The Cuthlasco of the Long Narrows: An Historical, Stylistic, and Functional Analysis of Mountain Sheep Horn Bowls and Ladles

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Abstract

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Intricately manufactured, visually stunning, and coveted across vast geographic distances for generations, Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles exemplify the quintessential art form of the Chinookan peoples of the lower Columbia. While they are prized as heirlooms and sought as iconic additions to Native art collections, this thesis provides first systematic art historical study dedicated solely to these highly valued sculptural vessels. Based on research in twelve museum collections, this paper analyzes a sample of ninety-eight objects acquired by these institutions between 1850 and 1921 CE and their ethno-historical context, stylistic details, and functional evolutions. Ultimately, this thesis proves the origin of these vessels in a Wasco/Wishram village near the Dalles, their importance in understanding the Chinookan art style, and their sustained cultural value over time in both Indigenous and Euro-American spheres of exchange.

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DEDICATION

For my grandfather.

Chapter I: Introduction

Intricately manufactured, visually stunning, and coveted across vast geographic distances for generations, Columbia River mountain sheep horn bowls (Figure 1) and ladles (Figure 2) exemplify the quintessential art form of the most southern of the Northwest Coast cultures. While these vessels are prized as heirlooms and sought as iconic additions to Northwest Coast Native art collections, there has not yet been a focused art historical study dedicated solely to these highly valued sculptural works. Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles have been acquired for both private and museum collections since the mid-nineteenth century as objects representative of the peoples and cultures of the greater lower Columbia River area. These vessels have been briefly addressed in various scholarly publications, recognized for their resilient material and unique stylistic features that embody the Columbia River style. This research will present an historical, stylistic, and functional framework ultimately affirming these works as iconic representations of the intercultural Columbia River style that originated with the Chinookan peoples of the Dalles.

The Columbia River style, epitomized in these bowls and ladles, is examined here as a hybrid of southern Northwest Coast and western Plateau art styles, specifically reflecting the cultural interactions between the Chinookan peoples and their neighbors that lived in the Long Narrows region, an historically bustling trade center. The great Columbia River provided a richness of natural resources to the Indigenous groups that lived along it and in the surrounding watershed, consequently bringing together large gatherings of families and friends from across the Plateau and southern Northwest Coast regions. Through the analysis of this region's art, particularly the bowls and ladles, a glimpse into interconnected Indigenous social systems is

possible as the Columbia River watershed is a highly complex ethnographic setting with many people holding multiple identities and cultural affiliations.

The analysis presented here aims to prove that the conception and manufacture of these bowls and ladles originated in the Dalles region with the Wasco and Wishram peoples and through trade, intermarriage and other forms of exchange moved throughout the larger Columbia River watershed region. To do so, I will trace the social history of these objects from the evidence for why these bowls and ladles were initially made, the technological process of manufacture, the functions they have served in past and present Chinookan, and neighboring, communities, as well as the functions they serve in the museum collections in which they now reside. The research here also seeks to decipher the meaning of the designs depicted on Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles and how these motifs have evolved stylistically.

To answer these questions this study employs a methodology that combines an ethno-historical approach and stylistic analysis. Chapter II will examine written accounts made by explorers, fur traders, missionaries, and settlers from the nineteenth century, combined with ethnographic data of the Dalles region from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The complexities of Columbia River cultures will be discussed, including where the ancestral lands of various tribal and cultural groups that once lived along the river were geographically situated, as well as how and where the language groups, specifically Chinookan and Sahaptin, were generally organized. There has been very little written about these specific types of bowls and ladles, thus the ethnographic setting in which these bowls were historically made is crucial to examine in order to provide the proper context. The perspectives and opinions of contemporary artists that work in the Chinookan art style are included in the analysis of Columbia River style

and the stylistic analysis of the sample. Their experience is crucial not only for deciphering formal details but also for gaining a more complex understanding of the intangible practices, such as song, dance or other forms of ceremony, that are directly related to the more tangible art object itself.

Aside from the ethno-historical and stylistic analysis methodologies used, an experiential hands-on analysis was also employed for the purpose of understanding the labor-intensive process of actually making a bowl from a ram's horn. In order to examine the shifting function of these objects, specifically in their exchange and movement from an Indigenous setting to a non-Native institutional setting, I looked to Igor Kopytoff's essay, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process" published in 1986. Kopytoff's work specifically aims to trace an object's history from the harvesting of materials, use, dispossession or decommission, and reuse and is utilized in Chapter IV to follow the shifting values of the mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles from their inception to their current positions in museum collections.

The Columbia River itself has functioned as an intercultural meeting place for thousands of years, with the historically bustling Long Narrows trade mart at the waterway's mid-point marking the epicenter of a vast network of transcontinental exchange. In its contemporary context, the lower portion of the river acts as a territorial boundary between Washington and Oregon, and this historical trading hub, now known as the Dalles, marks the dividing line between the anthropological culture areas of the Northwest Coast and Plateau and as well as Chinookan and Sahaptin language families. The Columbia River is first and foremost a center of cultural interaction and interconnection. This is evident in the shared use and respect for the river's resources by peoples of varying linguistic classifications and tribal affiliations whose homelands cover vast distances, as well as in the stylistic details of the region's material culture.

The river's position as a cultural crux played a key role in influencing shared stylistic attributes in the material culture across a vast geographical span, exemplified here through the tradition of creating and carving mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles.

Due to a number of factors explored in this text, the manufacture of Columbia River mountain sheep horn bowls ceased for over century, from the late-eighteenth/early-to-mid-nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century. In the last decade or so, contemporary artists such as Tony Johnson, Greg Robinson and Adam McIsaac, among others, have worked to revive this practice of making vessels of mountain sheep horn, among other materials, for the public art market, for private purposes, as well as to teach younger carvers this distinctive style. The various reasons for this interruption, not the least of which are rooted in devastating epidemics and the forcible removal of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands along the Columbia River, are examined in Chapter II.

For the purposes of providing the ethno-historical background in Chapter II, I look to the work of 19th and 20th century Columbia River, Plateau and southern Northwest Coast anthropologists and ethnographers such as George Gibbs, Edward Sapir, Leslie Spier, Emory Strong, Paul Wingert, David French, Eugene Hunn, and Yvonne Hajda. The authors emphasize how these complex cultural identities revolve around the river no matter the linguistic or tribal affiliation. Other published accounts discussed include the journals of explorers such as Lewis and Clark from their 1804-1806 Corps of Discovery journey as well as the journals of the Wilkes Expedition in the 1840s. I also look to the records of the fur traders in the Columbia River watershed, namely the journals of Alexander Ross, and missionaries, such as the ethnographic texts of Henry Perkins at the Wascopam Mission, for the earlier Chinook ethnographies in the region.

The Columbia River style is examined in Chapter III through iconic representations of Columbia River Chinookan art. A variety of media is presented here, from carved materials, traditionally executed by males, to basketry, traditionally executed by females, exemplifying how the Chinookan art style crosses borders of gendered art forms. This unique regional style is also discussed in terms of its consistency and vitality over great temporal distances from ancient petroglyphs and pictographs to the works of contemporary artists in the 21st century. The low-relief, geometric style is evocative of the more widespread ancient art style produced in various materials produced by all of the Northwest Coast cultures prior to the development of more tribally and regionally unique styles, although the timeline for when and where these styles originated and how they evolved is indeterminable.[1] This chapter will specifically explore the stylistic attributes of Columbia River mountain sheep horn bowls and define and describe the Columbia River style, including formal subdivisions that have previously been delineated, especially in contrast to Coast Salish style and more northern Northwest Coast formline design system. To do so, I look to the work of Tony Johnson, Adam McIsaac, Pat Courtney Gold, Bill Holm and Steve Brown and a number of the aforementioned ethnographers and scholars and their work in stylistic analysis. When appropriate, I will explain the iconographic significance of the designs featured on Chinookan art. This analysis of a greater regional art style is crucial for understanding the designs on the horn bowls and ladles.

A comprehensive analysis of the research sample is presented in Chapter IV, including a discussion on harvesting and manufacturing techniques, as well as formal analysis of specific designs, and organization of motifs exhibited on the bowls and ladles. Formal analysis is utilized with goals to discern a specific design system on the bowls and ladles, how this system has

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[1] Steven C. Brown, *Native Visions: Evolutions in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth*

evolved over time, if there is any variation in the execution of this design system from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Dalles, and evidence of artists' individual styles. The detailed collection histories of specific objects and the evidence for the original and evolving function of the mountain sheep horn bowl in historical and contemporary culture are also presented in Chapter IV. There is very little information that points to a specific use for these vessels, aside from generally functioning as serving dishes, but this analysis will seek to follow how and why they may have transitioned from highly personal and sacred utensils to universally recognized signifiers of wealth and intercultural exchange.

In order to choose my sample, I first examined the Bill Holm and Robin Wright slide collection and available published illustrations of Columbia River-style horn bowls and ladles before selecting the museum collections I would analyze in person. I personally analyzed 57 mountain sheep horn bowls and 26 ladles from twelve museum collections for this study. This does not include any objects in private collections, but represents the majority of mountain sheep horn bowls and ladle in institutional collections based on the Holm/Wright slide catalog, which includes photographs of 54 mountain sheep horn bowls and 39 ladles, a total of 94 objects.[2] There are nine bowls and seven ladles that I did not personally examine from the Holm/Wright

[2] There are many reasons that some of the objects I studied did not directly match up with the Holm/Wright slide collection. For example, some may have gone missing, some may have been physically inaccessible, or some may have been on loan to other institutions. The Holm/Wright slide collection also cites six horn bowls and one horn ladle in six private collections. These specific objects were not examined for this study due to accessibility, and in some cases objects have been bequeathed to museums since their publication in the slide catalog in 1996. For example, one bowl (Figure 90) was included in the Holm/Wright catalog as a privately owned object but is now in the Portland Art Museum collection. Other private collections not examined as part of this study include bowls or ladles in possession of Indigenous families or objects acquired by collectors through curio shops, auctions, and galleries. The inclusion of such materials may have offered examples that would have varied in age or type or had more information on provenance. Robin K. Wright, ed, *Pacific Northwest Native American Art in Museums and Private Collections: The Bill Holm and Robin K. Wright Slide Collections* (Seattle: Burke Museum, 1996), 127-130, 430-432.

slide collection, but these 16 objects are included my larger sample of 98 horn bowls and ladles, and were only studied from the available photographs. Conversely, there are 28 bowls and ladles that I personally researched in various institutions that were not included in the Holm/Wright slide collection catalog. One comes from the Burke Collection, one from the Yakima Valley Museum, two from the Portland Art Museum, and 24 from the National Museum of the American Indian.

The institutions I personally visited for my research include the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York, Burke Museum in Seattle, the Denver Art Museum (DAM), the Maxey Museum at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, the Maryhill Museum in Goldendale, Washington, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington, D.C., the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) in Washington, D.C., the Oakland Museum of California (OMCA), the Oregon Historical Society (OHS) in Portland, OR, the Portland Art Museum (PAM), the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (PMH), and the Yakima Valley Museum in Yakima, Washington (YVM). Each of these institutions were founded at different times impacting the scope of their collections. These collections were specifically chosen for the number of sheep horn bowls and ladles they had, which was commonly one to four, aside from the AMNH (13), the Burke (10), NMAI (32) and NMNH (11). Due to limitations of time, access, and funding, only collections in the United States were examined, excluding those in Canada, Britain, and New Zealand.[3]

[3] There is one horn bowl in the Museum of Anthropology collection at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, B.C., Canada, one horn bowl in the Musée McCord d'Histoire Canadienne, Montréal collection in Quebec, Canada, three horn bowls in the British Museum in London, one horn ladle at the Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries in Ipswitch, England, and one horn bowl in the Otago Museum collection in Dunedin, New Zealand, a total of seven objects.

This thesis will present the socio-cultural setting in which these under-researched bowls and ladles were made, the design system they exhibit, their cultural biographies from inception to collection to their current position in museums around the world and ultimately place this study within the realm of Native Northwest Coast art history. Despite the ultimate decrease in production after the devastating epidemics and later forcible removals of Indigenous peoples from the river's shore to inland reservations, in particular the Wasco and Wishram groups, the function of the bowls and ladles continue to hold importance across intercultural lines. As the first of its kind, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of Chinookan art style and a larger revival of contemporary Chinookan art as an Indigenous design system that continues to thrive today.

Chapter II: Socio-Cultural History at the Long Narrows

This chapter will examine of the cultural history of the Wasco and Wishram communities of the Upper Chinookan Iksht-speaking peoples (see Figure 3 for map). This will provide insight into the cultural origins and geographic dispersal of Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles throughout the larger watershed region. The neighboring cultural groups and communities, particularly the western Columbia River Sahaptin peoples, will briefly be introduced here as well, given that the region was known for its evolving multicultural landscape inhabited by both the permanent and seasonal populations. The geographical reach of Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles stretched beyond the specific locale that surrounds the rapids and falls of the Long Narrows, and it is crucial for the context of this paper to explore the greater region and cultural network, described by anthropologist Yvonne Hajda, as the greater lower Columbia.[4]

The geography of the region is introduced first here in conjunction with its function as a trade center and popular salmon fishery. The multicultural properties of the Long Narrows will next be examined through a brief outline of the written historical accounts of the area and the peoples that lived and traveled there from the perspectives of explorers, fur traders, missionaries and ethnographers. This will be followed by more recent accounts and research from the last century and a more detailed social anthropology of the Wasco and Wishram communities. The region's position as a trade hub for thousands of years and how that has influenced a multicultural identity will then be examined, with supporting archaeological evidence. This will

[4] Hajda describes the region as extending from the Quinault River in the north to the Alsea River in the south and along the Columbia River, including the surrounding tributaries of the Willamette and Cowlitz rivers, from the mouth to the Dalles. Yvonne Hajda, *Regional Social Organization in the Greater Lower Columbia, 1972-1830* (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 1984) 3-4.

be followed by a discussion of more recent times, specifically the impact of disease on the production of art in last two centuries and Upper Chinookan culture today. Ultimately this chapter reconsiders anthropological and linguistic borders with the goal of understanding the western Columbia River basin as a larger community, a concept that will be further explored through the stylistic properties of the mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles from the region. The powerful river remains a theme throughout the analysis in its role as both a benevolent provider of resources and as an intercultural highway that has shaped spheres of exchange on both a large geographic level throughout the watershed as well as on a more localized level on the Long Narrows.

The entirety of the river traverses a long geographic span, stretching 1,268 miles from the headwaters in the Canadian Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean through more than a dozen distinct environments. The lower Columbia is generally understood to be the last 200 miles of the river's run from the western edge of the Plateau beginning at the Long Narrows to the mouth where the river meets the ocean. The Long Narrows, used interchangeably in this text with the Dalles and Five Mile Rapids, marks the area of the Columbia River that flows between the mouth of the Deschutes River and the present city of The Dalles, Oregon, delineating the very upper end of the greater lower Columbia regional network. It functioned as a hub between coastal and interior communities and a center for cultural exchange. The term "the Dalles" has historically been used to describe different locations, resulting in confusion. Scholar Robert T. Boyd explains that in contemporary French, "dalle" is translated as a stone used to mark gutters. The Five Mile Rapids section of the Long Narrows apparently resembled a stone-lined gutter as the massive river barreled through the basaltic cliffs, particularly during low tide. Additionally, Archaeologist Luther Cressman has pointed out that "La Dalle" also means "slab or fillet of fish"

and that early travelers to the region may have been remarking on the massive amounts of drying salmon at the Indigenous village campsites along the shore in their designation of Five Mile Rapids as "the Dalles." The municipality of The Dalles is located about three miles downstream from the lower end of the aforementioned Dalles proper.[5]

The Dalles falls on the both linguistic and geographic borders defined by anthropologists in the 19th and 20th centuries and is the dividing line between the Sahaptin and Chinookan speaking peoples as well as the anthropological culture areas of the Northwest Coast and Plateau. (Figures 3, 4). Culture areas are defined by American cultural anthropologist Alfred Kroeber as a "regionally individualized type of specific growth of culture" organizing cultures as wholes and not through evaluation of distinctive attributes. These designations are rooted in museum classifications and based on a peoples' settlement in an environmental region.[6] In truth, the Euro-American established borders simplify and obscure intertwined social networks that extended across the implied boundaries. As seasons passed, people grouped and re-grouped over time in various settlements along the water and further inland.[7] The general environment east of the

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[5] Similar to Boyd, Cressman also notes that these travelers used the term "Les Dalles" meaning "the paving stones" to describe the "pavement-like character of the great exposure of flat rocks, [or] the surfaces of lava flows in this stretch of the river." Luther Cressman, *Cultural Sequences at the Dalles, Oregon* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1960), 12; Robert Boyd, *People of the Dalles: The Indians of Wascopam Mission* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 30-31; Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, 3, 3, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1930) 159.

