park.

CHAPTER III

LOWER THOMPSON

Data Base

The Thompson tribe was composed of two "divisions," of a Lower group and an Upper cluster of bands. In general, the Lower Thompson, as described below, were the people of the Fraser Canyon and of the forested hills and mountains that lay on either side of this awesome chasm and reached southward into the upper Skagit country within the boundaries of the North Cascades National Park. The Upper Thompson, in contrast, had their homeland in the open forest, sagebrush, hill, and mountain country of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers east of the Cascades.

Because of the particular concerns of this study, the focus of this chapter is on the Lower Thompson. Two bodies of data dealing with this group, the ethnographic and ethnohistorical, are merged in the following pages. Nevertheless, the information is not extensive. To fill important subject lacunae and add meaningful cultural details, this relatively meager data base is extended by the incorporation of a substantial corpus of ethnographic material relating to the Thompson tribe as a whole and to the Upper Division more particularly. The fundamental life modes of the two groups were certainly much the same. Still, there were some notable and surely many subtle differences, in part the consequence of the different ecological settings of the central home areas of the two divisions and in part owing to the greater exposure of the canyon people to coastal and lower Fraser influences and of the upper people to Plateau contacts. At least to the extent that both divisions made substantial use of the higher sections of their country in hunting, gathering, and even fishing, their cultural behavior must have been fundamentally identical. Fortunately, this is the segment of tribal life of special interest to this present study. To keep the data properly sorted out, however, the specific population entity described is identified where these facts are provided in the source. When no such data appear in the following pages, the information is to be understood as presumably generic Thompson in its relevance.

The ethnographic material on the Lower Thompson is drawn in part from James Teit's (1900) extended, first-hand report on the Thompson Indians. While bearing largely on the Upper Division, it presents some data, either expressly stated or implied, that pertain to both groups and other information described as relating exclusively to the Lower people. Teit, who was married to a Thompson woman and spoke the language fluently as well as neighboring related languages, was discovered by Franz Boas in 1894 and was given a certain amount of basic ethnographic training. With Boas' support he recorded in depth the traditional life of the Thompson Indians as he saw it, then in its final stages, and supplemented these observations by informant inquiry. His Upper Thompson manuscript was prepared in 1895; that on the Lower Thompson, in 1897. The two were merged by Franz Boas in Teit's 1900 publication. The data are especially rich in the material culture sections, though quite respectable in many other cultural domains. They show, of course, the subject gaps common in ethnographic studies of his time. They

also possess less obvious flaws--and doubtless strengths--as a consequence of Boas' editorial attention: in some subject areas--e.g., art and mythology--it is not invariably easy to ascertain which of the two is speaking (see Maud 1982:63-77). Nevertheless, Teit's Thompson report ranks high among Plateau ethnographies. Additional ethnographic details are extracted from a number of Teit's (1898, 1928, 1930a, 1930b, 1930c) other studies and incorporated into the cultural account that follows. Owing to time pressures, the scraps of folkway data imbedded in his extensive mythic collections have not been extracted and introduced into this report.

To Teit's data for the Thompson as a whole, for the upriver bands in particular, and for the Lower Thompson where specifically indicated is added the ethnographic information secured by Verne Ray (1942) in the 1930s from a Lower Thompson informant then in his 60s. These data are unique in describing in their entirety the traditional culture of the Lower group, revealing, when compared with Teit's material, their lifeway differences from the cultural patterns of the Upper people (Ray 1942:103). As noted in more extended form in the following Chelan chapter, Ray's data were collected through a culture-element check-list in which traits were succinctly defined and then coded simply as present, absent, sometimes occurring, practiced by women only, etc. They are grouped into functional complexes--e.g., into a trait cluster dealing with deer hunting methods. Nevertheless, individual elements are not infrequently difficult to assemble into satisfying clear and coherent wholes, and relationships between complexes are obscure. Further, the data were gathered from a single informant and some 40 years after Teit's material and so doubtless with some unknown amount of tribal culture-memory loss: accordingly, some of the apparent differences between Lower and Upper cultural practices are surely an artifact of imperfect and incomplete data. Finally, Ray's contact with the Lower Thompson was brief and therefore in a sense casual rather than personal and intensive over years as in Teit's case. On the other hand, Ray's information has all the marks of a first-rate professional ethnographer with a wide and detailed knowledge of Plateau cultures and was secured using careful, systematic field techniques. It represents, in fact, the only intensive ethnographic fieldwork to my understanding on the traditional culture of the Lower Thompson, the division that utilized the Park country, and is, therefore, especially valuable in the context of this present study.

In the 1890s Charles Hill-Tout undertook a field study of the Upper Thompson. Published in 1900, his report consists primarily of an ethnographic section, a few remarks on the archaeology of the Thompson homeland and on the physical characteristics and language of the tribe, and a comparatively long myth collection. Relevant incidental data in this report that concern the Lower Thompson are meshed into this present chapter, as is occasional Upper Thompson information of special interest, as where it fleshes out an otherwise inadequate Lower Division account. English-trained as a clergyman, Hill-Tout is at many points naive in his description and theoretical underpinning, as well as curiously wandering and irrelevant. Approaching the Thompson with a coastal Indian, British pastor, and firm Anglo-European mind-set, he speaks, for example, of a Thompson chief as the "lord paramount," of a Thompson nobility where, in fact, no inherited class distinctions existed, of the Thompson as having "many singular and superstitious customs and practices," and, on the other hand, of the group as a "finer . . . race than their congeners on the coast" (Hill-Tout 1900:501,

506, 513, 517). He alludes to, but happily does not discuss here, his uninformed theory of a South Pacific origin for the entire Salishan group (Hill-Tout 1900:517). Yet he had the good fortune of working with Chief Mischelle, a highly intelligent Upper Thompson Indian and evidently a fine informant. In recording his field data, Hill-Tout took minimal notes, later expanded them from memory, and still later checked his enlarged draft with his informant. In this process, he freely introduces an unmistakable Hill-Tout element, especially in his mythic sections where descriptive color is added to heighten the impact of the narrative and suggest the emotional content of the teller's performance. So far as these myths are concerned, though straying from the narrator's often greatly compressed version since the tale background was well understood by his listeners, this technique produces a richer and in a special, broad sense, a rather more faithful rendition of the myth in its native cultural context. Hill-Tout's information cannot compare with Teit's intimate, detailed, and well informed data of the same time period (cf. Maud 1982:29-38).

A few further notes on Thompson ethnography have been drawn from two narrowly focused studies by Teit (1930c) on Thompson tattooing and body painting, have been borrowed from a compendium of Plateau food plant data by Turner (1978), and have been culled from several other sources of lesser importance.

Because of time pressures, the ethnohistorical sources have not been properly surveyed for early data that would expand meaningfully the ethnographic picture of traditional Lower Thompson lifeways. So far as this Division is concerned, however, the most important historical archive has been thoroughly examined and its significant ethnographic remarks placed in their proper context in this present study. This document is the record of Simon Fraser, made when he and his party, exploring, descended and then returned up the Fraser River in the summer of 1808.

Some few fragments of additional ethnohistorical material have also found their way into the following account. These include in particular the observations of Sir George Simpson who passed down the Fraser Canyon by watercraft in 1828 and those of R. C. Mayne, a member of the British Boundary Commission, who ascended the Fraser gorge in 1858. Fraser's report of the terrifying hazards of the Fraser Canyon, confirmed 20 years later by the disbelieving Simpson, led the traders to seek and find alternative routes over the Cascades in this region. One such path proceeded up the Coquihalla and then overland either up to the Kamloops area on the Thompson River or over to the Tulameen and Similkameen and down to the Okanagan country. Another ran up Harrison Lake to Anderson and Seton Lakes and on to the Kamloops sector of the Fraser. Both by-passed the supremely dangerous canyon sector of the Fraser, the core portion of the Lower Thompson territory. It is not surprising, given the hostile environmental accounts of Fraser and later Simpson, that early visitors to the Lower Thompson canyon villages were few and that ethnohistorical documents for the pre-1850 period are largely lacking.

As noted by Mayne (1862:305ff), no Protestant missionary entered the upper Fraser and Thompson River country before 1857. The extent to which the Catholic priests administered to the Thompson in earlier years I do not know, but Mayne, quoting Hudson's Bay Company sources, reports for even the lower

Fraser Valley that their efforts were ineffective in changing the Indian life in any material way. These remarks are confirmed by Teit (1930c:403) who notes that the White influence on the Thompson first became strong about 1858. It was, in fact, only the discovery of gold in the 1850s on the "bars" of the Fraser from Hope on upstream by Yale and through the canyon reach to the Lytton district that brought Whites in numbers into the deep gorge country and the home area of the Lower Thompson. At any rate, I know of no published missionary records or Hudson's Bay reports that provide ethnohistorical data of significance relating to the Lower Division and its homeland during the first half of the 1800s.

Introduction

In this section are summarized (a) the various terms used for the Thompson tribe by other groups and for its Lower and Upper Divisions, (b) the traditional boundaries of the Lower Thompson, (c) the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the tribe, (d) the population data available for the early postcontact years, and (e) the physical characteristics of the tribal members.

Ethnonymy

The Thompson are referred to in the literature under several alternative names. Among these are the following, some of which occur in orthographic variants:

Couteau or Knife Indians: used by early Hudson's Bay Company personnel (Teit 1900:167).

Cê'qtamux: occasional Lillooet term (Teit 1900:167).

Lükatimü'x: occasional Okanagan term (Teit 1900:167). Variant in Columbia Salish (Teit 1928:92).

Nko'atamux: Shuswap term (Teit 1900:167). Variants in Southern Okanagan (Walters in Spier 1938:78), Sanpoil-Nespelem (Ray 1932:11), Columbia Salish (Teit 1928:92), Okanagan-Sanpoil-Lakes (Teit 1930b:202).

Nicouta-much or Nicouta-meens: recorded by Mayne (1862:296) for the Thompson as a single group, whose territory extended from Spuzzum northward to that of the "At-naks or Shuswap-much" [Shuswap]. A variant--possibly only an orthographic variant--of the preceding term, but spelled so differently that it deserves mention.

NLak'a'pamux: derived from the Thompson name for themselves (Teit 1900:167).

SEmā'mila: Used by neighboring Indians of Fraser delta (Tait 1900:167).

Sa'lic: occasional Okanagan term (Teit 1900:167).

Numerous additional variants of some of the above, with citations to the generally old and obscure publications in which they appear, are listed by Hodge (1910:89). Swanton (1952:588-589) obviously merely reproduces Teit's data. The terms in the above inventory are spelled as they appear in one or more of the references cited; no attempt has been made to reduce the disparate phonetic systems to a common base.

As noted below, the Thompson had names designating their two divisions--the Upper and Lower groups--and among the Upper Thompson that distinguished their four major bands--the Lytton, Upper Fraser, Spences Bridge, and Nicola units to employ Teit's terms. The Lower Thompson, a comparatively small, compact, and culturally and linguistically essentially homogeneous group, had no band units paralleling those of the upper people. They had, however, names for each of their 19 villages as itemized by Teit, their residents commonly being referred to as "the people of X village." (Boas 1895:524; Teit 1900:169-171)

Tribal Territory

The Thompson were separated in their own view into two somewhat distinct population clusters, marked by significant cultural and minor dialectic differences: into Upper and Lower Divisions to use Teit's (1900:166, 168, 171) designations.

The Upper group--the Nku'kûmamax, "people above [Lytton]"--occupied a section of the Fraser River, the lower reaches of the Thompson River which flows into the Fraser, and the lower Nicola River, a small tributary of the Thompson (Figure 3-1). To some extent even in early traditional times they hunted for elk and deer and fished all over the middle Nicola drainage as well, making it their home for parts of the year, some wintering there, even though this was strictly country belonging to the Athapascan-speaking Nicola tribe. This Upper Thompson region east of the Cascades was rugged and hilly, but the mountain contours were rounded and their slopes gentle. The surface was intersected by many deep and narrow valleys. Somewhat farther east rolling hills or plateaus prevailed. Lower elevations were covered with sagebrush, greasewood, and other dry climate vegetation; the higher altitudes and mountain tops supported grass and scattered timber, principally pine. Summers were hot; winters were generally short and only moderately cold with light snowfall. (Teit 1900:168, 175, 178, 1930b:213-214; cf. Mayne 1862:383)

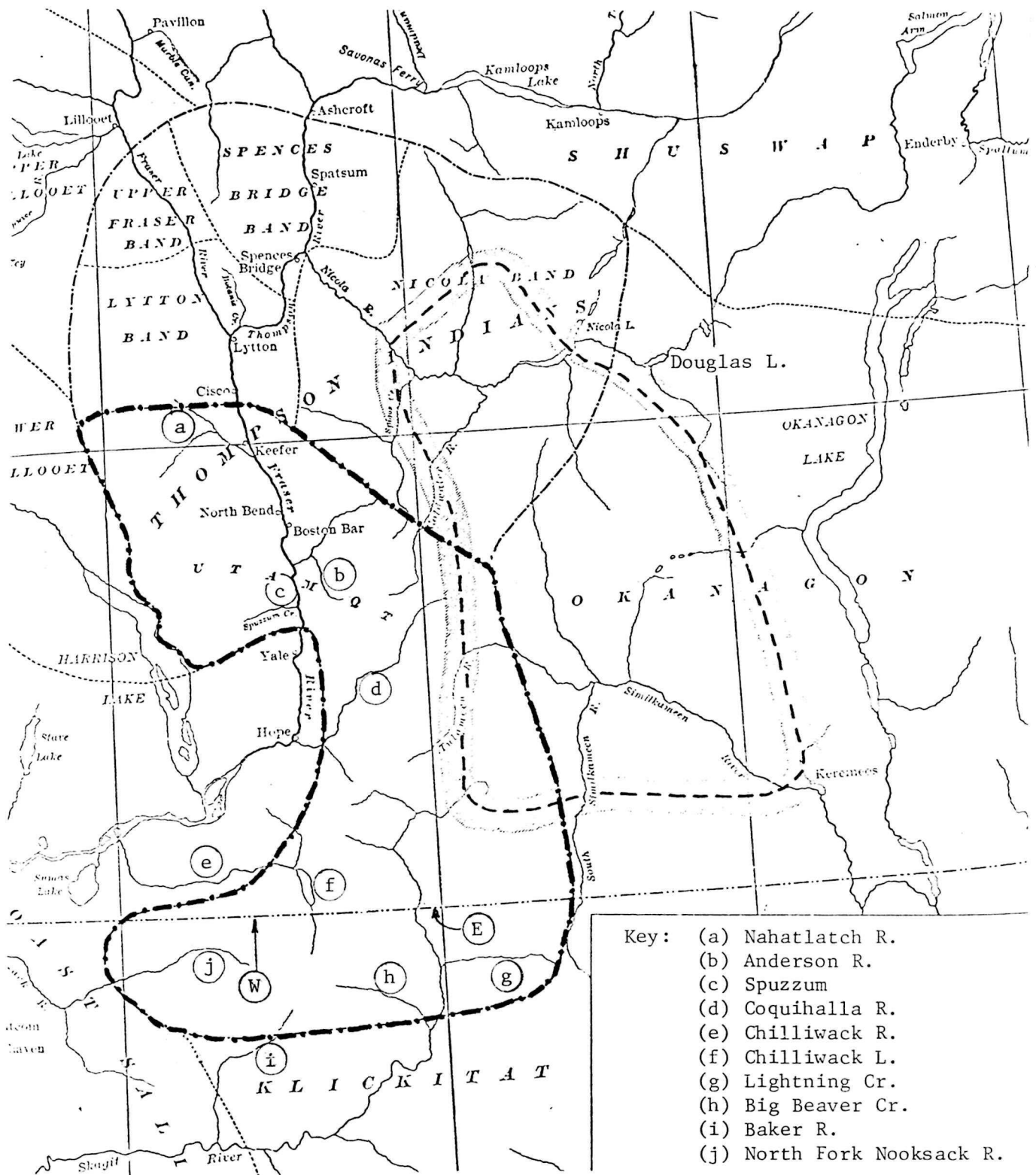
The Lower Thompson--the Utā'mqтамux. "people below [Lytton]"--claimed the deep canyon and rushing river segment of the Fraser Valley where it sliced through the Coast Range south of the country of the Upper group, whence the designation "Canyon Indians" sometimes given them. In addition to the very important Fraser River itself, they used as their principal subsistence grounds the rugged country, with its towering mountains, narrow valleys, deep gorges, and thick timber, on both sides of the Fraser. To the southeast and south they also exploited the food and other resources of the regions of the Coquihalla River and the Upper Skagit. According to Teit's Thompson informants, they likewise hunted in and claimed the Chilliwack Lake and upper Chilliwack River area (Figure 3-1). This Lower Division also considered as theirs and ranged over in their hunting activities an area south of the international border, specifically the northern section of the

Figure 3-1. Territorial limits of the Lower Thompson (Utamqt) Division as defined by Teit (1900:166). Letters (a)-(j) identify a number of additional geographic features.