[6] Hajda, *Greater Lower Columbia*, 15; A.L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (Berkeley: University of California, 1939), 2, 4.

[7] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 5.

Cascade Mountains is just as diverse and complex varying from the mountains and their foothills, the Columbia Gorge and the semi-arid land of the Plateau further east.[8]

The rich salmon fisheries along the narrows are an important focus throughout this study as they explain wide-reaching trade relationships. Every year, peoples from smaller tributaries would come together on the Columbia to fish, with the season peaking in mid-July. This major intersection of human activity aided in creating a massive regional social network prior to the mid-nineteenth century.[9] The river was the main route through which the interior and the pacific coast peoples exchanged goods, oftentimes coming from even further away—from the Southwest and Plains to Alaska.[10] The physical break created by a massive reduction in width in the otherwise continuous river resulted in large eddies between deep basaltic cliffs where salmon could rest during their upriver battle against the powerful rapids en route to their spawning grounds at the upper reaches of the river and its tributaries.[11] Ultimately, these geological aspects made Five Mile Rapids one of the best sites for fishing on the Columbia River.[12]

Historical Accounts

The historical accounts of explorers, fur traders, and missionaries offer the first written perspectives on the peoples of the Long Narrows region. In comparison to the writings collected downstream from the gorge such texts are fairly sparse, and rarely do either mention horn bowls or ladles. The few accounts that do exist supply a basic outline of the cultural landscape of the

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[8] David H. French and Katherine S. French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 12, Plateau, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 361.
[9] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 5.
[10] Warren W. Caldwell, "The Archaeology of Wakemap: A Stratified Site near The Dalles of the Columbia," (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 1956), 9
[11] Kenneth M. Ames and Herbert D.G. Maschner, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast: Their Archaeology and Prehistory* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 83; Emory Strong, *Stone Age on the Columbia River*, (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1960), 45.
[12] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 48.

Columbia River watershed at the time of Euro-American arrival, reflecting the idea of intercultural exchange across vast distances, which is in turn materialized through the art and design systems of the Columbia River.[13]

The first written accounts of the river were made in the late eighteenth century. While Spanish Captain Bruno Heceta sailed by the river on August 17, 1775 on the schooner *Santiago* as a part of the Pérez voyage deeming it Rio San Roque, American Captain Robert Gray is often credited as having "discovered" the river. Gray was the first explorer to examine the mouth of the river on May 11, 1792 and named the river after his ship the *Columbia* and the bay at the mouth of the waterway after himself, deeming it Gray's Harbor.[14] According to the *Columbia* ship diarist John Boit, Gray and his crew continued further upstream to an area between Chinook Point and Point Ellice to a large Chinook village where they cordially traded with the lower Chinookan peoples. The following October, the British Captain George Vancouver and his expedition came to Gray's harbor to survey the river. Vancouver sent Naval Officer William Broughton to take his ship to examine further upriver, but made it only as far as ten miles upriver, never actually reaching the Long Narrows.[15] Gray and his crew traded with the Chinookan peoples there, who even at this early encounter with Euro-Americans, were well-prepared to trade, particularly for metal. Oral histories and other written accounts suggest other sailors who ran aground or off course may have preceded Gray. Gray had even traded with the Tillamook people who lived further south on the coast and word of these exchanges would have

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[13] Strong, *Stone Age*, 117.
[14] Erna Gunther, *Indian Life on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1972), 12, 14, 74, 84.
[15] Gunther, *Indian Life*, 85; Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska, 1986), 119.

easily traveled north and inland.[16] Both authors offer an early written perspective of the region but neither Gray nor Boit's writings include any information on the sheep horn dishes.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's journal entries from the Corp of Discovery Expedition represent some of the earliest written detailed documentation of the peoples from all along the Columbia River, including the Dalles. The captains also documented information on material culture and actively collected objects from many of the peoples of the region with whom they interacted. President Thomas Jefferson had a distinct interest in Native American culture and history and outlined a program for Lewis and Clark and their crew to familiarize themselves with these cultures in as many ways as possible. In a letter dated June 20, 1803, Jefferson's asked the explorers to gather information on the names and populations of certain indigenous nations, their possessions, intertribal relationships, languages, occupations, domestic matters, diseases, and specifically the collection of material culture.[17]

In 1983 the University of Nebraska Press began the nearly two-decade project of publishing a comprehensive edition of the *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* edited by Gary Moulton, which is now considered the defining text on the Corp of Discovery's travels. The fifth, sixth and seventh volumes of the thirteen volume edition covers the explorers' experiences with Chinookan peoples, and other surrounding communities, on the Columbia River, many of whom they came in contact with twice, on both their westward and homeward-bound journeys. During their stay in the lower Columbia River region, Clark explicitly comments on Chinookan serving dishes, mentioning that they were "eating berries from bowls

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[16] William Lang, "The Chinookan Encounter with Euro-Americans in the Lower Columbia River Valley," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames and Tony Johnson (Seattle: University of Washington, 2013), 251.
[17] Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection* (Cambridge and Seattle: Harvard University, 2003), 20-21, 53.

made of horn."[18] Their account of the Dalles on their trip back east is particularly interesting as they note the abundance of bighorn sheep in the Cascades region and the harvesting of their skins for robes in the Upper Chinookan region.[19] This was April of 1806, so the captains were also in the Dalles to witness the spring salmon runs and the early influx of non-local peoples for the prime fishing sites and trade.

A few years after the Corp of Discovery expedition passed through, Euro-American fur traders and trappers began to move into the Columbia River watershed region. Alexander Ross's first hand accounts from his time with John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company, titled *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, were published in 1849, providing an early written non-Native perspective of the Columbia River region from 1810 to 1813. The published text was taken from Ross's journal that he kept while aboard the *Tonquin* in his early days as a company man, and holds a fair amount of ethnographic information.[20] As both an employee of the American Pacific Fur Company and later the Canadian North West Fur Company, Ross described in detail the first hand experiences of the company men in the region offering a view of the lifeways of the peoples that lived along the Columbia River, albeit from an Eurocentric perspective.[21] Ross does not comment on sheep horn dishes in text, but he does note that the Chinookan people of the lower Columbia "show much skill in carved work, which they finish with the most delicate polish."[22]

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[18] Meriwether Lewis, William Clark et al, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary Moulton, 6 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990), 118.
[19] Lewis and Clark, et al, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary Moulton, 7 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1991), 112, 145.
[20] Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 7.
[21] Wayne Suttles and William L. Lang, "Chinookan Writings: Anthropological Research and Historiography," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 339.
[22] Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 104.

Missionary work began in the greater lower Columbia River region in 1834 with the establishment of a Methodist Mission near present-day Salem, Oregon and was soon followed by the development of others among the Upper Chinookan peoples, including the Wascopam Mission founded by Henry Perkins near the Long Narrows.[23] Robert Boyd's 1996 book *People of the Dalles: Indians of Wascopam Village* offers a focused look at the Upper Chinookan and Western Sahaptin peoples through the texts of the Wascopam Methodist Mission records, using them as anthropological documentation. Boyd looks to missionary and amateur ethnologist Henry Perkins, the main author of all the ethnographic portions of the mission documents, as a focus. Boyd's text is key to this research as it offers an ethno-historical look at the Wascopam Mission circuit, which covered the region between the Cascades and Celilo Falls including the Long Narrows. While Perkins was only stationed at the mission between 1838 and 1844, the book takes an in-depth look at the early years of the Methodist missions in the region through historical narratives as well as the cultural change after their introduction.

Myron Eells was the son of two missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Cushing Eells, who had built a mission near Spokane in 1838. When the younger Eells grew up he too became a missionary and worked around the Puget Sound with Coast Salish peoples from 1874 until he died in 1907. During his time on the Skokomish reservation he collected two mountain sheep horn bowls, one of which exhibits a the Columbia River style is now at the Maxey Museum at Whitman College in Walla Walla, WA. Eells remarked on the intertribal marriage at the Skokomish reservation, perhaps explaining the presence of these bowls in his collection, which is further explored in Chapter IV.[24]

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[23] Lang, "The Chinookan Encounter with Euro-Americans," 269.
[24] Myron Eells, *The Indians of Puget Sound*, ed. George Pierre Castile (Seattle: University of Washington, 1985), 5; Robin K. Wright, "A Collection History: Washington Native Art," *A Time*

In 1845 Navy Lieutenant Charles Wilkes penned his account of the United States Exploring Expedition. This journey was a crucial step for the country's assertion as equivalent to, if not greater than, than its European imperialist counterparts. The lofty expedition goals included exploring the South American coast, pursuing evidence of an Antarctic landmass, surveying and mapping Pacific islands and the San Francisco bay, and collecting information on the Northwest Coast of America, particularly the Oregon Territory. At this time, the territory extended from Russian Alaska to Spanish California as well as from the Pacific Coast to the Continental Divide. It had been jointly "possessed" by the United States and Great Britain, where Britain had perpetuated their presence via the Hudson's Bay Company.[25] While Wilkes and his squadron had arrived at the mouth of Columbia River, they were unable to make it past the white breakers in their ship. There were still other ships in their party they were planning to meet on Columbia River later on. They sailed up the coast, into the Strait of Juan de Fuca and eventually anchored in Discovery Bay where Captain George Vancouver had almost 50 years before. There, Wilkes received directions to the Hudson's Bay Fort Nisqually post from an English speaking Coast Salish individual. After they arrived they received great help from of the chief traders Alexander Anderson to build two log cabin structures for utilizing their navigation equipment and to determine their location. From Fort Nisqually, Wilkes instructed various groups to survey the region, both the sound and the interior. Wilkes later led his own group from Fort Nisqually down the Cowlitz River to the Columbia and Fort George. It was during these survey trips that

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of gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State, ed. Robin K. Wright (Seattle: Burke Museum and University of Washington 1991): 37.

[25] David M. Buerge, "The Wilkes Exploring Expedition in the Pacific Northwest," *Columbia Magazine* 1, 1 (1987): 1-3, accessed May 12 2012, http://www.washingtonhistory.org/files/library/wilkes-expedition.pdf; Pamela M. Henson, "Nineteenth Century Smithsonian Anthropologists: Creating a Discipline and a Profession," *AnthroNotes*, 29, 1 (2008): 12.

Wilkes and his crew collected the Columbia River objects that are now in the National Museum of Natural History, eventually cataloged in 1867.[26]

During the expedition, the natural history-trained scientists among the crew were given the task to collect and study botanical, zoological, geological, and cultural materials encountered along the way. Secretary of War Joel Poinsett received the shipments of artifacts and specimens during the extent of Expedition. In all, Poinsett received forty tons of material including 2500 ethnographic and archaeological samples for storage, preservation and study. As a means to organize the growing collection, Poinsett helped establish the "National Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences." The maintenance of this collection was no easy feat and eventually came under control of the Smithsonian Institution, which had been recently established in the United States due to an unusual clause found in wealthy Englishman John Smithson's will. The original collections of the Smithsonian then included the detailed field notes, drawings and objects such textiles, basketry, jewelry, masks, statues, tools, weaponry, and domestic goods gathered by the U.S. Exploring Expedition.[27]

The expedition reached the Columbia River in the early 1840s and offered detailed commentary on the Chinookan peoples that lived along the river. While Wilkes himself did not visit the Dalles, he entrusted his artist Joseph Drayton with the task of gathering information and making illustrations. Wilkes then recounted experiences based on the reports and works Drayton sent back.[28] Overall, the Dalles chapter focuses on missionary efforts, the dry rugged environment, Chinookan clothing, fishing techniques and huts, and the Dalles as a trade center

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[26] Buerge, "The Wilkes Exploring Expedition," 1-3; Henson, "Nineteenth Century Smithsonian Anthropologists," 1, 12; Wright, "A Collection History," 36.
[27] Henson, "Nineteenth Century Smithsonian Anthropologists," 12-13.
[28] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), 377-8.

and salmon fishery. Drayton passed through the Long Narrows in July 1841 during the height of fishing and trading season and in his description makes no mention of bighorn bowls or ladles.

Around a decade after the Wilkes Expedition came through what was called the Oregon Territory, many political changes had taken place in the states now known as Oregon and Washington.[29] While the first half of the nineteenth century is marked by the collecting patterns similar to these larger aforementioned expeditions, fur trade settlements, and missions, the latter half is more defined by the acquisitions of United States government employees, ethnographers and representatives of the newly developed anthropology museums. George Gibbs falls into the latter two categories of this list as both an ethnographer and employee of the Smithsonian Institution.[30] In 1849, Gibbs acted as deputy collector of customs in Astoria, Oregon and later joined Governor John P. Gaines Indian Commission, which negotiated treaties with the tribes in the Willamette Valley. After traveling with the McKee party to visit Northwestern California in 1851, Gibbs settled near Fort Steilacoom, Washington, where he conducted his studies of the languages of the different tribes in the region. The extensive vocabularies he gathered now reside in the Smithsonian Institution. Gibbs was also an assistant to the Washington territorial governor Isaac Stevens during the 1850s, which coincided with the important treaty period with the Native peoples of the region. During this time, it is assumed Gibbs collected the ethnographic material from the Columbia River region, including two mountain sheep horn bowls, one sheep horn ladle, a straight adze, a fishing club, an oil dish and a pair of beaded moccasins.[31]

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[29] Oregon became a state in 1859 and Washington in 1889. J. Neilson Barry, "The Historical Mosaic of Washington," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 30, 2 (1939): 173; Keith A. Murray, "The Movement for Statehood in Washington," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 32, 4 (1941): 384.

[30] Robin Wright, "A Collection History," 36.

[31] David I. Bushnell, Jr., *Drawings by George Gibbs*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1938), 1; George Gibbs, *Indian Tribes of Washington Territory* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon,

Ethnological and Anthropological Accounts

The early disciplines of anthropology and ethnology continued to develop throughout the latter half of the 19th century and these later practitioners are crucial to this research as well. University of Washington ethnographer and linguist Edward Sapir was in the Dalles in the early 20th century, and in the 1920s anthropologist Leslie Spier combined his notes with Sapir's work forming the most comprehensive text on the peoples of the Dalles region.[32] The resulting product, *Wishram Ethnography*, published in 1930, provided a crucial background to understanding the geographic area surrounding the Dalles, but offers a more nuanced look at the Indigenous people who were living in the great fishing and trade center throughout the year, rather than the neighboring groups who traveled there seasonally.