The Lower Thompson boundary is emphasized by a heavy dot-dash line. The approximate territorial limits of the Athapascan Nicola, which disappeared as an ethnic entity in early historic times, is strengthened by a heavy dash line.

Arrows have been added at the international border to mark the approximate eastern (E) and western (W) limits of the North Cascades National Park Complex.

Teit's "Klickitat" term for the group adjacent to the Thompson on the south was an early vernacular designation for some or all of the peoples on the eastern face of the Cascades from the Thompson south to the Dalles-Vancouver region.



North Cascades Park Complex and the high country on both sides of the present Ross Lake. (Concerning conflicting aboriginal claims to and subsistence use of these Chilliwack and Upper Skagit areas, see comments below.)

In physical and biological terms, the country of the Lower Thompson was very complex. It extended from the bottom of the Fraser Canyon, with an elevation of only a few hundred feet, upward to rugged mountain peaks with areas of permanent snow and an arctic-alpine environment well above tree-line. East and west it reached from some distance west of the Cascades crest up over the watershed and down their east-facing slopes to just within the comparatively low and dry ponderosa pine country of the upper Similkameen. In fact, six distinct biogeoclimatic zones (including the Ponderosa Pine-Bunchgrass Zone in the east) are found within its borders (see later section discussing the Lower Thompson utilization of their high country), with their widely varying altitudes, precipitation levels, seasonal patterns, native animal and plant assemblages, and other natural resources so essential to a hunting, fishing, gathering way of life. Fraser Canyon, the site of the tribe's splendid salmon fisheries and all winter villages, was a region of abundant rainfall, especially in the southwestern quarter, and of heavy timber, primarily fir and cedar. Game was rather scarce; the taking of salmon was all important. Winters were short and the snowfall was occasionally heavy. (Teit 1900:166, 168, 169)

As the Nicola tribe vanished as a distinct ethnic entity during the early and middle 1800s, the Upper Thompson took over the middle Nicola Valley sector, while the Lower Thompson reached eastward into the middle Tulameen River country (Figure 3-1). Gradually they extended their territory down the Similkameen Valley to a point between Hedley and Keremeos, where they met the Okanagan expanding westward up the Similkameen. At first they hunted over this eastern country--elk were especially abundant there--and then began to maintain winter villages in the area. (Teit 1900:166, 168, 169, 1930b:204, 213, 214, 218, 257; see also Swanton 1952:430)

Since the concern of this report is with the groups that made use of the Park region, close attention is given in the following paragraphs only to the traditional territorial boundaries of the Lower Thompson.

The boundaries of the aboriginal territory of the Thompson are not well described by Teit in his text. This is particularly true for the Lower Thompson and especially so for the small segment of their homeland that stretched into the mountainous terrain south of the Canadian line. We are told only that the hunting grounds of the Lower Thompson extended "southward to the head waters of Nooksack and Skagit Rivers" (Teit 1900:168). On the other hand Teit's (1900:166) tribal location map marks off the southern territorial limits of the Lower group with sufficient precision to allow them to be followed on contemporary maps.

According to this map (Figure 3-1), based it must be assumed on informant data but surely somewhat generalized, the home country of the Lower Division followed the Cascades crest from the present international line, describing an arc to the southwest around the headwaters of Lightning Creek. It crossed the upper Skagit River--today's Ross Lake--just above the mouth of Big Beaver Creek and headed westward over the mountains to the uppermost reaches of Baker River and Mount Shuksan. Thence it curved to the northwest

to the Mount Baker region, crossed the North Fork of the Nooksack River in the Glacier area, and finally bent northeastward to arrive at the Canadian boundary southeast of Sumas Lake, now drained.

Evidently this region within the present State of Washington was regarded by the Lower Thompson as aboriginally theirs, for Teit (1900:175, see also 178) writes:

So far as current tradition tells, the tribal boundaries have always been the same as they are at the present day . . . [i.e., in the 1890s, except for the Nicola and Similkameen River sectors taken over in the 1800s from the Nicola tribe].

Reference to the preceding Skagit and Chilliwack chapters will demonstrate that in the upper Skagit and upper Chilliwack country within the Park region, the ethnographic literature records conflicting territorial claims. The upper Skagit tribe considered theirs, according to Collins, the Skagit River to near its sources, though her informants conceded that the Thompson used the northern portion of this area in their food quest. Specifically, Collins (1974a:5) writes: "[On the north the Upper Skagit tribal country reached] the territory of the Thompson Indians who hunted along the Skagit headwaters in Canada. One northern headwater of the Skagit River comes near their territories."

The Chilliwack tribe, for its part, certainly had solid claim to Chilliwack Lake and to the Chilliwack River both feeding and emptying the lake. It may be seriously questioned whether in traditional times the Lower Thompson often--perhaps ever--ventured down into these lower elevations as Teit indicates.

One concludes that the Skagit region from some, presumably rather short, distance above the present international boundary downstream to the southern end of today's Ross Lake was a contested region, at least in the late protohistoric and traditional postcontact period. It was ranged over by Lower Thompson, Upper Skagit, and to some degree Chilliwack hunting and gathering parties. The northern valley and adjacent mountains were visited more by the Upper Thompson; the western mountains lying between the Skagit and Chilliwack Rivers and particularly their western flanks, primarily by the Chilliwack; and the more southern sector of this region in the lower Ross Lake area, mainly by the Upper Skagit.

Cultural and Linguistic Affiliation

It has been noted that according to Ray (1936:108; 1939:147) the Thompson were culturally northward and eastward looking, most resembling the Lillooet, Shuswap, and Northern Okanagan and thus being perceptibly different in their lifeways from the nearby Southern Okanagan and other groups south of the international boundary. Teit (1900:167) made essentially this same point much earlier in an even more refined but more impressionistic manner in observing that the Thompson were culturally most akin to the Shuswap to their northeast. Both, however, were speaking most particularly of the Upper Thompson. The Lower Division, in contrast, was in many respects culturally

oriented toward the lower Fraser and nearby coastal tribes, a leaning attested to by much of the data in the ethnographic section that follows.

The speech of the Thompson comprised a distinct language, most closely related but still unintelligible to that of the Shuswap to the north and to that of the Lillooet to the west (Figure 3-1). These three languages of interior British Columbia made up the Northern Group within the Interior Salishan Division; the Southern Group included the four Salishan languages--Columbian, Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene--east of the Cascades and south of the Canadian border. Thompson speech was substantially more distantly akin to the Salishan languages of the British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon coast. (Thompson 1979:692-695)

The speech of the Upper and Lower Thompson differed only at the dialect level: i.e., the two divisions were able to understand one another (Boas 1895:524; Teit 1900:171).

Demography

No serious approximations of the size of the aboriginal population of the Lower Thompson appear, so far as I am aware, in the ethnographic literature. An attempt in this direction for the Thompson tribe as a whole and a few general comments concerning postcontact population reductions are, however, worth introducing into the record.