Gathering their information from informants that lived on the Yakama reservation in central Washington, Spier and Sapir open their ethnography by orienting the location of various permanent Wishram villages along the north bank of the Columbia River directly across the water from their close neighbors, the Wasco, and move categorically through material culture, social organization, religious practices, individual customs and oral histories. While the text is titled "Wishram Ethnography," the Wasco are considered allies with the Wishram and culturally akin as the Columbia River functions more as a highway and intermediary rather than a dividing line, especially given that Chinookan peoples were experts making and using canoes allowing them to cross and travel the river frequently. Wasco groups and individuals often "became Wishram" when they crossed the river to protect themselves from Northern Paiute attacks,

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1972), 6; George Gibbs and Vernon Rosco Carstensen, *Pacific Northwest Letters of George Gibbs*, (Oregon Historical Society: 1954), 5; Wright, "A Collection History," 36.

[32] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 7.

further attesting to the lack of discrepancies between the groups and why this text applies to both sides of the river.[33]

David French's 1961 anthropological text on the Wasco-Wishram peoples offers a chronological look at the cultures in four periods, defined as "pre-horse," "augmented," "modified," and "part-time," examining settlements, art, social organization, ceremony, and relationships with outsiders and non-Natives. The "pre-horse" period characterizes a rather large time frame from when the Wasco-Wishram arrived in the Long Narrrows region to the arrival of the horse soon after 1730.[34] The "augmented" time period focuses on the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, a period of new cultural materials and cultural crisis as a result of Euro-American contact, influence and exchange.[35] The "modified" period focuses on the years 1858 to 1920, a time characterized by the movement from ancestral lands to reservations, specifically the Warm Springs and Yakama reservations.[36] The "part-time" period, from 1920 to the then-present 1960s was characterized by the Chinookan culture's further involvement in a money-oriented economy and gradual, but not complete, loss of traditional lifeways.[37] French depends on his own field data, historical narratives and the papers of Spier, Sapir, and Edward Curtis, focusing heavily on Chinookan identity, socio-cultural behavior, and the lack of boundaries between various groups in the area.[38] Both David and Katherine French have collected ethnographic and linguistic data from the Warm Springs reservation since the mid-20th

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[33] David French, "Wasco-Wishram" in *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*, ed. Edward H. Spicer, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961) 343.
[34] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 339.
[35] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 341.
[36] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 371.
[37] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 398-400.
[38] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 339.

century, which they incorporate into their contributions to the Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians chapter on the Wasco, Wishram and Cascade peoples in the Plateau volume.[39]

Yvonne Hadja's 1987 dissertation *Regional Social Organization in the Greater Lower Columbia, 1792-1830* uses a regional analysis to examine societal systems on the lower Columbia River, or from the Dalles downstream, to argue for a new way to examine the cultural histories of the indigenous peoples of the area and questioning the applicability of anthropological delineations such as culture areas and tribes. She looks specifically to interconnecting networks of various groups of peoples through marriage, spheres of trade and social stratification to support her regional approach that emphasizes the similarities and symbiotic relationships between groups on and around the Columbia River, rather than their differences, an important approach I intend to follow in my analysis of the Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles. Hajda also provided the most detailed discussion on trade systems in the region, particularly the seldom-examined exchange between pre-contact native peoples and their history of barter to which many Euro-Americans were not privy.

Eugene Hunn's book *Nch'i-wána, "The Big River": Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land* offers another anthropological perspective but specifically focuses on the Sahaptin groups of the mid-Columbia. In describing the Sahaptin lifeways, Hunn utilizes historical texts, travelers' accounts and his own work with the late James Selam, a John Day Sahaptin elder who grew up along the river in a tule mat house and experienced the traditional seasonal activities first-hand, providing a profile of the social and historical intricacies of the peoples that neighbored and lived among Upper Chinookan groups along the river. The intersections and territorial specifications of Sahaptin and Chinookan speaking cultures are outlined in Hunn's

[39] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 7.

2007 article “Sk’in: The Other Side of the River” for the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* dedicated to the remembrance of Celilo Falls, which was flooded 50 years prior due to the construction of Dalles Dam.

In his 2010 book *Shadow Tribe: The Making of Columbia River Identity*, historian Andrew Fisher explores the complexities of the people who have resisted leaving their ancestral homelands along the mid-Columbia River, between the Cascade and Priest Rapids, and who do not necessarily associate with the United States government-appointed tribal designations or reservations. In order to do so, Fisher chronologically details the history behind this active avoidance, starting with Lewis and Clark’s attempts to classify the peoples in the area. Fisher also examines the decades leading up to the 1855 treaties that ceded the river shores to the United States government before discussing the themes of resistance and tradition that continue into contemporary times.

Most recently, the book *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia,* edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson and published in 2013, examines the title region through academic essays written by recognized lower Columbia River ethnologists, archaeologists, scientists, and historians from the environmental surroundings to socio-cultural issues. One crucial chapter, titled “Lower Columbia River Art” and written by Tony Johnson and Adam McIsaac with Robert Boyd and Kenneth Ames, is specifically dedicated to the stylistic details of art of the region from the perspective these artists, scholars and culture bearers. Both the historical and contemporary cultural settings in which the Columbia River mountain sheep horn bowls were made is outlined, among other iconic art forms, through these specialized perspectives.

Linguistic and Socio-Cultural Context of the Long Narrows

These aforementioned narratives and scholarly texts help to clarify the complex social constructs on and around the Long Narrows. Geographically, the historic linguistic and cultural boundary between the Upper Chinookan and Sahaptin speakers is just east of the head of the Long Narrows, although the two groups maintained friendly relationships, evident in Euro-American accounts. The Upper Chinookan dialect, or Kiksht according to the speakers, was spoken by peoples in villages from the Cascades to the easternmost Wishram village, including the Clackamas, Cascades and Wasco-Wishram groups. These dialects fall under the larger umbrella of Chinook, a language of Penutian stock.[40] Columbia River Sahaptin falls under the larger Sahaptin language family, which is also a subgroup under the Penutian phylum. According to the aforementioned anthropological texts, the Sahaptin groups physically closest to the Wasco-Wishram speakers were the Umatilla, Rock Creek, John Day, Celilo, Tenino, and Tygh. Their summer and winter settlements were physically close to the Kiksht speakers as well to the Tenino village at the westernmost location on the east end of Five Mile Rapids, on the south side of the river across from the Chinookan Wishram village Nixlúidix, and adjacent to other Wasco campsites. Sahaptin groups, speaking such dialects as Kittias, Yakama, Klickitat and Taitnapum also lived north and west of the Columbia River, inhabiting the interior valleys.[41] The Upper Chinookan villages were usually concentrated near falls, rapids, narrows, or mouths of tributaries for means of convenient net fishing of salmon.[42] Generally, these Wasco-Wishram families and

[40] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 36; French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 360.
[41] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 36; Andrew H. Fisher, *Shadow Tribe: The Making of Columbia River Indian Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2010), 23; French, "Wasco-Wishram," 345.
[42] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram and Cascades," 361.

villages tended to stay closer to the river than their Sahaptin neighbors, preferring to travel by canoe even after the introduction of horses, which came to eastern Washington around 1730.[43]

The linguistic and culture area border between the Upper Chinookan and Sahaptin speakers located just over six miles downstream of Celilo Falls was first noted in Lewis and Clark's expedition journals. In quoting their Nez Perce guides who had accompanied the explorers westward, William Clark writes "they [the Nez Perce guides] could be of no further service to us, as their nation extended no further down the river than those falls" and Nicholas Biddle added in interlineations stating "they could no longer understand the language of those below the falls, till then not much difference in the vocaby."[44] While the explorers depended on these Nez Perce guides, their knowledge of the local Sahaptin dialect was far from perfect.[45] These types of early classifications by language differences set the standard for how group classifications were made. Even if sharing a common dialect or distinct language did function as a fair means for defining a tribal identity, multilingualism was common on the lower Columbia.[46] In reality, there was no defined language border, but Upper Chinookans were more commonly multilingual, an important characteristic in their position as hosts during the annual salmon runs and subsequent trade mart.[47] Overall, the Western Columbia River Sahaptins and Upper Chinookans kept peaceful trade and social relationships with the various groups of the larger

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[43] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram and Cascades," 361, 364; French "Wasco-Wishram," 341.
[44] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 5 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska, 1988), 329.
[45] Eugene S. Hunn, "Sk'in: The Other Side of the River," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 108, 4 (2007): 617, accessed October 22, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615801.
[46] Hajda, *Greater Lower Columbia*, 13.
[47] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 360.

Columbia River watershed.[48] Clearly, language differences did not prevent such interrelations between groups, but rather functioned as a convenient method for non-Natives to classify and name the various peoples of the region.[49]

Chinookan peoples were not only capable of speaking these surrounding Sahaptin dialects but also an intertribal trade language known as Chinuk Wawa, or Chinook Jargon in English.[50] This hybrid lingua franca combined elements of the Chinookan language with Nuu-Chah-Nulth (Nootkan), Canadian French, English, as well as other languages, allowing Chinookan people and speakers of other Indigenous languages or non-Native peoples who spoke English and French, to discuss the terms of their material exchanges. Chinuk Wawa continued to function as an important means of intertribal communication throughout the Northwest Coast and interior Plateau in the 19th century as the forced relocation of many Indigenous peoples in the larger region brought speakers of various languages together on reservations or in smaller towns or cities.[51]

The names Wasco and Wishram exemplify previous points as both terms are derived from the most important village sites to the Long Narrows Upper Chinookan communities, rather than a self- or group-appointed tribal name.[52] The word "Wasco" is considered the most broadly used denomination in terms of cultural group distinction in the region, as it has also included Wishram and Cascade groups in its designation. Most commonly, though, it is attributed to those

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[48] Eugene S. Hunn and David F. French, "Western Columbia River Sahaptins," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 12, Plateau, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 380.
[49] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 24.
[50] Henry B. Zenk and Tony A. Johnson, "Chinuk Wawa and Its Roots in Chinookan," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 273.
[51] Zenk and Johnson, "Chinuk Wawa," 273, 277.
[52] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 342.

whose ancestors lived on the south side of the river near the upper end of Five Mile Rapids. The word Wasco is also particularly interesting to this study in that the Chinookan village of the same name, which the word is based on, refers to traditional bowls or cups as well as a bowl-shaped rock formation into which a spring near the village flowed. In other accounts, one of the many synonymous terms for Wasco, specifically *cuthlasco*, signifies Columbia River style mountain sheep bowls.[53] A letter written to George Gibbs by military officer Granville Haller elaborates on this noting that the word *cuthlasco* refers to a specific area at the lower end of the Dalles at the village fishing site. Haller writes,

> It means in particular the bowl or dish which they make out of the horn of the mountain sheep (Big Horn) by softening or moulding it into a particular shape…There is a hollow in the [b]asaltic rock, which so much resembles this bowl and a spring of fresh water close by that empties into it and gets its name from this circumstance. Cuth-las-co then is the name of the spring and the people get their name from it.[54]

Further, the Kiksht word wasq'ó is defined as "cup" or "horn bowl" and is the source for the name of the Upper Chinookan village called "Cuthlasco" or "Cathlasco" at what is presently the city of the Dalles, the same location Haller was describing in his letter from his station at Fort Dalles. Both the Chinookan prefix "cath-la" and the Sahaptin suffix "pum" both translate as "people of" hence both the terms Cathalsco and Wascopam meaning "People of the horn bowl" and therefore providing the etymological connection between the Wasco peoples and Columbia River style mountain sheep horn bowls.[55]

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[53] There are nineteen terms alone for "Wasco" in early Euro-American written accounts. French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 374; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 168.
[54] Letter, G.O. Haller to George Gibbs, May 28, 1853, Manuscript 1211, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
[55] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 45-6.

There is also a complex history to the name Wishram. The word itself may not actually be based on a Chinookan term but an Anglicization of "wisxam," a Sahaptin name for the valued Wishram village, Nixlúidix. It has also been suggested that Sahaptin speakers borrowed the Upper Chinookan term *wilxam* meaning "village" or "community" to name the village just across the river from the main Wasco campsite. This only continues to reflect the intercultural exchanges between the Chinookan and Sahaptin speakers along the Long Narrows and how these trade relationships were not solely material, but intangible as well through language and names.[56] Nixlúidix has also been discussed by Spier and Sapir as rooted in folk stories translating to "coming-together place," which is no surprise as it was both a summer and winter campsite and described by early explorers as a bustling trade center during certain parts of the year.[57]

Authors have commonly expressed issues in defining distinct tribal groups of the Dalles region of the Columbia River. The complexities of the kinship network between Upper Chinookans and Sahaptins were not fully understood by early figures like Lewis and Clark, especially on their way back up the river, making the first attempts of many to officially categorize and define the various groups of people they met along the Long Narrows area of the river. What Lewis and Clark thought were tribes or bands in their journals were actually the names of self-governing villages that were a part of a larger, more sophisticated system of families tied together by trade and intermarriage across vast geographic and linguistic spans,

[56] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 375; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 164.
[57] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 164-66.

resulting in various shared identities that all ultimately link back to the river, its annual salmon runs and the subsequent trade mart.[58]

While serving as an assistant to Washington State's Governor Stevens, George Gibbs made the first anthropological investigation of the peoples in the Columbia River watershed during the crucial treaty negotiation period. The taxonomy of these cultural groups in the Washington region was needed in order for federal officials to implement their reservation system, and the years between 1846 and 1855 were spent updating ethnic categorizations made in the previous forty years. This meant that groups of native Columbia River peoples were effectively sorted in ways that could be comprehended by the United States Federal Office of Indian Affairs, ultimately ignoring how the Columbia River cultures identified themselves, as a network of villages, and eventually transposing this information into treaty documents. In the government's eyes, reservations were the solution to the "Indian Problem" and physically prevented Indigenous peoples from hindering the colonization process. American officials believed that each of these tribes or bands had specific innate characteristics and fundamentally essentialized them, even though Native peoples people who lived along the Columbia River did not necessarily function as these imposed social hierarchies in the first place.[59]

In the early 20th century, Anthropologists Spier and Sapir noted that it was "exceedingly difficult to determine the linguistic and tribal groupings of the Wishram and their neighbors."[60] The scholars suggest that tribal dispersion began at the end of the 18th century due to outbreaks

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[58] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 8; Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 14-15; Eugene S. Hunn and James Selam. *Nch'i-wána, "The Big River": Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1990), 217.
[59] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 38-39; Wright, "A Collection History," 36.
[60] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 159.

of disease followed by the arrival of non-native explorers and settlers.[61] Spier and Sapir also point out that in attempting to define the primary settlements of the Wishram peoples, they find that political and territorial borders and units are hard to define.

Anthropologist David French points out how these villages constantly shifted from year to year. There were two different types of villages, the more temporary campsites set up when groups were away from the river and the more permanent communities much closer to the river's shores. For example, in the springtime women often moved inland to gather edible roots and huckleberries and would set up these interim camps when it was too difficult to return home at night, and men would set up their fishing camps even closer to traditional fishing sites during the salmon runs. Even more specifically, different families would set up their camps at various sites as the river rose and fell over the year or as different species of salmon traveled upriver.[62]

While borders between cultural groups seem to blur, there were some indigenous borders established between villages, particularly along the Celilo Falls fishery, in large part due to the high value the falls carried to those that harvested its resources annually. Eugene Hunn's *Nch'i-Wana "The Big River"* outlines these borders based on John Day elder and Indigenous scholar James Selam's knowledge and personal memory as someone who spent summers as a child fishing along the Columbia River's famed Celilo Falls. Hunn also points out that the very complex nature and variety of specifically named locales on and along the river in the Long Narrows region testifies to layers of negotiation, rights and conduct when it comes to river territory.[63]

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[61] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 159.
[62] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 341-42.
[63] Hunn, "Sk'in," 616, 618.

In the Chinookan social system wealth, prestige and occasionally political influence separated the upper class families from the lower class families. Apart from the obvious linguistic differences, the powerful class system was the main distinction between Upper Chinookans and Columbia River Sahaptins. Slaves were often bought and sold through the trade system in the region, often peoples from California and Oregon. While they were typically treated well, they and their children were considered a separate caste from the Chinookan people and may have been killed when their owner died, similar to other cherished objects owned by the high-ranking individual.[64] While Sahaptin people throughout the Plateau also owned slaves, this practice of slave sacrifice was restricted to the Wasco and Wishram.[65] Free men and women of high status in Chinookan culture flattened their heads and even women in neighboring Salish groups, such as the Chehalis or Quinault, further downriver had flattened heads, possibly to encourage a woman's chances of marrying a Chinook man of high status, to prevent chances of being sold into slavery, or perhaps both.[66] Nuu-Chah-Nulth and Kwakwaka'wakw communities further up the coast also practiced head-flattening, where it similarly signified high or free status.[67]

Class status was preferred over linguistic similarities in an ideal marriage and it was common for Chinookan peoples to marry into non-Chinookan families that could provide useful political and economic ties in trade, an important aspect of wealth.[68] Marriages and other affinal occasions were legitimized through the exchange of gifts between families, rather than to guests,

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[64] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 363; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 221-224.
[65] Hunn, *Nch'i-wána, "The Big River,"* 226.
[66] Yvonne Hajda, "Social and Political Organization," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 154.
[67] Ames and Maschner, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast*, 183.
[68] French, "Wasco-Wishram," 389, 421.

further reflecting a culture based in trade and intercultural relationships. The exchange of gifts between families or to guests also occurred when children were born, naming ceremonies, or when there was a death in the family. Names themselves were considered intangible property and many were acquired over time.[69]

Upper Chinookan burial practices involved a process of disposing the body in a shed or family burial house a few days after the individual died. During the interim period, mourners would bring valuables to tie over the body including various glass, stone, and bone beads. The corpse was then wrapped in buckskin and placed on a plank and carried to the burial house and placed next to the last body set in the shed-roof house. Family would continue to mourn for five or ten days and often cut off their hair.[70] Cremation pits were also found in the Dalles-Deschutes region as well and may be related to the epidemics that swept the region as a one-time occurrence.[71]

Spirit quests and power acquisition are an important aspect of Chinoookan social and religious culture and both men and women could obtain personal guardian spirits. The connection with and power from the spirits ensured some success in one's life, yet these were also very private and people who had spirit power did not necessarily share this. Spirit power, or *tamahnous*, is often only hinted at and one's guardian spirit was not revealed until the time of death, although in some cases people did share their experience in how they obtained their power.[72] There were many anthropomorphized animal and nature figures, such as Coyote, Rattlesnake, or Thunder, that functioned as personal guardian spirits to both Upper Chinookan

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[69] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 372.
[70] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 270-271.
[71] Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 142-144.
[72] Cressman, *Cultural Sequences at the Dalles*, 37-38; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 238.

and Sahaptin peoples. Obtaining such spirits, or spirit quests, usually meant traveling out into the wilderness, often the mountains, alone as a young person and fasting before making these supernatural connections. Shamans often had spirits that they could call on for the purposes of curing others' illnesses.[73] Individual spirit songs, dances and performances occurred during the winter season, which was also a time for art and tool production. The Chinookan people took this time to repair and make new tools, weave mats and baskets, carve bowls and spoons, among other forms of material culture.[74]

Family households were brought together through marriage in which a couple usually lived with the husband's extended family, subsequently inheriting the patrilocal territories and traditions. These households functioned similarly to villages as familial residence shifted from season to season and even annually. They were commonly situated near traditional locales, like familial fishing or gathering sites.[75] These large households, villages, or campsites often specialized in specific items they traditionally made or trade goods they could supply, which was logical given that the Long Narrows of the river functioned as the major trading center in the northwest. Local families acted as mediators in trans-continental exchange not commonly traveling abroad for goods but controlling the materials that came through the region through their own purchase and resale.[76]

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[73] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 118, 120; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 239.
[74] Robert Boyd, "Chinookan Ceremonialism," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames and Tony Johnson (Seattle: University of Washington, 2013), 191; David Ellis, "Cultural Geography of the Lower Columbia," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames and Tony Johnson (Seattle: University of Washington, 2013), 50.
[75] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 373; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 221.
[76] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 368; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 224; James H. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, 2, 4: 83-128 (Seattle: University of Washington, 1928), 121-22.

"The Great Mart of all this Country"

Even prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans at the Long Narrows, trade activity between local indigenous peoples and indigenous peoples from farther-reaching areas was already flourishing.[77] The earliest written accounts of the region, both from the Lewis and Clark journals and Alexander Ross, note how the Chinookan peoples essentially controlled trade on the Columbia River as well as their abilities to make and utilize canoes as well as other decorated material cultural.[78] Lewis and Clark stayed in the Wishram village of Nixlúidix during their homeward trek in the spring of 1806 and declared it was the "Great Mart of all this Country," specifically in reference to trade between indigenous peoples, as opposed to trade between indigenous peoples and Euro-American groups, again testifying to the sophisticated systems in place prior to Euro-American arrival.[79] The time of year for Lewis and Clark's second visit to the region was crucial as the warmer months called for more far-reaching families from outside groups to move closer to their fishing sites for the spring salmon runs.[80]

When Alexander Ross and the Pacific Fur Company crew reached the Long Narrows of the river in 1811, he pointed out that the camp of Upper Chinookan peoples was situated at the head of the falls. Ross called the peoples that lived at the head of the narrows the Wy-am-pums, what Lewis and Clark referred to as the Echelutes, both referring to branches of Upper Chinookan peoples.[81] Ross noted that during the salmon run this area was occupied by 3,000 or more people, but for the people that live there year-round the population does not exceed 100-120. Ross called the people that arrived from other parts of the region "foreigners" and claims

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[77] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 369.
[78] Suttles and Lang, "Chinookan Writings," 339.
[79] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 13; Lewis and Clark, (1991): 129.
[80] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 48.
[81] Lewis and Clark's "Echelutes" is an Anglicization of the self-designation "ila'xluit" or "I am Wasco-Wishram." Lewis and Clark, (1991): 70; Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers,* 129.

they were not there for the purpose of catching salmon but to gamble and trade. The company man considered the Dalles to be the great "emporium or mart of the Columbia," as did Clark.[82] The sheer mass of products going through the Long Narrows, listed in the fur trader's journal as horses, buffalo robes, "native tobacco," dentalium shells and other small items and materials, were commonly traded by means of gambling or bartering often for the same types of materials, such as trading food for food or valuables for valuables.[83] Lewis and Clark discussed this trade process as follows:

> They are great higlers in trade and if they conceive you anxious to purchase will be a whole day bargaining for a handful of roots; this I should have proceeded from their want of knowledge of the comparative value of articles of merchandize and the fear of being cheated, did I not find that they invariably refuse the price first offered them and afterwards very frequently accept a similar quantity of the same articles[84]

July marked the height of the anadromous salmon runs when visitors from the interior would make their way to the river for trade. In July 1841, Captain Wilkes' artist Joseph Drayton traveled to the Long Narrows region and based on his report, Wilkes described the Dalles as "the Billingsgate of Oregon" in comparison to the London's historic trade mart.[85] He also commented on the crowds, noting "[t]he diversity of dress among the men was greater than in the crowds I have described as seen in the Polynesian islands," attesting to the wide variety of peoples present

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[82] Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129.
[83] Yvonne Hajda and Elizabeth A. Sobel, "Trade and Exchange Systems," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 119-20; Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129.
[84] Lewis and Clark, (1990): 165-65.
[85] Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition*, 383.

in the region, quoting it at about 1,500, half of Ross's estimate three decades earlier. He also points out that the main fishing season lasted six months.[86]

Trade was not always exchanged directly through or initiated by the local Upper Chinookan people that lived at the Long Narrows during the height of the salmon runs. For example, the Nez Perce would come to the Dalles to trade buffalo robes or parfleches with the Klickitat, who also traveled to the Dalles annually, for the latter's baskets, then in turn would trade the baskets for cured fish from the Wishram. The Wenatchee would travel over the Cascades to trade with the southern Coast Salish groups and then come back to trade coastal materials with the Wishram or Wasco during the long fishing season, exemplifying the complicated networks developed over the larger Columbia River watershed forming valued friendships or trade relationships that lasted generations.[87]

Archaeological Evidence

The Dalles as a bustling trade center and fishery developed over thousands of years. The Long Narrows position as a trade center and fishery has been proven to be one of the longest sequences of continuous occupation in the region in the archaeological record, even though the record has been irreparably flawed from relic hunting. Archaeological findings in the Dalles region assert that people have been living along the Columbia River and in its surrounding watershed for up to 10,000 years. Prior to the systematic excavations at the Wasco and Wishram village sites discussed below, Northwest Coast archaeologists generally believed that people occupied the coast and interior only up to 2,000 years ago.[88] In total, archaeologists have noted 120 sites within the twenty-four mile stretch along both the northern and southern side of The

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[86] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 49; Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition*, 383.
[87] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 227-28.
[88] The other region with the longest continuous occupation is the Fraser River valley. Ames and Maschner, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast*, 23, 64.

Dalles Dam reservoir carrying evidence of the annual gatherings of Northwest, Plateau and Great Basin peoples during the salmon runs. Three are discussed below, the Wakemap Mound, the Five Mile Rapids site, and the Klickitat Trail.[89]

The Wakemap Mound on the Washington side of the river and the Five Mile Rapids site on the Oregon side were two of ten sites near the Long Narrows identified by the Smithsonian's River Basin Survey (RBS) as areas that would be damaged by inundation with the construction of the Dalles Dam in 1957. Instituted in 1945, the RBS salvage anthropology program functioned as a reaction to the plans of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation to construct dams across the country. The RBS brought together federal agency officials and professional archaeologists to denote sites that would be damaged by early construction and to contract out the excavation and field research to universities before the irreparable damage to the sites was done. Douglas Osborne at the University of Washington took the Wakemap Mound site and Luther Cressman with the University of Oregon worked on the Five Mile Rapids site.[90]

Prior to any of these professional excavations, the sites and their surrounding areas had already been damaged due to collecting habits of amateurs and hobbyists. During and even after the government funded digs began, these hobbyists continued to collect artifacts found around the region, a key point that will come up later in relation to the major gaps in the archaeological record in the Dalles.[91] In the 1920s, a time when the profession of archaeology was still nascent in the United States, engineer, naturalist, collector and Columbia River archaeology enthusiast Henry Biddle funded and assisted a team from the University of California, Berkeley, in their

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[89] Virginia Butler, "Relic Hunting, Archaeology, and Loss of Native American Heritage at the Dalles," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 108, 4 (2007): 624, accessed October 22, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20615802.
[90] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 631; Cressman, *Cultural Sequences at the Dalles*, 3.
[91] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 627.

work documenting the archaeological record from The Dalles to Miller Island at the mouth of the Deschutes River.[92] This excavation, led by W. Duncan Strong, W. Egbert Schenck and Julian H. Steward, aimed to track the various peoples from the coast to the interior that populated the region. They excavated large deep sites such as the Wakemap mound in search of material culture that could reveal their stratigraphic context. Yet even in this professional sphere of archaeology the project was both funded by a collector and relied on the support of other collectors, like Dr. G. N. Gannon, who shared their personal collections with the researchers. At the same time, the Berkeley excavation report notes the issues of relic hunting, particularly on the Oregon side at Big Eddy pointing out that burial sites and artifacts were uncovered when the highway, the Celilo canal, and the railroad were constructed resulting in the dispersal of many objects to private and public collections without record.[93]

The Wakemap mound, which measured about 350 feet long, 270 feet wide and about 40 feet high, was a build-up of over 2,000 years of human occupation located near the Wishram village of Nixlúidix.[94] The site's position as a major trade center and confluence of Chinookan and Sahaptin speakers, helped contribute the many reasons that this site was to be excavated, according to the project plan.[95] Strong et al also researched petroglyphs and pictographs around the Dalles-Deschutes region, the majority of which show considerable age and suggest that most, if not all, were made prior to 1800 CE.[96]

The stylistic qualities of the art in the region will be examined in further depth in Chapter III, but on a general level the Wakemap excavation revealed a continuity of human presence and

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[92] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 627; W. Duncan Strong, W. Egbert Schenck and Julian H. Steward, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes Region* (Berkeley: University of California, 1930), 1-2.
[93] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 629; Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 20.
[94] Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 6.
[95] Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 13.
[96] Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 137.

occupation in the region. Strong et al examined the deep site and the artifacts, house remains, and surrounding graves in a stratigraphic context and compared objects found to styles already known from other archaeological excavations in California and Washington.[97] They concluded that these distinctive stylistic traits, commonly referred to now as the Columbia River style, developed early on and show a relationship with Northwest Coast stylistic features, particularly the naturalistic elements. The geometric aspect of the art may have come from further east in the plateau regions, situating the Long Narrows as an area of "unique local blending of realistic style from down river with a geometric art from upstream."[98] Strong and company are quick to point out that the distinctive local characteristics developed in the region over ten thousand years during when both eastern and western influences were evident in the bone cremation carvings, the petrography, and the ground stone and sculpture from the lower levels of the mound.[99]

The next wave of professional excavations of the Wakemap Mound occurred about three decades later and were divided into two projects, both of which were conducted by the University of Washington. Warren Caldwell led the first dig in 1953 and 1954, the goals of which were to establish cultural affiliation and age of the mound. B. Robert Butler led the second excavation from 1955 to 1957, which aimed to further understand the site's layering and as well as the key elements of the early architecture and art in the area.[100] Caldwell also addresses issues with relic hunters and looting in his Ph.D. dissertation on the Wakemap mound excavations. Prior to these 1953 digs at Wakemap under Osborne, many individuals were drawn to the region

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[97] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 628.
[98] Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 144.
[99] Such carved artifacts include clubs, fishhooks, gaming bones, labrets or earplugs, and other carved fragments made from the bones of sea mammals. Strong et al, *Archaeology of the Dalles-Deschutes*, 52-53, 144-45.
[100] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 634.

to collect as many artifacts as possible before the more structured excavations took place, essentially obscuring the earlier 1930 digs performed by Strong, Schenck and Steward.