About 1835 Hudson's Bay personnel undertook a census of various Indian groups of British Columbia. These published counts, as Duff (1964:38) observes, are in general "obviously and grossly inaccurate," and so fail to provide an acceptable starting point toward late protohistoric and early postcontact demographic approximations. Duff's own attempt to begin with the first accurate censuses of the 1880s and work backward, taking into consideration epidemics, wars, and so on, yields some figures, but he collapses all these for the Interior Salishan peoples into one group from which it is impossible to extract the Thompson as a specific component of the total. (Duff 1964:39)

Sometime around 1850 I gather, A. C. Anderson, a chief factor in the Hudson's Bay Company who had "travelled a great deal in . . . [the interior, Plateau] country," estimated the Thompson and Shuswap tribes together, groups "mustering annually on the Fraser," at 6,000 or 8,000 persons (Mayne 1862:43, 297). There is no way to divide this demographic lump figure between the two tribes, much less between the Upper and Lower Divisions of the Thompson. This may be one of the Company census figures to which Duff alludes, but, if so, whether it is one of the better or one of the more imperfect "counts" in Duff's judgment is uncertain. In any event it, like other similar lumping demographic estimates of the mid-1800s, furnishes no useful information regarding the Lower Thompson population size.

The only early population estimate for the Lower Thompson provided in the historical accounts of which I am aware is the rough approximation of Simpson (1947:34-38). In his brief account of his two-day water journey down the Fraser Canyon in mid-October of 1828, he writes that "the Natives . . . were exceedingly numerous" and that "the whole of this [canyon] population .

. . [numbered] several thousand souls." Impressionistic though this figure is, it is still not without meaning, for Simpson had just come down the upper Fraser River to Alexandria, gone by horse from there across to Kamloops, and then descended the lower Thompson River through the Upper Thompson country. In the lower Thompson River area he had observed that the population "is numerous, forming themselves into Camps of 10 to 12 Families at the different [salmon] Rapids" and that "the Natives . . . become more numerous as we descend" the Thompson to its mouth. His Lower Thompson demographic note, as reported above, was written against this background.

On the subject of population reduction among the Thompson in the 1800s through diseases of epidemic proportions a few fragments of ethnographic and ethnohistorical information have been uncovered.

In his 1908-1909 manuscript, Mooney (1928:2, 27) gives some attention to the population reductions among the native groups of interior British Columbia, but his data seem confusing. On the one hand, he reports that the inland tribes of the province suffered much less from the early epidemics than the coastal groups. On the other hand, he observes that the great 1781-1782 smallpox epidemic was very destructive throughout British Columbia and that the tribes of the region were "greatly reduced by repeated visitations of smallpox and other epidemics, of which the most destructive was the smallpox epidemic which swept the Fraser River country and northward along the coast in 1802" (Mooney 1928:27). He does not state that this 1802 scourge moved up the Fraser River as far as the Thompson, but he appears to imply as much. If this is his meaning, the interior Fraser groups must have been hit badly by these pestilences, though still conceivably not as severely as the coastal peoples. And further, if this is his meaning, then Teit's data holding that the real depopulation began in the 1850s (see later paragraph) requires modification. In any event, Mooney's (1928:29) estimate for the Thompson population (Upper and Lower Divisions together) in 1780 is 5,000 persons.

In light of Mooney's largely reconstructive data, a journal entry by Fraser (1960:94) is of more than casual interest. On the evening of June 24, 1808, he encamped in a Lower Thompson village within Fraser Canyon and observed that smallpox "was in the [Indian] camp, and several of the Natives were marked with it." This seems to clinch the proposition that smallpox climbed the Fraser River at least as far as the Lower Thompson by the early 1800s, for it is improbable that all of these "several" Indians would have been visitors from downriver, where the testimony is conclusive as to the earlier arrival of the disease. Negative evidence is always suspect but it is of moderate interest that Fraser makes no mention of the ailment in his contacts with Indian groups farther up the Fraser either when descending or later when ascending the river.

Teit's (1900:175) ethnographic information is in agreement concerning the frightful effects of disease on the Thompson people in the 1800s, but indicates that the initial appearance of epidemics differed notably between the Lower and Upper Divisions. Specifically, he writes that his native Thompson informants and Whites already long residents in the area in the 1890s both affirmed that the Thompson in the late 1800s were "greatly reduced in numbers." The existence in the 1890s of numerous ruins of underground dwellings is not in themselves acceptable evidence for depopulation: single

families often constructed several such houses and, after the first smallpox epidemic, many survivors moved from small villages to larger communities and constricted new dwellings there. Nevertheless:

The old people say [for the Upper Thompson] that forty or fifty years ago [i.e., 1850s], when travelling along Thompson River, the smoke of Indian camp-fires was always in view. This will be better understood when it is noted that the course of Thompson River is very tortuous, and that in many places one can see but a very short distance up or down the river. The old Indians compare the number of people formerly living in the vicinity of Lytton to "ants about an ant-hill." Although they cannot state the number of inhabitants forty years ago, there are still old men living who can give approximately the number of summer lodges or winter houses along Thompson River at that time, showing clearly the great decrease which has taken place. (Teit 1900:175)

With reference to the Lower Thompson specifically:

In 1858 when white miners first arrived in the country, the Indian population between Spuzzum and Lytton was estimated at not less than two thousand, while at present it is probably not over seven hundred. If that be correct, and assuming that the number in the upper part of the tribe was in about the same proportion to those in the lower as now [c. 1897], the population of the entire tribe would have numbered [in the 1850s] at least five thousand. (Teit 1900:175)

This estimate should be seen in the context of the fact that, according to Teit (1900:175), about 1856 the tribe had been depopulated by a devastating famine that struck nearly the entire interior of British Columbia. Still, in Teit's judgment, the significant decrease in the Upper Thompson population occurred only after 1858 or 1859 when the Whites first arrived in numbers. Or, as Teit (1930b:212-213) explains the situation more precisely in a later publication: "It appears that the . . . Thompson escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862."

The situation, again from Teit's evidence, was apparently rather different among the Lower Thompson. While smallpox was said by his informants to have struck the Upper Thompson only once in their memory, it reached the Lower Thompson three or four times, first near the beginning of the 1800s. This disease was the most important cause of their depopulation during the nineteenth century. The 1863 epidemic, for example, must have carried off between one-third and one-fourth of the population, Teit's Lower Division informants asserted. Many people fled to the mountains for safety and dropped dead on the trail; others attempted to survive by retiring to their sweathouses, only to die within their walls. (Teit 1900:176) These data regarding the appearance of smallpox among the Lower Thompson very early in the nineteenth century, before it reached the Upper bands, is reassuringly consistent with Fraser's comments and the implications of his narrative for more upriver areas as noted above.

On its face, the extraordinary difference in the epidemic history of the Upper and Lower Thompson as reported by Teit seems improbable. White trade

goods were observed by Fraser in 1808 among both the Upper and the Lower groups. Items of trade of coastal origin reached both Divisions through intermediary tribes. And the Upper and Lower villages were in constant contact, although the relationship was not as close as between many friendly neighboring tribes elsewhere owing to the difficulties of moving about within the Fraser Canyon. If the Lower Division smallpox situation is properly described--at least Fraser's data seem straightforward enough--it would be remarkable if the Upper people escaped the disease until the 1850s.

Physical Characteristics

In the early and middle 1890s Boas (1895:524-551) collected a series of anthropometric data among the Indian groups of the northern Pacific coastal area and the adjacent interior, including measurements on members of the two Thompson Divisions who appeared to have minimal White admixture. In his analysis of these Thompson data, the figures for the Lower Thompson were kept separate from those of the Upper bands. Averages were computed for the various physical features measured, sensibly regarded by Boas not as defining a "typical" person but merely as approximations useful in intergroup comparisons. As he observes, they turned out to be surprising for their geographical regularity: e.g., from the exceedingly short Harrison Lake people the stature increased tribe by tribe in all directions, irrespective of subsistence base and substantial variations in cultural configuration, suggesting a very stable population over a large region.

A detailed comparison of the Lower Thompson data with the comparable figures for other groups would be out of place in this report. But the measurements for this Division and their relationship with those for the Upper Thompson may be summarized. The average stature of the Lower males of Spuzzum village was 160.5 cm (63.2 in) and of those of the villages farther upstream was 161.0 cm (63.4 in). The stature figure for the Upper Thompson band on the Fraser and lower Thompson River in the Lytton region was 162.7 cm (64.1 in) and for the band still farther up the Thompson was 165.7 cm (65.2 in). The comparable stature averages for females in these four groups was somewhat lower in each instance as would be anticipated. (Boas 1895:524, 530, 531)

Similar average figures are recorded by Boas (1895:533-538) for both men and women for head length and breadth, facial height and breadth, and nasal height and breadth. "Indexes" are computed for head, face, and nose, revealing the proportion of the smaller measurement in each pair to the larger measurement. These are technical details which can be best summarized descriptively.