Another major archaeological survey executed in the Long Narrows region was across the river by Luther Cressman and his team from the University of Oregon at the Five Mile Rapids site, among others. In his 1960 study, "Cultural Sequences at the Dalles, Oregon," Cressman looks to the prehistory of the Celilo Falls region as a possible indicator of when the trade relationships between the coast and interior peoples of the Columbia River were developed. Cressman hypothesizes that interior peoples migrated to the coast from the interior, given that there is evidence of human occupation in interior Oregon up to 11,000 years ago and evidence of coastal occupation that early is lacking. The study provides a comprehensive background on the region with which this thesis is concerned.[101] The key findings from this excavation are 150 to 200 thousand salmon vertebrae, as well as other artifacts, yet no fishing tools. The site was re-excavated again in 1993 to confirm that the salmon bones were of cultural and not natural origin, ultimately substantiating Cressman's 1960 report and proving that peoples have in fact been targeting the massive annual salmon runs for at least 9,000 years.[102]

The Five Mile Rapids site was one of the first to use radiocarbon dating to come to the conclusion that the salmon bones dated to 9,300 BCE, the earliest stage, otherwise known as Period I (11,500 to 5,000/4,400 BCE).[103] Period II (5,000/4,400 to 1900 BCE) at Five Mile Rapids showed no significant change in the material culture, which mostly included projectile

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[101] Cressman, *Cultural Sequences at the Dalles*, 7.
[102] Virginia L. Butler and Jim E. O'Conner, "9,000 Years of Salmon Fishing on the Columbia River, North America," in *Quaternary Research*, vol. 62 (2004): 1, 7, accessed October 22, 2013 http://dx.doi.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.1016/j.yqres.2004.03.002.
[103] Kenneth M. Ames, Don E. Dumond, Jerry R. Galm, and Rick Minor, "Prehistory of the Southern Plateau," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 12, Plateau, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 106-7.

points and is understood by archaeologists as a transitional period. Although indistinguishable, some remains of deer or sheep were also uncovered from this period.[104] Period III (1900 BCE to 1790 CE) brings in evidence of cultural crossover between the anthropologically imposed Sahaptin and Chinookan boundaries at the Wakemap site. At the lower village of Wakemap archaeologists found mat lodge dwellings, of the Sahaptin style, and found evidence of semi-subterranean plank lodges, a Chinookan style home, at the upper village of Wakemap both dating between 900-1400 CE. Faunal remains for this period include mountain sheep, among other animals such as deer, elk, and bison, suggesting seasonal hunting.[105]

The last site of particular archaeological importance to the arguments in this paper is the Klickitat Trail of south central Washington that provided an inland route to the Celilo Falls and Dalles fishery from Fort Vancouver without traveling upstream by canoe.[106] The study helps to support the intercultural relationships between the Klickitat and the Upper Chinookan peoples of the Dalles region, particularly the Wishram, as they were both located on the north side of the river. They shared winter villages, salmon fishing sites, and intermarried, but the Klickitat were a Sahaptin-speaking, land-oriented group while the Upper Chinookans were Chinookan-speaking, water-oriented peoples. Their main differences as peoples lie in their seasonal subsistence methods.[107] The archaeological evidence of the trail is limited to temporary structures at campsites, food gathering and processing mechanisms, and scarred trees mostly through grassy

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[104] Ames et al, "Prehistory of the Southern Plateau," 110-111.
[105] Ames et al, "Prehistory of the Southern Plateau," 116-117.
[106] Helen H. Norton, Robert Boyd, and Eugene S. Hunn, "The Klickitat Trail of South-Central Washington: A Reconstruction of Seasonally Used Resource Sites," in *Prehistoric Places on the Southern Northwest Coast*, ed. Robert E. Greengo (Seattle: Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, 1983), 121.
[107] Norton et al, "The Klickitat Trail," 122; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 167.

prairie lands that were maintained by patterned burning. The study still heavily depended on ethno-historical and ethnographic data to come to these conclusions.[108]

Impact of Non-Native Peoples

While these structured, university- and government-sponsored excavations reveal evidence of human occupation at and travel to the Long Narrows, Columbia River archaeology is geographically and temporally limited. The majority of the artifact collections made before the construction of the Dalles Dam, again, were actually gathered by hobbyists and by the mid-1920s resulting in an incomplete record. Specific time periods and locations of large cultural and social developments are not well known. The illegal and unprofessional removal or collection of materials from archaeological sites known as relic hunting, also called "pot hunting" and "looting," causes major, irreversible damage to these sites and ruins any potential for producing a proper systematic study with reliable information.[109] The Lower Columbia and the Long Narrows sites in particular have been severely disturbed with what could be around hundreds of thousands objects removed from those sites alone.[110] Hobbyist Norma G. Seamen even wrote a guidebook, *Indian Relics of the Pacific Northwest*, in the mid-1940s essentially directing collectors to the Dalles by pointing out how the Five Mile Rapids to Celilo region was rife with artifacts as a result of the yearly gatherings in the area.[111] The dam's inundation of the rapids and the surrounding shores of the Long Narrows further contributes to this distorted record and the dependence on ethnographic data in the region.

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[108] Norton et al, "The Kickitat Trail," 133.
[109] Elizabeth A. Sobel, Kenneth M. Ames, and Robert J. Losey, "Environment and Archaeology of the Lower Columbia," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 35, 40.
[110] Butler, "Relic Hunters," 627.
[111] Butler, "Relic Hunting," 626.

Though faulty, there is still concrete evidence that the Dalles was a trade center and fishery for thousands of years, forming interconnected relationships between the peoples of the region over time. The distinctions made between language groups and villages along the Columbia River's Long Narrows region was not as clear as some of the early historical accounts suggest. Identity was not necessarily rooted in their language or lifeways but in and on the Columbia River itself. Their mutual dependence on the resources the waterway created connections between various groups rather than the divisions or classification used ultimately by the United States government to remove Native peoples from their ancestral homelands.[112] Many Indigenous people of this region held and continue to hold multiple identities and affiliations proving the early system of European cultural classification to be arbitrary and obsolete. Familial and communal bonds superseded the Sahaptin and Chinookan language group divisions and connected the geographical distances of the Columbia River basin. Essentially, in its Indigenous history, this region is far from an indicator of cultural differences, but rather a geographic area known for its multicultural and multilingual communities that would pilgrimage to the Long Narrows fisheries annually for the anadromous salmon runs, to fish, trade, gamble, reconnect and regroup, forming vast geographic and long-standing ties.

Euro-American cultural classifications and the colonial reservation system were not the only major impacts on these Columbia River communities. The Chinookan-speaking population was devastated by epidemics. At the beginning of Euro-American contact, the Northwest Coast and California, particularly the lower Columbia River region, had some of the highest populations and population densities in North America, yet after the introduction of Euro-

[112] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 15.

American diseases those numbers dropped dramatically.[113] Smallpox had swept the region in the 1780s, twenty-five years before Lewis and Clark arrived in the region.[114] The region was again hit in the 1830s with disease, this time malaria. This created a shift in the Chinookan peoples relationship with the Euro-American traders at the time as their social system had been seriously damaged by the loss of life. Observing non-Natives who were not impacted by these diseases, they came to believe they might have needed what these non-Native peoples could provide through religion. While many people continued to source traditional materials the best they could, these Chinookan groups became more involved with, and in some cases dependent on, the Euro-American economy, then run by Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the missionaries who had started moving into the area around the same time.[115]

The reservation period in the latter half of the 19th century was ultimately a challenge to traditional Chinookan life as well. In the Upper Chinookan region, the Columbia River functioned as a boundary line that would later be used to divide the Oregon Territory separating the Wasco and Wishram peoples onto different reservations. Being on the north shore of the river, the Wishram peoples were then linked to the Yakama Reservation in Washington and the south shore Wasco peoples to the Warm Springs in Oregon where they then became the minorities in the largely Sahaptin-speaking communities.[116] Prior to and during this period of

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[113] Ames and Maschner, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast*, 26; Hajda, "Social and Political Organization," 146.
[114] D. Ann Trieu Gahr, "Ethnobiology: Nonfishing Subsistence and Production," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 77.
[115] Lang, "The Chinookan Encounter with Euro-Americans," 267-268.
[116] Tony Johnson, "The Chinook People Today," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 17.

culture change, Indigenous religion in the Columbia River basin evolved in many ways, particularly after the second wave of epidemics hit the Chinookan peoples in the 1830s.

After the arrival of missionaries, new religious systems developed that incorporated aspects of Christianity into traditional Native beliefs including include the Washat religion (also known as the Dreamer or Seven Drums Religion), the Feather religion, and the Indian Shaker Church. Some Wasco and Wishram people joined Sahaptin people in following the beliefs of the Washat religion, although very few were actually leaders.[117] The Washat religion (or Washani meaning "dancers" or "worship") is the oldest and most traditional of the three and flourished among Plateau groups who actively chose to avoid the reservations.[118] The religion fused traditional concepts of vision quests, guardian spirit power, and shamanic curing, with Christian elements of Sunday worship, a priest-like leader of prayer and references to a singular "creator." The Christian elements were practiced within a Native framework that preserved Indigenous practices, languages, and moral beliefs.[119]

The most well known prophet of Washat was Smohalla, a man who gained popularity in the 1850s promising his followers salvation from Americans. He encouraged the rejection of United States federal authority through nonviolent methods, specifically by maintaining traditional dress, subsistence methods, and spirituality. He also encouraged the rejection of relocation onto reservations and promised his followers that the many who died in the epidemics would be brought back to life and non-Native peoples would instead be eradicated.[120] As time passed and it became clear that Smohalla could not follow through on his promises of

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[117] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram and Cascades," 373.
[118] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 172.
[119] Deward E. Walker, Jr. and Helen Schuster, "Religious Movements," in in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 12, Plateau, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 502.
[120] Walker and Schuster, "Religious Movements," 505.

deliverance, the Washat religion developed into modern Washat, continuing to emphasize the traditional practices of first food feasts as well as giving thanks to the earth and sun for such sacred foods.[121] The first food feasts are most likely the oldest ceremonies practiced in the Washat religion, which includes the first roots in early spring, the first salmon in mid-spring and the berry feast at the end of the summer.[122]

Many Wasco and Wishram peoples also joined the Indian Shaker Church, founded in 1882 by John Slocum. Slocum, a Squaxin Island Coast Salish man, is said to have died and gone to heaven and came back to life with the message that God would bring peace to all. After he prophesized this he became very sick and his wife, Mary, began shaking. This shaking was presumed to be the gift from God as Slocum was miraculously cured after she touched him and it became the key aspect and namesake of the Shaker faith. Traditional healing and curing are important functions to the religion with ceremonies held for that purpose in churches and homes. The church did not follow the Bible originally but used Christian elements, such as crosses, bells, robes and prayers as a part of their services.[123]

The Feather Religion, or the Waptashi, developed from the fusion of Shaker, Washat and shamanic healing practices, also had many Wasco and Wishram converts. This belief system retained the songs and first food feasts of the Washat religion while encouraging the prohibition of alcohol and the practice of curing from the Shaker religion.[124] Curing was accomplished with the help of one's spirit power, which was conjured by rapid spinning while holding eagle feathers in one or both hands, or sometimes tied in one's braids, the action from which this belief

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[121] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 82-84; Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 248-249.
[122] Walker and Schuster, "Religious Movements," 503.
[123] Later factions of Shakerism incorporated the Bible into Shaker services. Walker and Schuster, "Religious Movements," 507-510.
[124] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 134.

system gets its name. Aside from these hybrid religions, many of the Yakima and Warm Springs reservation residents also converted to Methodist, Catholic, Presbyterian, Pentecostal and other Christian denominations.[125]

Prior to the introduction of foreign diseases the Wasco and Wishram population most likely numbered around 10,000, declining to 6,000 by 1806 after the first wave of epidemics. After the epidemics of the 1830s and the later implementation of the reservation system, Yakima and Warm Springs reservations reported a total population of Chinookan peoples around 850-1,200. Despite these drops in numbers, Chinookan peoples continued to live both on and off reservations, intermarrying outside their language group as they had in the past.[126] Well into the 20th century another major blow came to both Chinookan and Sahaptin peoples who continued to fish on the Columbia along the Long Narrows. In 1957, the Dalles Dam was officially completed, and hours later the ancestral fishing sites of Five-Mile Rapids was inundated.[127] While removed from their ancestral homeland, these Upper Chinookan groups' treaty relationships with the United States have remained intact.[128] Wasco and Wishram communities have managed to keep their distinct identity within these reservation communities through their spirituality, traditional practices, and language. Most importantly to this research, their art practice and art style survives, which is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

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[125] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 83; French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 374; Walker and Schuster, "Religious Movements," 511-512.
[126] French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 374.
[127] Fisher, *Shadow Tribe*, 192.
[128] Tony Johnson, "The Chinook People Today," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, eds. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 17.

Chapter III: Lower Columbia River Style

The people who lived in the many villages of the Dalles along the Columbia River and their socio-cultural background played a major role in the development of the style of the material culture from the region. This style reflects the cross-cultural nature of the lower Columbia River trade system, rather than one solely associated with particular tribes or culture areas. The two- and three-dimensional forms that materialized along the Columbia River reinforce the idea of intercultural exchange examined in the previous chapter, with the Dalles functioning as the historical epicenter through which this design system both developed and dispersed, traveling outward to be traded and collected by other Native and non-Native groups. This chapter will examine the stylistic parameters of the distinctive lower Columbia River style, how previous scholars have described it, and how it has been employed in various media.

The Columbia River style has not been examined by art historians as extensively as the northern Northwest Coast formline design systems of the Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit groups, much like Coast Salish art. The Columbia River design system has been described as an evolutionary prequel to these more northern designs, due to the comparatively minor shifts in style from ancient times through the early classic period, defined by Steve Brown as 1820-1865 CE.[129] For example, the geometric patterns incised into artifacts recovered from archaeological digs are stylistically similar to the chip-carved designs found on sheep horn bowls and spoons collected in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[130] This flat, low-relief, geometric style (Figures 5, 6) produced by Columbia River peoples is presumed to characterize the more widespread ancient

[129] Brown, *Native Visions,* 51.
[130] Brown, *Native Visions*, 54.

art style practiced by all of the Northwest Coast cultures prior to the development of more individualized regional and tribal styles.[131]

Once developed, the lower Columbia River art traditions, unlike northern Northwest Coast styles, were sustained with little influence from the arrival of Euro-Americans to the region, aside from the fact that the art production was greatly reduced due to disease and massive decline in population.[132] Yet, within the community, the lower Columbia River art style did develop over time from the older widespread ancient designs to include more detailed decorative surfaces and more complex design arrangements, while maintaining a focus on geometric forms. This shift was likely influenced by the highly sophisticated trade system that brought more wealth to village leaders in the region and the creation of more decorated objects, possibly with intricate compositions.[133]

Paul Wingert, Bill Holm, Kenneth Ames, and Steve Brown, have all analyzed Columbia River style in the context of Northwest Coast art as a whole even though southern and northern styles vary particularly in the types of forms utilized and the socio-political frameworks of the cultures evolved differently. Shaun Peterson's discussion on the inherent differences in the evolution between northern and southern Northwest Coast art in his 2013 essay on Coast Salish design, titled "Coast Salish Design: An Anticipated Southern Analysis," offers an explanation that can also help to clarify the comparative dearth of scholarship on the Columbia River art style. Peterson readdresses Brown's scholarship on the divergence of the northern tradition from the regionally shared ancient style into the northern formline style with its own, new ratio

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[131] Ames, *Peoples of the Northwest Coast*, 222-226.
[132] Brown, *Native Visions*, 51-52.
[133] Brown, *Native Visions*, 53.

between positive and negative space.[134] This shift was in part influenced by the focus on the two-dimensional painting system that utilizes hierarchical color and form to publicly portray crests. The Coast Salish peoples, as well as the Columbia River Chinookan peoples, are not crest-based societies and while they have the resources and skills, there is neither the demand nor social structure within these cultures to emphasize and proclaim one's association with a particular clan or crest. This along with the private nature of Coast Salish ceremonial art plays a major role in the scholarly emphasis on northern Northwest Coast art forms.[135] Columbia River art also commonly depicts personal and private guardian spirit imagery in both secular and religious objects of which many Columbia River peoples are rightfully protective, impacting the numbers of objects produced and later acquired by collectors leaving a smaller number available for study. This, in conjunction with such other major factors as the devastating impact of two large epidemics, the various evolutions in traditional religious practices, the lack of provenance and provenience of many of the objects from the region, has influenced the previous scholarly focus on the northern and central Northwest Coast design systems as opposed to the more southern Coast Salish and Chinookan cultures.[136]

Art historian and archaeologist Paul Wingert examined this style within the context of southern Northwest Coast art specifically. Wingert's *American Indian Sculpture: A Study of the*

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[134] Steven C. Brown, "Formlines Changing Form: Northwest Coast Art as an Evolving Tradition," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 22.2 (1997): 67-69; Steven C. Brown, "The Coast Salish Two-Dimensional Art Style: An Examination," in *Contemporary Coast Salish Art*, ed. Rebecca Blanchard and Nancy Davenport (Seattle: University of Washington and Stonington Gallery, 2005), 8.

[135] Shaun Peterson, "Coast Salish Design: An Anticipated Southern Analysis," in *In the Spirit of the Ancestors*, eds. Robin K. Wright and Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse (Seattle: University of Washington, 2013), 15.

[136] I use the term provenance to refer to the detailed history of ownership of a specific object and where it has been since it was made and I use the term provenience to refer to the exact location an object was found archaeologically.

Northwest Coast from 1949 presented his stylistically-oriented research on Salish sculpture, stretching from the southern end of Vancouver Island to the Columbia River region. Wingert examined the similarities and differences between neighboring groups in the larger region with the aim to present the idea of a stylistic diffusion throughout the region.[137] While the purpose of Wingert's study was to isolate the specific Salish characteristics in carving style, his approach also isolated the stylistic aspects of the surrounding groups as well, including the art of the Columbia River peoples.

When Wingert published his study, there had not been any research specifically on the Salish or Chinookan style of Northwest Coast art, and his conclusions suggest that not all Northwest Coast art can be massed together into one large group. Wingert specifically pointed out the socio-cultural reasons for these differences, in that he discussed how the southern Northwest Coast peoples lived in village groups that functioned as the highest political formation rather than in clan-based societies and how that, and the various ceremonial practices, influenced the stylistic distribution and characteristics of the art.[138]

Wingert's specific descriptions of the "Chinookan-Wasco" style come in the form of comparisons to his ten key Salish groups and their designs. In his characterization of the Quinault style, a Coast Salish group that lives on the north central Washington coast, Wingert states,

> It is important to note the strength of this [three-zone facial] design along the middle reaches of the Columbia River. Among the Wasco who live in that area it appears on…shamans' carvings…and on decorative carvings…This design was also used commonly on carved wooden and horn dishes throughout the

[137] Paul S. Wingert, *American Indian Sculpture: A Study of the Northwest Coast* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1959), 3.
[138] Wingert, *American Indian Sculpture*, 3.

> region extending from the Columbia River as far north as Puget Sound.[139]

Wingert goes on to point out the extensive use of this facial construct in the art of the middle Columbia River area, a motif that will be described in more detail below.

Bill Holm has also examined form in southern Northwest Coast art in a variety of publications, a few in the context of the whole coast, and how style evolves geographically throughout the region. Holm describes the design system that is rooted in the Dalles, as a fusion of both Plateau and Washington coastal styles.[140] The geometric tradition, which is exemplified through incised bone or antler carvings that were possibly 500 years old illuminate an early positive-negative relationship that is key to all Northwest Coast art. Carving negative triangular shapes creates a positive zigzag design from what is left on the surface of the material (Figure 5). Holm also uses a Columbia River style mountain sheep horn bowl to exemplify this technique as well as to point out how the incised triangles can be read as positive, but the existences of pierced triangles on the flanges or rims of other bowls bolsters the idea that these relief triangles, among other shapes and lines, are to be read as negative. In any case, this exemplifies the play between positive and negative that is characteristic of Columbia River Chinookan art.

In their 2013 chapter on the subject featuring Kenneth Ames and Robert Boyd, Tony Johnson and Adam McIsaac discuss the parameters of lower Columbia River art, which they define geographically as the area between Astoria and the Cascades and include artwork from the Columbia River Gorge to The Dalles as an essential comparative element in defining the larger Chinookan art style. Again, compared to more northern Northwest Coast art styles, the authors emphasize how Columbia River art is comparatively less familiar on a larger scale. The

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[139] Wingert, *Amcerican Indian Sculpture*, 113.
[140] Bill Holm, "Form in Northwest Coast Art," in *Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast*, ed. Roy L. Carlson, (Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 1983), 34-35.

geometric forms that function as the basis of the intricate detailing on various types of utilitarian objects are termed the "Chinookan Art Style" by Johnson and McIsaac whereas the distinctive human and animal forms within that are a subset referred to as "Chinookan Anatomical Art."[141] I think this helps to organize the various motifs found on Chinookan art, but in some cases the details of what is an anatomical versus a geometric detail can be hard to decipher.

The Chinookan villages situated on the river's shores from the mouth to just above the Dalles were the most prolific in the production of this design system, yet non-Chinookan speakers like the Sahaptin groups as well some other Chinookan and southern Coast Salish groups that lived more permanently away from the Columbia River shores were also known to decorate works in this design system.[142] The elaborate trade system and intermarriages between the peoples across the larger Columbia River basin resulted in a dispersal of the Chinookan art style throughout the larger region. This is indicative of both indigenous collecting practices and interest in this art as well as the subsequent non-Native collectors, such as early fur traders, that also continued this practice resulting in the many Chinookan art objects in museum collections around the world.[143] The wood, stone and bone art of Salishan peoples of the Western Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia is particularly comparable to, and in some cases reflective of, this design system.

The two-dimensional carving style of Chinookan art utilizes very specific geometric elements to adorn a wide variety of art objects. The most common shapes used are a variety of repetitive or concentric geometric shapes as well as bands of interlocking positive zigzags

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[141] Tony A. Johnson and Adam McIsaac with Kenneth M. Ames and Robert T. Boyd, "Lower Columbia River Art," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, ed. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 199.
[142] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 199.
[143] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 200.

formed by incised triangles that often help to define the positive forms on the carved objects and showcasing the positive and negative balance in the art (Figure 5). These geometric shapes are also often incorporated into the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs (Figures 6-12). The key motifs used in this design system include circles, triangles with flat or convex bases, rectangles, the hourglass or constricted rectangle, squares, diamonds, crescents, almond eye shapes, as well as varying series of parallel or perpendicular lines. Johnson and McIsaac suggest that "organic geometry" as opposed to simple "geometry" more properly suits the description of these forms used in the design system. Both the positive and negative elements are used to define forms created in the carving process of incising and piercing.[144] Design compositions are usually symmetrical and human and animal figures are carved frontally with few exceptions.[145] Adam McIsaac believes these motifs are representative of the natural surroundings of the region, for example zigzags can allude to water, trees, and even mountains.[146]

Mountain sheep horn bowls from the region best demonstrate the most complex formations of the various organic geometric shapes with their fully embellished outer surfaces and detailed flanges that rise above the rims of the bowls in place of handles (Figures 13,14). The most common design elements are the zigzag bands, which are often used to decorate the rim, flanges and raised bands that run under the uniquely shaped bowls and are defined by negative triangular shapes (Figure 14). Circles, squares, rectangles, crescents, and diamonds in their concentric or repetitive versions are used both as individual decorative elements as well as various parts of anthropomorphic parts of the human or animal body. Such anatomical details can include heads, facial features, internal organs or bones, joints, heads, arms and legs. The

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[144] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 202.
[145] Holm, "Form in Northwest Coast Art," 35.
[146] Adam McIsaac in discussion with the author, November 2013.

almond-shaped forms are more commonly found within the heads of humans or animals as eyes (Figure 12). The possibilities are endless with various combination of forms ranging from very simple with as little as a zigzag bands running around the rim of a bowl (Figure 15) to a compilation of faces, concentric circles, repeating lines, and zigzags (Figure 16). The wide variety of compositions creates tension and energy within each piece particularly through the interaction of the repeating lines and forms that could suggest vibrations or movement. These various combinations also display the artists' keen understanding of positive and negative space.[147] The most common numbers represented, in terms of repeating forms or shapes, are three and five, with five being the most dominant, even though many other numeric elements are represented as well.[148] Five is a ritual number in Chinookan culture. For example, there are five cardinal directions (North, East, South, West, and yourself) and specific figures in Chinookan stories might repeat certain actions five times.[149]

Chinookan anatomical art can be used within these geometric design compositions as well, through the human face, human torso, human body or even through zoomorphic forms. Johnson and McIsaac have stipulated three main face types in their analysis: the Tsagaglalal, two-plane and three-plane faces.[150] The Tsagaglalal facial form is named for the famous pictograph of the same name that resides on a rock face above the Wishram village Nixlúidix on the Long Narrows (Figure 7). Tsagaglalal, also known as "She-Who-Watches," and is situated among many other pictographs in the area that have been described as spirits of the Wishram ancestors. Tsagaglalal in particular could specifically relate to a Wishram story based on a

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[147] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 203-204.
[148] Adam McIsaac in discussion with the author, November 2013.
[149] Tony Johnson, "Chinookan Art Style," (Guest Lecture, Native Art of the Pacific Northwest Coast, Seattle, WA, March 7, 2014); Tony Johnson, Personal Communication, April 9, 2014.
[150] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 205.

female ruler who was changed into a rock by the Plateau trickster figure Coyote.[151] Contemporary weaver Pat Courtney Gold often uses the image of Tsagaglalal in her basketry and specifies that when Coyote came to Tsagaglalal's village and saw that her people were living well he then turned her to stone so she could remain the leader the leader of the village for the rest of time.[152] Over many generations, local peoples called on this image of Tsagaglalal for various forms of assistance in life, from health and wealth to blessings of love and children, leaving gifts for the ancestral figure.[153]

The figure has also been associated with death in connection with a powerful guardian spirit called Tsi'La or a "watersnake" by an older Wishram woman when questioned by archaeologist Robert Butler. The woman also added "people grin like that when they're sick" and that it is dangerous to look directly at such figures as one might get sick themselves.[154] This type of face was often found in cremation sites in the form of small bone or stone carvings (Figure 6) and as petroglyphs above cemeteries suggesting a connection to the widespread deaths as a result of the epidemics.[155] By the time that Lewis and Clark arrived in the early 19th century, European diseases such as measles, pertussis, smallpox, tuberculosis, diptheria and others had already arrived, infecting and killing hundreds of thousands of the local population who had no immunity to these foreign illnesses. By 1840 ninety percent of the peoples living around the

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[151] Keo Boreson, "Rock Art," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 12, Plateau, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. and William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 616.
[152] Gold, "A Wasco Weaver Meets her Ancestors Through Lewis and Clark," in *Arts of Diplomacy*, ed. Castle McLaughlin (Seattle: University of Washington, 2003), 284.
[153] Rick Rubin, *Naked Against the Rain* (Portland: Far Shore, 1999), 74-75.
[154] B. Robert Butler, "Perspectives on the prehistory of the Lower Columbia River Valley," *Tebwia*, 8, 1 (1965): 9.
[155] James D. Keyser, *Indian Rock Art of the Columbia Plateau* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1992) 100.

Long Narrows had perished.[156] Given these horrific circumstances one can comprehend why figures of this particular type were associated with death and why there are so many death images. In all cases, it is clear the figure is representative a powerful guardian figure and her common presence in various forms of Chinookan material culture supports the personal and spiritual nature of the art.

Stylistically, this specific pictograph and the subsequent facial types seen in both carved and woven Chinookan arts are identified by almond-shaped eyes framed by a thick unified brow line that falls down around and almost fully encircles these eye forms. The brows meet to connect between the eyes and continue down the center of the face forming the nose. Additional positive almond shapes encircle the eyes formed through the process of incision, or painting as is the case with the pictograph, and resulting in the concentricity common in Chinookan art. Negative areas carved through incision or left unpainted include the concave area within the eyes, the forehead, lower cheeks and the hollow of the mouth. The mouth itself is usually a wide grin with the corners stretching all the way up to the eyes, often accented with a single tooth or tongue. The corners of the mouth might also be read as cheeks. The Tsagaglalal face type may also have ears on the top of the head, in which case it somewhat resembles a bear or other zoomorphic form. Other types may have hair parted down the middle or even a headdress. The shape of the head itself can range from circular to an elongated oval or diamond in the case of basketry.

When this type of face is used in Chinookan art it does not necessarily mean it is a representation of the specific ancestral figure or character of "She-Who-Watches," but rather simply as a type of representation of the human face that utilizes that same design. The

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[156] Keyser, *Indian Rock Art*, 101-102

Tsagaglalal facial type alone is found at four different sites on the lower Columbia River in the form of a petroglyph, but the largest one that overlooks the Long Narrows on the northern shore of the river is the figure from which Johnson and McIsaac get the name for this facial type.[157]

The two- and three-plane faces found in the carved art forms are defined by clearly divided facial planes across the horizontal axes. The three-plane face is stepped to form forehead, cheek, and chin planes (Figure 17) whereas the two-plane type divides solely at the browline and nose with the cheek, chin, and mouth are placed on a single plane (Figure 9). In both styles the cheek plane holds the eyes, often represented through incised almond, oval or circular shapes. The top of the nose typically joins with the forehead or brow line, and in some cases is carved back below the forehead or brow plane.[158] With the two-plane faces specifically, the eyes and mouths are commonly represented through incised lines, though in some cases raised eyes that are above the cheek plane have also been used. The Chinookan tradition of head-flattening is often depicted through the deeper incisions at the top of the forehead than at the brow (Figure 18) or when the shape of the head is vertically oblong (Figure 6), evident in all three types of faces. This small but crucial detail makes these facial styles aesthetically distinctive to the art of the Chinookan peoples and is a specific design feature often found on mountain sheep horn bowls (Figure 19).[159]

Another distinguishing feature of the Columbia River Chinookan style is the way the depiction of the human body is handled. The internal human anatomy, particularly the skeleton, is often represented through a balance of positive and negative geometric forms. The clavicle, sternum, ribs, pelvis, hips, or in some cases, adornment such as belts or skirts are the most

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[157] Keyser, *Indian Rock Art*, 101.
[158] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 207-209.
[159] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 207.

commonly represented anatomical forms in Chinookan art. The clavicle and the hip line are both parallel to mark the top and bottom of the torso and, when present, arms run perpendicular to these lines usually without any defined hands or termination. The sternum sits between and parallel to the arms and may or may not fully extend to the hip line creating the entire torso, suggesting it is in fact the sternum depicted and not the spine. Within the torso are the characteristic ribs. Many of the organic geometric shapes described earlier such as crescents, chevrons, or simply parallel lines are used to define the exposed rib structure. In some cases artists choose to represent the whole body with legs (Figure 20, 21) but generally the torso is more common. The body types can vary with more or less detail, with the basic body structure defined as clavicle, arms and pelvis.[160]

Like the humanoid forms, naturalistic depictions of various animals depend on the play between positive and negative geometric shapes, with the positive forms being more dominant. Different types of animals, such as birds, coyotes, dogs, wolves, seals, bears, frogs, sturgeon, salmon or even mountain sheep are preferred for specific media. The basketry of the mid-Columbia included such motifs as deer or elk, condors, eagles, salamanders, frogs and fish, most commonly sturgeon (Figures 22, 23).[161] These various creatures are considered spirit helpers, or *tamahnous* as discussed in Chapter II, which also relates to the animal-to-animal or animal-to-human transformation depicted through the combined imagery of the two. The animal species is portrayed through the most distinctive features, with a focus on the legs, hips, and shoulders. Depending on the artist and the medium the animal may not be naturalistic or even recognizable, as details are often scaled back so much so that smaller features like eyes or mouths are

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[160] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 209-210.
[161] Mary Dodds Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry: Gift of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1994), 64-65.

omitted.[162] In some cases, zoomorphic imagery utilizes the exposed rib through simple incisions of chevrons down the side of the animal's body. On mountain sheep horn ladles, quadrupeds or birds are often attached to the end of the ladle handle in a three-dimensional form (Figures 2, 24, 25, 26).