The Thompson--Lower and Upper Divisions together--proved to be generally intermediate in these measurements and indices between an Interior Salish--and Sahaptian--type (represented by the Flathead, Okanagan, and Shuswap over the interior of northwestern Montana, northern Idaho, interior Washington, and southern interior British Columbia) and the Harrison Lake type (to the west). From this fact, Boas (1895:544) saw the Thompson as essentially a mixture of these two types, the conventional way of interpreting anthropometric distributional data of this sort in Boas' time.

More descriptively, the Thompson were considerably darker in skin color than the Indians of the neighboring coast, their heads were narrower (though still broad), their faces were lower and narrower than among their neighbors, and their noses were broader. The most interesting point, however, to emerge from their field data is that the Upper and Lower Thompson were physically notably different from one another in spite of the similarity of much of their fundamental culture, their essential linguistic unity, and the view of the two divisions themselves that they comprised a single tribal entity. The Lower people resembled more the Harrison Lake type; the Upper folk looked more like the Shuswap and Okanagan. But even more intriguing from Boas anthropomorphic records is the fact that the Upper Thompson band of the lower Thompson Valley presented peculiarities of their own, which may represent a retention of their archaic physical traits or "may be due to admixture of Tinneh blood" (Boas 1895:549). These "Tinneh" were the Athapascan groups, presumably in this instance the Nicola of the Nicola and Similkameen Valleys and perhaps to some extent the Chilcotin and Carrier to the north of the Lillooet and Shuswap.

While obviously not biological characteristics in the above sense, it is of some interest to note Teit's (1900:180-181) assessment of the "mental traits," as he terms them, of the Lower Thompson. In brief, at least in the 1890s the members of this group were "quieter and steadier than the people of the upper division, but at the same time they seem[ed] to be slower and less energetic. They . . . [were] better fishermen and more expert in handling canoes, while the Upper Thompson . . . [were] better horsemen."

The behavioral differences noted by Teit appear consistent with the different cultural bases of the two divisions--largely fishing in the first instance, and hunting and more roving in the second--and with the kinds of personality emphasis that might be logically encouraged by these different lifeways.

Subsistence

The staples of the Lower Thompson were salmon--the principal food--with deer, roots, and berries as important but supplementary foods (cf. Simpson 1947:33, 38). According to Teit (1900:230), undoubtedly speaking primarily of the Upper Thompson, many people lived in the mountains much of the year, moving about seasonally from one deer-feeding, root, or berry ground to another. The men trapped and hunted while the women gathered and prepared the plant foods. Only when cold weather arrived did they return to their winter dwellings. This, however, was obviously not the pattern for many--possibly most--Lower Thompson families with their fine salmon fisheries in the Fraser canyon. Nevertheless, it would be most surprising if some of these families, either by preference or because they had no ready access to salmon sites, failed to follow this seasonal routine. And still others, though fishing during the principal runs, must have gone to the hills outside the canyon for game and vegetable foods at other times, as the lists of foods obtained by the group compiled in the paragraphs that follow demonstrate. It must have been just such parties of Lower Thompson that sought elk and deer in the Tulameen region and food resources down in the Skagit River country of the North Cascades Park.

In his journal of June, 1808, Simon Fraser makes a point of considerable comparative interest. As soon as he, on his voyage of exploration down the Fraser River, entered the country of the Lower Thompson (his "Nailgemugh") he observed that this group was "better supplied with the necessities of life than any of those we have hitherto seen" (Fraser 1960:94), comparing them with the Lillooet and Upper Thompson people farther upstream. These "necessaries" surely including food, it is worth noting that at various villages within the canyon he and his party received edibles, generally "in abundance," to satisfy their subsistence needs. Mentioned specifically on one or more occasions are fresh salmon (boiled or roasted), dried fish, green and dried berries, wild onions, hazel nuts and other nuts of excellent quality (Fraser 1960:94, 97, 116, 117, 118).

Fishing

Salmon of five varieties were the principal food secured by the Lower Thompson. Trout and "fish of many [other] kinds" were taken especially in spring and autumn. Owing, however, to the special physical conditions of their canyon stretch of the Fraser, the Lower Thompson caught plenty of salmon even in years when the fish were comparatively scarce. Consequently, they cured only the finest fish: the chinook, from which much oil was obtained, was considered the best. (Teit 1900:230-231, 251)

Agreeing with Teit on the primary importance of chinook salmon and the lesser importance of trout among the Lower Thompson, Ray (1942:104) provides further data on the other varieties of fish to which Teit alludes. In addition to trout, of some significance in the diet were salmon trout, sturgeon, suckers, and eels. On the other hand, steelhead trout, though available, were unimportant, and dog salmon and whitefish were unknown in Lower Division country--at least within the canyon.

Women participated in all fishing activities, except the actual spearing process (Teit 1900:115).

Salmon and other large fish were taken with bag-nets (Figure 3-2). The Indian-hemp net was attached to small horn rings that slid along a fir or cedar hoop. This hoop was fixed to a long wooden handle. A string ran from the net to the fisherman's hand. When a fish entered the net, the man released the string and the weight of the fish closed the mouth of the net by sliding it along the wooden hoop. The fish, clubbed or with its neck broken, was placed in a pit previously made nearby by cleaning away the boulders to leave a sandy or gravel surface encircled by the stones. (Ray 1942:109; Teit 1900:249-250)

Long drag nets, with wooden floats and stone sinkers, were set in lakes and river pools overnight and hauled into canoes in the morning (Teit 1900:250). Presumably it is to these nets that Ray (1942:108-109) refers in reporting that Lower Thompson seines were netted of Indian hemp cordage to a length of as much as 60 feet. These were attached to end sticks, and were, as Teit states, sometimes provided with wooden floats and bottom weights and were emptied into canoes.

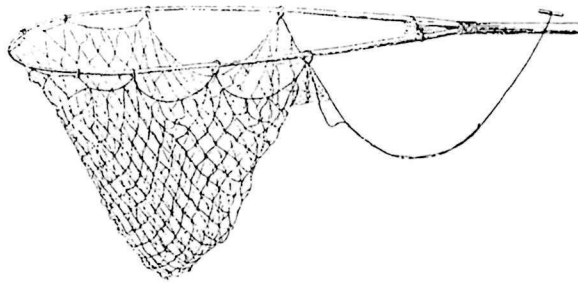


Figure 3-2. Thompson bag-net (Teit 1900:250 Figure 230).

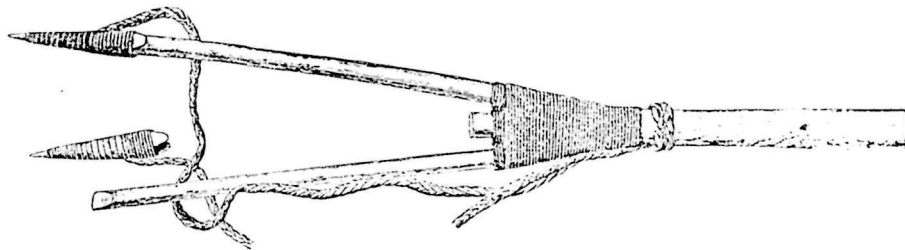


Figure 3-3. Thompson fish spear with detachable points (Teit 1900:251 Figure 231).



Figure 3-4. Thompson three-pronged fish spear (Teit 1900:252 Figure 232).