The rock paintings and carvings, such as Tsagaglalal, are much more common along the eastern lower Columbia River region bordering on the western Plateau (Figure 27).[163] Many other pictographs and petroglyphs in the Dalles region share characteristics similar to Tsagaglalal facial type in that they are characterized by grinning mask-like faces, eyes, ribs, organs, other abstracted curvilinear shapes, spoked circular shapes or rayed arcs reflective of a headdress or the individual's personal spirit power. Both animal and human forms portrayed with an exposed skeletal frame, elaborated by many of the shapes more associated with Chinookan style, such as the triangles, zigzags and a heavy use of concentricity.[164]

Aside from designs on horn bowls and ladles, Chinookan art style itself decorates a wide variety of material objects including wooden spoons and mortars, stone bowls or mortars, large upright stone sculpture, smaller stone figures, wooden house posts or planks, power boards and power figures, and "image canoe" carvings.[165] The sculptural style of the Columbia River region can be seen as similar to the forms found in the two-dimensional woven designs of both textile and basketry in that both are geometric in composition and often omit smaller details.[166] There is also a unique instance of a painted clemmons, or elk hide armor, which is most likely Chinookan in origin, given the designs. This will be discussed below.

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[162] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 211.
[163] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 214.
[164] Keyser, *Indian Rock Art*, 97-98.
[165] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 201.
[166] Brown, *Native Visions*, 54.

Stone sculpture represents some of the earliest three-dimensional forms of art from the Columbia River region. They are rare and often of unknown use due to having been pot-hunted, but definitely of ancient origin. Created by pecking and grinding with another harder stone, these stone sculptures generally take on the natural form of the original rock and remove the least amount of stone necessary in order for the stone to resemble the features of the human or animal the artist is aiming to create.[167] Most of these stone sculptures have been found in the larger vicinity of the Long Narrows, between the John Day River and Crates Point on the Columbia River.[168] Aside from the seemingly non-functional stone sculpture, there are also embellished bowls and mortars that take on the aforementioned Columbia River artistic features including exposed ribcages and vertebrae, the crescent mouth or grin, elaborate hair and/or ear ornamentation and the eyes with sweeping nose-to-brow motif. While these features may be found in the ancient aesthetic in other regions throughout the world, the combination of these features together identifies them as distinctly Columbia River sculpture.[169]

Many contemporary Native elders do not remember a time when these stone sculptures were made. Agnes Tulee, a Yakima consultant on the Burke Museum's 1991 exhibition *A Time of Gathering* notes,

> These carvings existed way before anyone can remember, even before the old people. There were only stories about them. No one remembers when they were made or how they got here. They are found all along the Columbia River. Maybe people migrated along these routes back and forth. No one really knows.[170]

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[167] Wright, *A Time of Gathering*, 118.
[168] The mouth of the John Day River is about 25 miles upstream of The Dalles, Oregon and Crates Point is five miles downstream of The Dalles.
[169] Strong, *Wakemap Mound*, 27-8.
[170] Wright, *A Time of Gathering*, 118.

That is not always the case though. Another Yakima consultant, Charlie Pierce did recall a particularly interesting function in relation to a double mortar found west of the The Dalles (Figure 8), stating, "I remember my grandfather used something like this. He would turn the face and make an offering in the bowl—then the weather would change."[171] This could directly relate to these types of objects with spirit power.

Basaltic stone bowls and figures exhibit both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic Chinookan art styles. The most iconic known piece in a museum collection is an anthropomorphic basalt figure found near Sauvie Island that now resides in the Portland Art Museum (Figure 9). The figure stands at about four and half feet tall and weighs almost six hundred pounds denoting it as the largest example of Columbia River sculpture. The size of the object suggests its importance to the community. The stylistic details of the two-step planar face, small eyes and mouth, rectangular nose rayed lines on the forehead and skull and incised ribs, exemplify early Chinookan art style in a large form.

Another stone figure, a head from the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology collection, found and collected before 1872 by near the convergence of the Deschutes and Columbia Rivers, (Figure 10) resembles a mountain sheep's head, the most popular of the stone animal motifs.[172] The sculpture maintains the characteristics of a Columbia River piece with its round eyes, sweeping nose and brow ridge, and repetitive lines on the side that possibly indicate an exposed skeleton or fur on the cheek. The sculpture has small depressions at the bridge of the nose and

[171] Wright, *A Time of Gathering*, 117.
[172] Bighorn sheep motifs found on stone sculptures are the most popular of the motifs found in museum and private collections. Strong, *Stone Age on the Columbia River*, 108.

the back of the head that could indicate either a ceremonial usage or as a mortar.[173] A bighorn sheep bowl in the Portland Art Museum collection (Figure 11) exemplifies another type of mountain sheep stone sculpture yet this was found at the mouth of the John Day River. While its location of manufacture is unknown, if not made where it was found, it is quite clearly of Columbia River origin. The heart-shaped face accentuates the curling horns of bighorn sheep and the finely carved chevron lines and parallel lines on the sides and rear respectively, likely represent the skeleton motif. As a quadruped bowl, it is one of only a few found along the Columbia, and its use is unknown. There is no indication of residual material found inside the bowl other than faint traces of natural pigments, suggesting it was once painted or used to crush pigments.[174]

Smaller sculptural figures from ancient times also exemplify the Chinookan art style. One female figure (Figure 12) carved from elk antler was found on the Sauvie Island Bridge Camp site where the Multnomah group of lower Chinookan peoples lived, located downstream from Portland, Oregon at the convergence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers. While the specific site was abandoned before the seventeenth century, the entirety of the sixteen-mile island was once populated with at least fifteen village sites for almost seven hundred years with the population estimated at about six thousand at the time of Lewis and Clark's first visit. Almost all of these village sites are now either completely eradicated or covered up with dikes or farms. Since the island was settled by Euro-Americans in the 19th century, thousands of lower Columbia River artifacts have been uncovered, contributing to the knowledge we now have of the peoples that lived there before the epidemics of smallpox and malaria that depleted the population by the

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[173] Mercer, *People of the River: Native Arts of the Oregon Territory* (Portland, Seattle and London: Portland Art Museum and University of Washington, 2005), 41; Wright, *A Time of Gathering*, 118.
[174] Mercer, *People of the River*, 18, 41.

mid-1830s. The Multnomah piece now in the Burke Museum collection depicts a mother and child and exemplifies the attributes of Columbia River art via repetitive geometric details and an accentuated skeletal form. Specifically, the concentric crescents of the ribs, circles on the knees and navel, and the zigzag lines on the forehead, cheeks, legs and cradle evoke the most common characteristics of Columbia River art. The parallel lines on her forehead suggest types of bridal headdresses worn by young Wasco and Wishram women further upriver in the mid-Columbia region (Figure 28).[175] The skirt the woman wears is also noteworthy as it most likely represents a twined two-play cattail skirt often worn by peoples of this region for insulation (Figure 29). In the winter of 1805-6 on the Corp of Discovery, Lewis and Clark collected at least one, and possibly more, of these skirts at the mouth of Columbia River. This is one of only four known examples of these twined two-ply cattail skirts, the other three are in the George Catlin collection at the National Museum of Natural History. Lewis and Clark might have originally collected the three skirts in the National Museum of Natural History as Catlin amassed some of the objects in his Native art collection directly from William Clark in the 1830s.[176] Clark mentioned in his journal that the men and women of the mid- to lower Columbia River shared similar styles of clothing.[177] The almond-shaped eyes of the Multnomah figure also fit with the larger regional style of the Columbia River watershed.

Other small sculptural forms that exhibit the Columbia River style are wooden utensils, including mortars and spoons. Wooden mortars or bowls, used for pounding dry salmon and roots, were commonly cylindrical and decorated with the signature zigzag motifs (Figure 30).

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[175] Bill Holm, *Spirit and Ancestor: A Century of Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum*, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1987), 30; Strong, *Stone Age on the Columbia*, 20, 98; Wright, *A Time of Gathering*, 121.
[176] Wright, *A Time of Gathering*, 34, 48.
[177] Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy,* 290-92; Wright, *A Time of Gathering,* 34.

Wooden spoons are characterized by a round shape as opposed to elliptical, and come to a point at the tip, a flat-topped rim and a small sculptural handle.[178] The handles are usually shorter and the spoons generally more compact than their horn counterparts, discussed in more detail in the following chapter, but the bowls of the spoons are shaped to be similar to the stretched-out opening of the horn spoons, which were far more labor-intensive and valuable.[179] While the sides of these bowls were not commonly decorated, the handles shared similarities with the figures found on the ends of sheep horn ladles (Figures 31, 32).

Chinookan peoples also created larger, monumental art forms decorated with the two-dimensional carving style, such as interior house posts, house bunk planks and power boards. Meriwether Lewis commented on this art form in March 1806 noting, "these people are very fond of sculpture in wood of which they exhibit a variety of specimines [sic] about their houses…I saw some of these which represented human figures."[180] Power boards were also found in the houses and specifically represented an individual's personal guardian spirit. One example of such is currently located at the American Museum of Natural History, (Figure 33), and beautifully displays the Chinookan art style in a more monumental format, including a three-step facial structure and a skeletal body. Many of these large-scale wooden art pieces no longer exist in present times due to natural decomposition of wood over time and the Chinookan practice of ceremonially "killing," by breaking or punching holes into an object, or burning objects at the time of an individual's death.[181]

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[178] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 190.
[179] Brown, *Native Visions*, 54.
[180] Lewis and Clark, (1991): 9-10.
[181] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 218-220.

One rare case of a surviving painted clemmons, or elk hide armor, survives in the Field Museum collection in Chicago.[182] The thick armor almost covers the whole body and is impenetrable to arrows, spears, and in some cases bullets. The Tlingit warriors of southeast Alaska wore these during battle, and while they had access to some of the thickest-skinned animals, such as walrus, moose or sea lion, many warriors favored clemmons imported from the Columbia River region made from elk hide. Eighteenth-century Euro-American traders would purchase the hides the Chinookan peoples and then trade them with the Tlingit people for sea otter furs, finding the exchange to be quite profitable. The Upper Chinookan people prepared the armor and then traded them downstream to the Lower Chinookan people who had more direct contact with these Euro-American trade ships. In some cases, as with this specific clemmons, the armor would be decorated with Chinookan-style painting because the Chinook, and other southern Northwest Coast peoples, made use of these hides for armor as well.[183] The style of painting is so different from the northern formline design that the painted Chinookan clemmons were often turned inside out and the appropriate formline crest design could be added for the Tlingit warrior to display on the exterior.[184] This may have been the case with the Field Museum clemmons, which was painted with human faces that resemble the stepped plane faces and concentric details of the two-dimensional carving system (Figure 34). While originally cataloged

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[182] "Clemmons," among other variations such as "clamon" or "clammel," was a term used by 18th century Euro-American traders in their journals referring to elk skin armor and may come from the Chinookan word for "pliable" or "soft." Steve Henrickson, "Tlingit Warriors and Their Armor," in *Anóoshi Lingít Aaní Ka/Russians in Tlingit America: The Battles of Sitka 1802 and 1804*, eds. Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Richard Dauenhauer and Lydia T. Black (Seattle and Juneau: University of Washington Press and Sealaska Institute: 2008), 392, 395.

[183] Intraregional warfare or battle in the greater lower Columbia region occurred on the basis that a conflict between villages, which were already linked across vast distances by intermarriages and trade ties, had not been settled by the proper payments. Hajda, "Social and Political Organization," 160; Henrickson, "Tlingit Warriors and Their Armor," 392-393.

[184] Henrickson, "Tlingit Warriors and Their Armor," 392-393.

as Tsimshian and probably collected in the northern Northwest Coast among the Tlingit, the piece was likely made in the Dalles region given these stylistic features and the history of their production.[185]

Chinookan peoples were expert canoe makers and created a variety of types. One specific form that seems closely related to the mountain sheep horn ladles more closely examined in the following chapter, are known as "image canoes" or the medium sized canoes used by peoples from the mouth of the river up to the Dalles. Fur trader Alexander Ross and explorers Lewis and Clark described these canoes in their respective journals as depicting sculptural figures on both the bow and stern of the boat. This particular model from the American Museum of Natural History exemplifies such a canoe, with a bird on the bow and a bear figure on the stern, resembling the quadrupeds and birds found on the handles of mountain sheep horn ladles (Figures 35, 36).[186]

Upper Chinookan basketry utilizes similar motifs found on two- and three-dimensional carved Chinook artwork, specifically the Tsagaglalal facial type. In the spring of 1806, Lewis and Clark had been making their way back up the Columbia River on their return trip when they presumably collected the soft-twined root-gathering basket now in the Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology collection, also known as a "sally bag" (Figure 37). The basket is made completely of dogbane and utilizes both plain- and wrapped twining to depict a repetitive, detailed pattern of closed diamond-shaped faces of ancestral figures similar to the Tsagaglalal petroglyph. This pattern is broken by a column of open diamond shapes, within which the artist

[185] Wright, "A Collection History," 40.
[186] Lewis and Clark, (1990): 265; Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 221; Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 98.

wove groups of quadrupeds, possibly dogs, coyotes, or wolves.[187] These types of baskets functioned as ideal containers for storing and transporting camas roots during the root-digging season as well as dried salmon meal and berries. They were also convenient for gathering medicines as well as collected other household and personal items. Necessary in every home, the bags were frequently washed, re-used and lasted for years. To this day in the mid-Columbia, the bags are the most comfortable, flexible, yet structured option compared to any available commercial product for gathering roots.[188]

The Columbia River style used on carved materials lends itself to basketry, in part due to the geometric twining technology specifically through the use of similar organic geometric forms and anthropomorphic imagery on basketry. The play between positive and negative through the use of triangles and zigzags is especially common along the lower Columbia River, in the Portland Basin. The anthropomorphic images found on root gathering or "sally" bags exhibit the anatomical forms described above, with the exception that the heads are diamond-shaped or angular rather than circular or oblong.[189] While curved shapes, like crescents and concentric circles are not found on Columbia River basketry due to the twining technique, the concept of concentricity and repetitive lines that create a dynamic play in the carvings of the region are clearly evident in the basketry as well, highlighting a connection between the traditionally male and female arts. The idea of continuity between the gendered art forms both emphasizes the sophistication and importance of this distinctive style as well as reflects the concept of

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[187] Pat Courtney Gold, "Introduction to Northwest Coast Baskets," (lecture, Native Arts and Artists Day, Burke Museum, Seattle, WA, April 19, 2014); Pat Courtney Gold, "A Wasco Weaver," 284; Wright, *A Time of* Gathering, 75.
[188] Gold, "A Wasco Weaver," 282; Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry*, 55.
[189] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 204.

intercultural connections between the various peoples that lived on and shared the resources of the Columbia River.