Salmon were caught in dip nets from platforms built out over the river where the fish, attempting to ascend the fast water, came close to the bank. Stakes were driven into the stream about 3 yards upstream from the platform, if the water was clear, to make it rough and foamy and so to conceal the net. The net was drawn downstream at intervals. This fishing method was especially suited to the Lower Thompson territory in the Fraser canyon, where the very rapid water compelled the fish to hug the banks, the water was typically muddy, many low rocks projected into the river making natural fine dip-net sites, and the fish, only recently from the sea, were superior. Because of the many rocks in their canyon from which to fish, the Lower Thompson fashioned these platforms less frequently than did the Upper Thompson. On the other hand, their bag-nets often had to have very long handles. (Hill-Tout 1900:509-510; Teit 1900:250-251)

The dip nets of the above scoop type, Ray (1942:109-110) explains, were suspended from a circular hoop attached to an A-frame, single-pole handle. The nets themselves were united to the hoop with horn or occasionally maple slip-rings, thus constructed like the bag nets described by Teit in an earlier paragraph. They were used from platforms both for salmon and for smaller fish.

On June 25, 1808, Simon Fraser (1960:95), descending the Fraser River on his journey of exploration, saw a Lower Thompson man "on the opposite side [of the river] fishing Salmon with a dipping net." Details concerning its construction and use are not furnished.

Fish, when running, were also taken by the Thompson from the bank with a spear made with a two-pronged point, each bearing a detachable tip with a barb directed inward (Figure 3-3). Each tip was attached to the handle by a line so it could come loose from the handle when the fish was struck. A spear with a single barbed point, sometimes detachable, was also used particularly for large trout from rocks on the river bank or from canoes at night with the aid of torchlight. These canoes were operated by a four-man team, each man wearing eyeshades: one in the stern to keep the craft drifting broadside down the stream; one in the center holding the torch; and one on each side of the torchman to attend to the spearing. This method was seldom used by the Lower Thompson because of the muddy condition of the river in their country. (Hill-Tout 1900:510; Ray 1942:112-113; Teit 1900:251-252)

A three-pronged spear, with two nondetachable wooden side points each armed with inside mountain-goat horn barbs, was also a Lower Thompson fishing device though it was not of great importance (Figure 3-4). It was used both for salmon and for smaller fish, largely in night torch fishing from river banks, from canoes, and in winter out on the ice. (Ray 1942:113)

Fish were speared or taken with hook and line through holes in the ice, though not often by the Lower Thompson (Ray 1942:110; Teit 1900:252-253). Hook and line angling was also practiced to some extent in warmer seasons.

Small sturgeon were taken by the Lower Thompson in the Fraser River with hook and line, both from the banks and from canoes. The hook of bone, large and heavy, was attached to a wooden shank and it, in turn, to a heavy bark line as much as 100 yards long. A stone sinker was fastened to the line

about five feet above the hook. Salmon tail was the usual bait. (Teit 1900:253)

Among the Lower Thompson, hook and line fishing was practiced by boys for trout in a few creeks and by men for trout in mountain lakes when camped nearby hunting and digging roots. Salmon trout were taken with stout hooks, also baited with salmon tails, and Indian hemp lines with a stone sinker tied a few feet above the hook. The line was coiled and thrown out into the stream as far as possible and then hauled in to attract the fish. (Teit 1900:253-254)

Ray (1942:110-112) also reports the Lower Thompson use of small hooks, fashioned of two pieces of bone with a wooden shank and a sinker, for small fish and eels. Double-pointed, bone gorgets were likewise used for these minor fish. Worms, ant larvae, grasshoppers, fish eggs, and even squirrel meat served as bait.

Weirs of stakes lashed together were built by the Thompson in shallow streams to catch salmon. These stopped the fish in large numbers, allowing them to be speared. Traps were fashioned like a stick box or were a woven willow basket in cylindrical shape. The Lower Thompson, Teit (1900:254) remarks, rarely made use of either weirs or traps; Ray (1942:104-108) goes further: according to his data this downstream group made no use whatever of weirs, traps, or fish dams of any kind. The slight difference in these two statements is suggestive. It is conceivable that Teit was aware of the occasional employment of these devices by subsistence task parties in the higher elevations out of the canyon, concerning which Ray's informant appears to have been largely silent. Through the 1800s the Lower Thompson became increasingly more sedentary, a life pattern shift substantially less true of the Upper Thompson (Teit 1930b:216). Inasmuch as Teit secured his ethnographic data in the 1890s while Ray gathered his in the 1930s, it is reasonable to assume that the latter's informant was less likely to remember those activities of his Division that occurred outside the Fraser Canyon boundary when the group as a whole were following a freer and more mobile life style.

Salmon, among the Thompson, were slit along the belly with a knife with a curved stone blade and short handle, and the entrails and blood were removed. The backbone was separated but left attached to the flesh. When the flesh had been deeply scored, the fish was stretched and kept open with thin cross-sticks. It was then hung over a long pole to dry, backbone on one side and flesh on the other. About a hundred fish could be suspended from a single pole. (Teit 1900:234)

The Lower Thompson salmon preparation technique was slightly different as described by Ray and Hill-Tout--or perhaps these differences were not group pattern distinctions but nothing more than variations at the level of individual women or villages, or in ways of handling fish at different seasons or under different weather conditions or according to the food to be prepared from the fish, or some other similar variable. At any rate, Ray (1942:135) reports that the Lower Thompson split the fish dorsally. Hill-Tout (1900:510) states that the women stood by to receive freshly taken salmon and at once killed them with a blow to the head, cut them open along the belly (as Teit reported above) with a knife of meat-chopper shape,

wrenched off the head, removed the backbone (as Teit states was not the case), spread the two halves, and hung the fish to dry in an open, pole shed nearby on the river bank.

Once dry and hard, the salmon were removed from the drying pole, piled in heaps, and carried by the Lower Thompson for storage to the elevated wooden caches where they remained all winter. In the spring they were removed and placed in pit caches. The following spring they were taken out and aired, only perhaps to be returned to the caches for another year. In this way a reserve supply of salmon was kept for two or three years by most families for emergencies. Salmon heads were also dried and stored. Wrapped in dry grass or bark, salmon roe was buried until nearly rotten; roasted or boiled when later removed, the roe tasted rather like cheese. Salmon eggs were also dried by the Lower Thompson and buried in bark-lined pits. Salmon and large trout tails were roasted before a fire until crisp. (Ray 1942:135; Teit 1900:234-235, 236)

To make salmon oil, a number of fat salmon were placed in a pit, about 3 or 4 feet square and 2 feet deep, lined with stone slabs with cracks plastered with mud. Water was added and heated stones thrown in. Later the boiling mass was broken up and stirred with a stick. It was kept simmering until all the oil had been extracted. As the mixture cooled, the oil floated to the surface and was skimmed off and put in dried salmon-skin bags tied at each end. The boiled salmon flesh that remained was removed, squeezed, and put in baskets to be eaten at once or dried into cakes for later use. (Teit 1900:235)

The process of oil extraction is also described by Hill-Tout (1900:510-511), obviously from having witnessed the process. Although very similar in essentials to Teit's account, it differs in certain details and adds enough new information to warrant summary. Forty or fifty fish, he writes, were placed in a large trough hollowed out from a tree trunk with fire and adz. When rotten, the mass was covered with water; heated stones were put in; and the mixture was stirred a hot pulp. The stones were removed and a small amount of cold water was added to cause the reddish oil to rise to the surface. This oil was skimmed off into birch-bark vessels with a spoon of wood or bighorn sheep horn. After standing overnight, the oil was reboiled and skimmed until quite clear. It was stored in bags made by peeling the skin from a whole salmon "as one draws off a tight-fitting glove," cleaning it with dry punk-wood, and rubbing it with deer or bighorn sheep suet. Turned right-side out again, the bags were filled with the oil and their mouths were fastened.

The salmon flesh remaining in the trough, to continue Hill-Tout's description, was kneaded into balls and sun-dried. Later it was squeezed, washed, rekneaded, and again dried. When quite dry and odorless, it was broken up and rubbed fine between the hands until like flour. Some of this flour was placed in the bottom of a birch-bark basket and on it was laid the skin sacks of oil. When the basket was filled with these bags, more salmon flour was spread over the top and down the sides, burying the bags. This food was stored for winter eating. (Hill-Tout 1900:511)

A kind of "butter" was also made as a great delicacy by boiling salmon oil with deer or, better, bighorn-sheep kidney suet, thoroughly mixing the

substance, and allowing it to cool, when it assumed the consistency of butter. This "butter" was eaten with compressed cakes of serviceberries or other berries. (Hill-Tout 1900:511)

The Lower Thompson celebrated the appearance of the first few chinook salmon with a special ritual. It was led by the village chief; the ceremonial position of "salmon chief" so important in other tribes did not exist among these Fraser Canyon people. The fish were prepared by the women and were eaten by men, women, and children, which was generally not the case elsewhere. It was considered important for the future salmon run for all of the fish and fish soup to be consumed on this occasion. (Ray 1942:115-116)

A rather more extended description of the first salmon ceremony of the Upper Thompson is given by Hill-Tout (1900:504), though not without, it appears, some considerable overformalization of the social and political structure, at least as it existed in traditional and early postcontact times. To summarize his account: When the salmon began to run, the "divisional chiefs" were informed. Messengers were sent to neighboring villages, calling on all people to attend the first salmon rite on an appointed day. When the day arrived and the people had assembled, the "head chief," attended by "lesser ones and the elders," initiated the ceremony with a long prayer. On its conclusion, everyone in attendance was given a bit of salmon specially cooked for this rite. When these pieces had been eaten ceremonially, all were permitted to eat as much as they wished. Singing and dancing in a circle followed, with hands held extended palms upward as in supplication. This same dance was performed again at noon and at sunset. This account tells us a bit about the ceremony, but more importantly it illustrates the cautions to be exercised in the use of much of Hill-Tout's data relating to the less material aspects of traditional Thompson culture.

Shellfish were considerable inedible: they were in fact abhorred (Teit 1900:348).

There is considerable ethnographic interest at present in the extent to which native hunting-gathering groups took positive action to maintain and even increase the food and other essential resources of their natural environment. In this context it is notable that the Thompson in traditional days followed the practice of taking live trout from lakes and streams and transplanting them into lakes where there were none. Sometimes these fish propagated and became plentiful. (Teit 1900:348)

Hunting

The ethnographic data on hunting are rich and can only be summarized in this section.

Although the Lower Thompson had an abundance of fish, they "spent much time in hunting," considerably less, however, than the Upper Thompson. "They even hunted," Teit (1900:239) writes of high relevance to this present study, "on the mountains on the western slope of the Coast Range. Hunting-parties who visited the most southern part of their hunting-grounds were sometimes absent for seven months, returning only when the snow began to melt in the mountains." Apparently these southernmost grounds were those in the Skagit

country north of the Canadian line and even south in the Ross Lake region, though Teit fails to locate them with this precision. They must, however, have fallen within the Lower Thompson tribal boundaries as these are demarcated on his territorial map (Figure 3-1). This is nicely confirmed by Teit's (1930b:257) subsequent data that the Lower Thompson hunted in the Cascades back of Hope and Chilliwack (i.e., in the Skagit country north of the Canadian border) where they met friendly Nicola hunting groups. And that they hunted and raided even "a long way [farther] south along the Cascades" (i.e., south of the international boundary in the Ross Lake Skagit region).

Skilled hunters among the Lower Thompson (no less than in the Upper Thompson bands) were esteemed. In fact, there were even men who specialized in hunting in spite of the great importance of salmon fishing to the group. (Ray 1942:123)

Before going out in search of game, a Lower Thompson hunter was expected to remain continent for a time. Sometimes he sweated in his sweat house, though this was not regarded as very important. Before actually leaving the village or camp, however, he customarily bathed in a somewhat ritual fashion. Apparently his wife was under no ritual behavioral restrictions. Nor were there prescriptions on how a deer was to be butchered, handled, cooked, eaten, and the bones disposed of, as was the case among many not distant tribes. In a group hunt, the meat was divided equally among the hunters. (Ray 1942:123, 127-129)

Deer, elk, bighorn sheep, beaver, porcupine, hare (rabbit), and squirrels were secured in abundance by the Thompson, according to Teit (1900:230), and to a lesser degree lynx and coyote. The principal game of the Lower Thompson was mountain goat, black bear, and marmot. This Lower group also ate rock-rabbit, which the Upper people did not regard as proper food. Ray's (1942:46) roster differs in several details. Deer, he writes, were the most important game of the downstream division; black and grizzly bear and mountain goat were also hunted; bighorn sheep were occasionally secured; elk were of minimal significance. The points of noncorrespondence between the Teit and Ray lists are of particular interest in terms of this present study. Teit's catalog appears to indicate a widespread and significant use of the mountain hunting grounds away from the Fraser Canyon fishing and winter villages. On the other hand, Ray's listing, except for the mountain goat, suggests a primary focus upon hunting in the Fraser Valley and immediately adjacent higher areas. One might sensibly conclude that in the period between Teit's research and the field efforts of Ray, memory of hunting in the tall mountains, including especially those in the upper Skagit sector, had evidently faded significantly.

A number of animals mentioned elsewhere in this study as having been taken by the Thompson generally for various secondary purposes--like clothing or ornamentation--are missing from the above two lists. Among these are the cougar, fox, wolf, wolverine, and ermine. Presumably these essentially unimportant animals were also secured at times by Lower Thompson hunters. At any rate, they were not truly "game" or subsistence animals, those with which the above catalogs are basically concerned.

Birds--particularly geese, ducks, and swans but also some land birds like grouse--were hunted for their flesh. Others were sought for their

feathers. The tail feathers of the golden eagle were highly valued, used for decorating headgear, hair, and weapons; those of the chicken-hawk were considered second best as adornment materials. (Ray 1942:117, 120; Teit 1900:367)

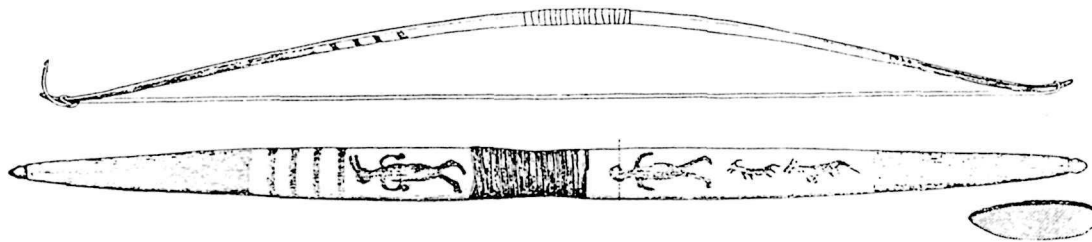
Bows and arrows were the principal hunting weapons (Figure 3-5). Among the Lower Thompson bows, narrow and 3 feet or somewhat more in length, were fashioned of hemlock, yew, syringa, serviceberry, or dogwood. In cross-section they were flat on the inside and rounded on the face away from the hunter. Better ones had glued to the face a layer of deer sinew to strengthen and increase the resiliency of the weapon, the glue of salmon skin. The center hand-grip was narrowed and wrapped with bird-cherry bark. The ends were recurved, notched, and sinew-wrapped. The string was of deer back-sinew, sometimes placed along the center line of the bow and sometimes to one side, or, when sinew was unavailable, was of Indian hemp. The entire bow was at times covered with snakeskin. Some bows were not given the sinew backing: e.g., those used in light shooting of birds and small game. The inner face of bows was often incised with designs filled with red paint, or adorned with dyed porcupine quill work, or fitted with red-headed woodpecker scalps at their tips. (Ray 1942:148-149; Teit 1900:239-241)

Arrows, of serviceberry or hawthorn wood or rosewood, were soaked in warm water, straightened with the teeth or over the knee, and polished with scouring rush or a sandstone shaft smoother. They were fitted with hawk, grouse, and sometimes eagle feathers: two or three split feathers attached spirally with deer sinew and pitch or with two whole feathers laid on flat. The Lower Thompson found stone for their arrow points near the headwaters of the Skagit River. Many points in traditional times were reflaked from the large points of earlier and unknown origin which the Lower Thompson found "in great numbers in the valleys." Hunting arrow points, of stone, were leaf-shaped and were fitted to the shaft at right angles to the nock. For small game the end of the arrow shaft was simply sharpened, and sometimes cut into barbs; some had detachable heads tied to the shaft with string. Bird arrows were blunt-headed. Arrows were often ornamented with simple painted patterns or branded with animal figures. War arrows bore barbed bone points that were detachable and "poisoned" with vegetable material or with rattlesnake venom. (Ray 1942:149-151; Teit 1900:241-243)

Quivers were of tanned deer skin, fringed and painted, or of "uncut hides" of coyote or wolverine, arranged so the tail hung down, or they were woven of sagebrush fibers. Some were fitted with small pouches to hold the fire drill and tinder. (Ray 1942:151-152; Teit 1900:243-244)

Bows were ordinarily held horizontally in the shooting (Ray 1942:149; Teit 1900:241)

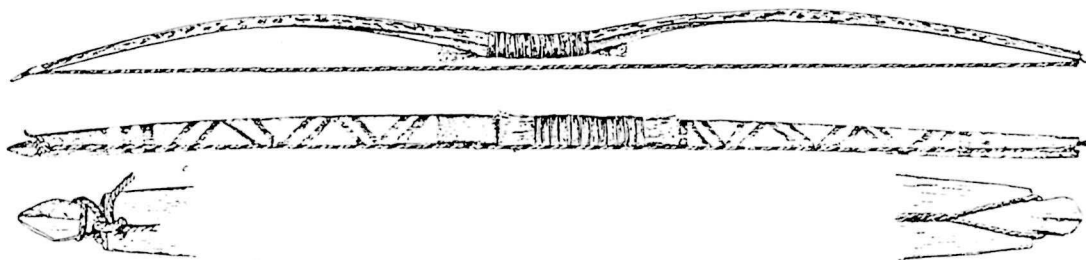
Every Thompson man had the right to hunt wherever he chose within the traditional tribal limits. There was no ownership of particular hunting grounds by band, villages, or families. As a practical matter, each band usually took its game in areas nearest its respective home villages, yet men frequently hunted, without being considered intruders, in sectors that were technically under the control of other villages or bands. (Teit 1900:293)



A. Sinew-backed bow: side view, front view, and cross section.



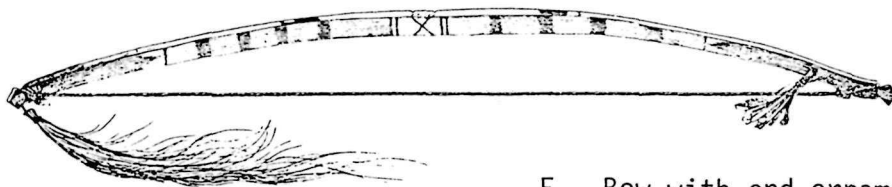
B. Bow wound with bark.



C. Bow covered with snakeskin; side view, front view, and ends.



D. Bow wound with bark: side view and cross section.



E. Bow with end ornaments.

Figure 3-5. Five Thompson bow varieties (Teit 1900:240 Figures 216-220).

Most of our hunting information describes methods used in taking deer, the most important game among the Upper Division. Among the techniques employed were the following.

Deer were generally hunted with the bow and arrow, with dogs providing valuable assistance. When dogs were to be used, they were tied up for several days before the hunt, fed sparingly on good food, and sometimes even purged with medicines and sweat bathed. In one of the simplest procedures in which these animals were employed, the hunter left before daybreak--perhaps carrying a few serviceberries to eat if he later felt exhausted--with his dogs on halters. On seeing the tracks of some large buck, he freed his dogs to run the animals down and followed them as rapidly as possible. The dogs generally drove the deer to a stream, where, particularly in autumn, men in canoes were waiting to pursue the animal in the water and, with a stick with an end crook, to catch the antlers and force the head under the surface. When drowned, the deer was pulled ashore, skinned, and butchered. Often the dogs brought the deer to bay at a creek until the hunter arrived to dispatch it. (Hill-Tout 1900:508; Teit 1900:244-245)

During the rutting season and in winter after the deer had come down from the hills, the Upper Thompson--and one may suppose the Lower Thompson also--lay in wait for the animals at night at their regular swimming places. In summer both Upper and Lower Thompson hunters shot them by moonlight at their salt licks or drinking sites, the men having concealed themselves in shallow pits screened with bushes. (Ray 1942:117; Teit 1900:245)

To some degree--though to a lesser extent than among the Upper Thompson--the Lower Division took deer with a rough deer fence. At one time these fences were very numerous, even up in the mountains. Some were for summer use, but most were for taking the animals in the fall and early winter in little valleys or defiles between the mountains and where the deer gathered when descending the mountains to their winter grounds. These fences, seldom over 4 or 4.5 feet high, were constructed of poles, tree limbs, and the like placed close enough together to impede the animal's progress. They were sometimes more than a mile long. Every 100 yards or so, an obvious opening was left. In this was dug a shallow pit, over which sticks were placed to support a bark-string snare attached to a strong spring pole. On the ground nearby a log was laid so as to force the animals, in stepping over it, to place its foot in the noose. With its leg caught, the animal was jerked off the ground. This was a very successful hunting method, but curiously not much used by the Lower Thompson. (Hill-Tout 1900:508; Ray 1942:44; Teit 1900:246-247)

The Lower Thompson also set nooses on deer trails to catch the animal's head or antlers (Teit 1900:247).

Drives for deer were carried out by two or three men or even a much larger group. Walking a hundred or more yards from each other, they forced the animals ahead where they could be shot by concealed hunters. This method was especially successful in winter in gulches where the animals tended to yard. If the number of men was large, the hunt was directed by an especially experienced man who knew the ground well. If men were scarce, women and boys assisted in the drive task. Sometimes a large number of deer were killed. Generally the oldest hunter divided the game, each deer being cut into nine

pieces. In a fat buck, the best part of the animal was considered to be "the fleshy and fatty part of the body between the skin and the bones." (Teit 1900:247-248) As Teit intimates, Ray (1942:117) reports that group drives were also organized to some degree in warm weather. These were under the direction of any good hunter (confirming Teit's statement), who assigned individual areas to the several men. The game was driven into water.

Deer were also caught in large mesh, Indian hemp nets, about 7 feet high and up to 200 yards long. These were set in the evening between clumps of bushes to form a corral open at one side on a deer trail. Generally some deer were found in the corral in the morning, unable to find their way out. (Teit 1900:248)

To be successful in taking deer as a lone Thompson hunter required close knowledge of the animals' habits and of the places frequented by them according to the season, and an ability to take advantage of cover, to track, and to shoot well. Sometimes single hunters in the mountains experienced much hardship and exposure.

Some of them would start out with cold weather in the winter-time, taking with them neither food nor other clothing than that which they wore. They lived entirely on what they shot, and used the raw deerskins for blankets. They made rough kettles of spruce-bark or deer's paunches. A hole was dug in the soft ground near the fire, into which the kettle was placed, with brush underneath. The open end was made small and stiff by means of a stick threaded through it around the edge; and the sides of the open end were sometimes fastened with bark to one or two cross-sticks which lay on the ground across the opening. Hot stones were put in to boil the food. These paunches were also sometimes used as water-pails. (Teit 1900:246)

In deep snow in the mountains deer and elk were run down by Thompson hunters on snowshoes and were shot or clubbed to death. They were also run down by dogs when the snow lay deeply on the ground and the crust was thick. Elk were driven over cliffs by large groups of men. Black bear were generally killed with the bow and arrow, sometimes with the aid of dogs, but they were also taken in deadfall traps. Male black bears could be hunted over a longer season than the females: the latter dened up when the leaves began to fall in autumn, while the males entered their winter quarters much later. Grizzlies were hunted by many younger men because of the great prestige afforded one who had killed such an animal single-handed. According to the Thompson, they were much less fierce in some parts of the country than in others. Tradition tells of a particularly courageous hunter of the mid-1800s who is said to have hunted them by thrusting a double-pointed bone vertically in the animal's open mouth when it charged and then killing it with a stone club while it was desperately attempting to dislodge the bone upon which it had shut its jaws. Mountain goats and bighorn sheep were killed with bow and arrows. Beaver were sometimes taken with the aid of dogs and dispatched with a bone-tipped spear. Coyotes and foxes were dug or smoked out of their dens. Hares, squirrels, and grouse were shot with the bow and arrow or were caught in spring-pole snares of Indian hemp, set over their runs. (Teit 1900:248-249, 373)