After the introduction of foreign diseases to the greater lower Columbia River region in the late 18th century, the Columbia River art style suffered an abrupt decline. Many of the practitioners that held the knowledge key to continuing these styles and art forms, such as the mountain sheep horn bowls, passed away. This loss of life combined with the introduction and development of new religions, discussed in Chapter II, contributed to a deviation traditional Chinookan spiritual beliefs among those who survived. Additionally, as mentioned in the previous chapter, relic-hunting and the artifact trade led to many surviving examples of this art form to be scattered throughout many private collections without any proper provenance.[190] These collectors' goals of freezing a cultural moment prior to non-Native contact through their collection of Columbia River material reflects the salvage anthropology paradigm of the mid- to late-nineteenth century. This period of large-scale collection of Native American objects coincided with the establishment of major museums and institutions. Early anthropologists working for these institutions, such as the Smithsonian, the Peabody Museum at Harvard, and the American Museum of Natural History, went out into the field in search of the "authentic" or particularly older material culture in the belief that these indigenous peoples were in danger of extinction, ultimately shaping the salvage paradigm. Yet, by collecting material and information in the name of science and for the sake of preservation, this left some communities stripped of their own material history. These museum collections became the standard for what is

[190] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 225.

recognized as traditional, further influencing museum visitors, administrators, and scholars alike.[191]

Despite such hardships, Chinookan art is not dead. Today, contemporary artists such as Tony Johnson, Adam McIsaac and Pat Courtney Gold, work to perpetuate and revitalize this sophisticated style through a variety of forms and media. Since 2003, when the Cathlapotle Plank House project began at the Ridgefield Wildlife Refuge in Washington state, these artists, along with the other artists and scholars, have helped to bring attention to the living art and culture of this region (Figure 38). Lewis and Clark had stopped at the original Cathlapotle village during their expedition, and this project came about as part of a bicentennial celebration of the explorers' visit to the region. Adam McIsaac and Tony Johnson shared similar goals of educating the public about this art style and worked together on the project, ultimately sparking the recent contemporary revival of Columbia River art. In McIsaac's case, he works at the Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde reservation encouraging younger people to pursue the art form by teaching classes on carving.[192] Johnson is the Cultural Committee Chair for the Chinook Tribe and Education Program Manager for the Shoalwater Bay Indian Tribe.[193]

Pat Courtney Gold began weaving in the early 1990s and later began to learn traditional Wasco basketry techniques and styles from master weaver, Mary Schlick. After her year-long apprenticeship, she continued to research museum collections of Wasco basketry as a means to master the complex twining technique and detailed designs. Gold worked for years doing collections research in various institutions, including an emotional visit to the Peabody Museum

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[191] Janet Catherine Berlo, "Introduction: The Formative Years of Native American Art History," in *The Early Years of Native American Art History*, ed. Janet Catherine Berlo, (Seattle and Vancouver: UW Press and UBC Press, 1992), 1-4.
[192] Adam McIsaac in discussion with the author, November 2013.
[193] Tony Johnson in discussion with the author, November 2013.

in 2000 where she was able to hold the basket she had admired and respected for so long. In her research, Gold discovered that part of the pattern of this bag depicted a fishing net, as the salmon runs brought the peoples across the Columbia plateau together for generations. After years of research and practice Gold wove *Honor the Wasco Weaver of the 1805 Basket Collected by Lewis and Clark* (Figure 39), as well as other commemorative baskets to pay respect to the basketweaver and to contribute to the continuity the intercultural tradition itself. The commemorative basket is made of materials including cotton and chenille wefts, Hungarian hemp warps and a doe suede rim cover quite literally weaving traditional and non-traditional together in one piece. In her recreation of the Lewis and Clark basket's design, she utilized her signature ironic and humorous twists by including a smile, a wink and a whistling mouth on some of the ancestral figure faces. By weaving together the idea of old and new into her baskets Gold generates references to both contemporary and historical Columbia River basketry and lifeways.[194]

The design motifs explored here provide a basis for the examples explored in the following chapter on the study of the mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles in museum collections around the country. The horn bowls in particular can be seen as the epitome of the Chinookan art style, because they may employ all the stylistic qualities discussed here in a single piece, and exhibit a wide variety of combinations. By examining those available in museum collections the body of work reveals an adherence to the unique stylistic characteristics of Chinookan art and within that individual artists' styles. This fairly conservative style is limited in range in terms of motifs, yet is not static. Each object is unique, and each bowl belonged to an

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[194] Gold, "A Wasco Weaver," 282-287; Rock Hushka, *Lewis and Clark Territory: Contemporary Artists Revisit Place, Race and Memory*, (Seattle and London: Tacoma Art Museum and University of Washington, 2004), 46-47.

individual. Chinookan peoples did not have a clan-based social system and these art objects are representative of a more individualized experience. The stylistic qualities of the decorated objects reflect both communicating with and simultaneously obscuring one's guardian spirit, or spirits, through the abstraction of forms.[195]

[195] Adam McIsaac in discussion with the author, November 2013.

Chapter IV: Stylistic Analysis of Sheep Horn Bowls and Ladles

This chapter will present a comprehensive stylistic analysis of the research sample of 98 Columbia River style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles. It will first examine the material used, the technological process used in forming the bowls and creating the designs that adorn their exterior, then common design schemes or trends found within the sample, a selection of collection histories of specific bowls in the sample, and any known commentary on the functional evolution of these types of objects. Detailed collection histories proved to be rare in the sample, but those that did exist, along with detailed analyses of the objects, help in drawing conclusions on the history of making bowls and ladles of mountain sheep horn.

Bowl and Ladle Manufacture

The horns of the mountain sheep are a remarkably resilient material. Used throughout the Northwest Coast as a prized material for constructing durable vessels, the thick keratin of mountain sheep horns becomes malleable under high heat, allowing for the notoriously tough structure of the horns to take the shape of functional bowls and ladles. Once cooled, the material returns to its naturally sturdy state similar in texture to a tightly grained wood, allowing for thinning of material through filing, adzing and finely detailed decoration of the surface of the vessel by means of straight knife and chip carving. Many of the older mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles have often been mistaken for wood in older museum and collector's records because the materials are so similar in density, texture and color. It is clear, though, upon close inspection, that the characteristic parallel waves of keratin layers built every year on the bone-based core of the horn, differ greatly from the concentric growth patterns of wood.[196]

[196] Holm, *Spirit and Ancestor*, 28.

The texture and patina of these vessels help to offer clues not only to the extensive or limited use of an object but its years of existence. The color of the horn, as suggested by Bill Holm, offers clues as to age of the bowl or ladle due to the patina of use. For the most part, 59 of the 83 horn bowls and ladles examined in person are a dark brown or dark reddish-brown color, indicating they are significantly older age, most likely before the waves of epidemics in the region in the late 18th century and early 19th century.[197] Only five horns show more of a pale amber shade, with hints of translucence, which Holm suggests represents more recently carved pieces.[198] It could also be possible that the horn of the specific sheep was much lighter. Sharp carvings with defined edges could also show a vessel's relative youth compared to those that have been well-handled which may exhibit a shiny patina on their rounded edges and rims from years of handling or wear. This is not always the case though, as objects that were collected earlier on by anthropologists and researchers, like George Emmons, were not used in the same way an Indigenous maker or patron may have, thus they could still exhibit the sharply defined edges of a newer bowl or ladle even at an older age. This is just one reason why collection histories, or what is available of them, are crucial in formulating a plausible hypothesis for the age of an individual sheep horn bowl or ladle.

The manufacture of the sheep horn bowl begins with the collection of material. The peoples of the Dalles harvested horn from the bighorn sheep from the surrounding mountain ranges. Mountain sheep horns are bone-based, and every year, until the animal dies, a new layer

[197] Bowls and ladles only examined via photograph are not included here due to lighting possibly obscuring the true color of the object.
[198] Thomas Vaughn and Bill Holm, *Soft Gold: The Fur Trade and Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast of America* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1982), 59.

of keratin grows over the last, extending the curl of the horn[199] According to George Aguilar, Sr., a Kiksht Chinookan man who is also a member of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs, the Wasco people of Warm Springs were very knowledgeable of the bighorn sheep, and the Cascades and Wasco groups together most likely sought the large animals from the high bluffs and mountains of the Columbia River Gorge, which cuts through the Cascade mountain range.[200]

Lewis and Clark commented on the Indigenous hunting parties rarely returning from the mountainous regions with any game during their movement through the larger Dalles region. When hunting did take place, usually men went out in groups in the fall to the lower slopes of the Cascades. The Wishram would travel to the base of Mount Adams and the Wasco would hunt closer to Mt. Hood. Along with elk, deer, mountain goats, and bear, mountain sheep were not as important to hunting parties for meat, but were still pursued. If found, the horns of the naturally deceased mountain sheep were also picked up during these hunting trips and used to make the bowls and ladles. These types of animal products were also commonly received in exchange for fish.[201]

According to Spier and Sapir, whose research further supports these claims, sheep horn spoons did not exist in great numbers among the Wishram as the animals themselves lived on Mount Adams, about 70 miles north of the Dalles in Yakima territory. The ethnographers noted that Chinookan women would search for the horns of the deceased animals on the ranges while gathering huckleberries in the back country and it was considered an extremely lucky

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[199] Vaughn and Holm, *Soft Gold*, 59; Rolf L. Johnson and Frank R. Lockard, *Mountain Goats and Mountain Sheep of Washington* (Olympia: Department of Game, 1983), 124.
[200] George, Aguilar, Sr., *When the River Ran Wild!: Indian Traditions on the Mid-Columbia and the Warm Springs Reservation* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society in Association with University of Washington, 2005), 84.
[201] Cressman, *Cultural Sequences at the Dalles*, 36; French and French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades," 365.

circumstance should someone come upon them. This element of chance may add to the precious nature of mountain sheep horn as a material.[202]

In a discussion of the petroglyphs found near the town of The Dalles on the opposite side of the river, William Strong and W. Schenck discuss the distinct depiction of mountain sheep. According to the text, mountain sheep were extinct by 1925. In truth, these animals were only extirpated by the 1940s as a result of unregulated hunting and exposure to disease. Both the Rocky Mountain and California Bighorns have since been reintroduced, and continued to be reintroduced and protected, to Oregon and Washington, starting in 1954 and 1957, respectively.[203] Also, the creature is commonly mentioned in the Wishram and Wasco stories in the same manner as other game animals. The alternate name of "big-horn" is sometimes even used in these tales. The petroglyphs redrawn by the authors, clearly depicts the mountain sheep with their large, spiraling horns, suggesting that the artists of these drawings lived closely among the animals (Figure 40).[204]

Bowls and ladles were most likely constructed during the wintertime, as that was the prime season for making and repairing utilitarian objects when families had retired to their settlements located further inland.[205] In order to create these bowls from the spiral shape, the inner curve of the horn must be cut away (Figures 41, 42). Then the inner bone core and any

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[202] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 190.
[203] There are now estimated to be between 3,500-3,700 bighorn sheep in Oregon. Johnson and Lockard, *Mountain Goats and Mountain Sheep,* 117; Oregon Public Broadcasting, "Bighorn Sheep Released in Two New Spots," last updated February 19, 2013, http://www.opb.org/news/blog/ecotrope/bighorn-sheep-released-in-two-new-oregon-spots/; Strong et al, "Petroglyphs near the Dalles of the Columbia River," in *American Anthropologist* 27, 1 (Jan-Mar 1925): 80, accessed April 2, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/661498.
[204] Strong et al, "Petroglyphs near the Dalles of the Columbia River," 80.
[205] David V. Ellis, "Cultural Geography on the Lower Columbia," in *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, ed. Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames and Tony A. Johnson (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 2013), 51.

excess keratin layers on the inside and outside of the horn are removed, including the wavy ridges of the horn, which are shaved down. The desired thickness of the bowl is then roughed out with an adze, smoothed with files or straight knives and hollowed with a crooked knife (Figures 43, 44). These sharp tools could have been made from stone, bone, antler or metal.[206] The thinner the bowl the more flexible the material becomes when boiled (Figure 45). The Columbia River style bowls maintained an overall thicker structure and heavier weight than the sheep horn bowls of the northern Northwest Coast, suggesting there would have been more difficultly in the stretching process. The bowls may have been stretched in stages by first wedging the bowl open and boiling again, then inserting a wider wedge and boiling again, and finally inserting a spherical or oval-shaped stone. These rounder stones were used in this case to create the signature circular-shaped bowl of the Columbia River, allowing the vessel to take shape of the stone as it cooled (Figure 46 A, B & C).[207] The formation of a ladle is very similar, except a small section between the bowl and handle of the ladle is removed. The bowl is formed on the larger end of the horn, and the narrower part of the horn is not stretched open and rather carved down to form the handle, maintaining the curve original horn shape (Figure 47, 48). This differs from northern style ladles, as the handles are steamed and re-curved away from the bowl (Figure 49).

The technology used in making both bowls and ladles reflects the process of canoe making, a technology in which the Chinookan peoples of the Columbia River were well-versed. The Chinookan peoples of the Dalles region, as noted in Chapter II, were commended for their

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[206] Brown, *Native Visions*, 55; Steven C. Brown, "Southern Northwest Coast," in *Art of the North American Indians: The Thaw Collection*, eds. Gilbert T. Vincent, Sherry Brydon and Ralph T. Coe (Cooperstown, NY and Seattle: Fenimore Art Museum and University of Washington, 2000), 298; Holm, *Spirit and Ancestor,* 152.
[207] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 190.

handy work in making and using canoes as an efficient form of transportation, reflecting their tendencies to generally stay closer to the river throughout the year rather than venture further inland as their Sahaptin neighbors tended to do. When a canoe is first shaped, the eventual changes in its form as a result of the spreading are taken into consideration. In order for the bottom of the canoe to flatten out after it has been stretched and streamed, the base of the canoe must be carved with a slightly convex base. That way when the sides are stretched apart the ends are lifted up, the base flattens out. The same planning and thought are taken into account when initially carving the mountain sheep horn, but unlike a log, the horn already has a naturally convex base, with the curve being much more pronounced than what would be carved into a canoe base. When the bowl is then boiled or steamed and the horn material becomes malleable, the sides are stretched apart creating a wider, base on which the bowl can rest. The bottom of the bowl is by no means flat as none of the bowls nor ladles sit evenly on the base, but the bowls are stable enough to functionally contain foods or liquids. The spreading also causes the ends of the bowls to be raised, forming the characteristic flanges.[208]

The last step after the bowl has been shaped is cutting the edges and flanges and decorating the exterior with the variations of Columbia River motifs discussed in the previous chapter. As for the ladles, the handles would be carved, which at times included a sculptural animal on the end (Figure 48). For the bowls, the raised ends of what was once the tip and base of the horn are carved into rectangular flanges, further decorated with perforated rectangles, and in some cases triangles, on the top ends, reflecting the geometric motifs of Chinookan art style.[209] Of the 68 bowls examined, 31 simply had pierced rectangular, flat-topped flanges (see

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[208] Bill Holm and Bill Reid, *Indian Art of the Northwest Coast: A Dialogue on Craftsmanship and Aesthetics* (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 1975), 72.
[209] Brown, "Southern Northwest Coast Art," 298.

Figure 13 for example) whereas 27 had a combination of pierced triangular crenellations and/or rectangular piercings in the flange (see Figure 14 for example). The remaining 10 include one with a square piercing (Figure 50), faces with no piercings (Figure 17, 52), solely circular piercings (Figure 53), solely triangular piercings and crenellations (Figure 54), a combination of circular and rectangular piercings (Figure 55), a pair of animals in the flanges (Figure 56), a pair of human figures with rectangular piercings in the flanges (Figure 57), or faces in the flanges with piercings (Figure 58, 59). As for the ladles, 23 out of the 30 had a sculptural carving on the end of the end of the handle or carved detail (see Figure 2 for example), proving these vessels, especially of this material, were highly decorated more often than not.

Design Analysis

The designs depicted on the exterior of the vessels were incised through a process of carving with straight knife and/or chisel. The horns are stretched into a wide circular or oval bowl with the two rims often almost level. The bowls and ladles exemplify the wide variety of Chinookan design motifs through the combinations of zigzags bands, concentric shapes, and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs. The most common motif, used on almost all of the bowls and ladles is the positive zigzag with 79 of the 98 objects examined exhibiting at least one zigzag band motif. Seven of the objects that do not make use of the zigzag are completely without any exterior decoration, leaving only ten objects that, while embellished with carvings, do not have these zigzag motifs. A fairly strict use of specific motifs are found among the sample, but the combination of these various designs ultimately results in a wide variety of "types" that are not easily grouped into neat categories. Through a broader examination, some patterns were discerned in terms of common design schemes, which are explored below.

No two bowls are exactly alike, suggesting that the designs on these objects may have been unique to the individual who owned the piece and are representative of their *tamahnous*. Twenty-eight of the 68 bowls in the sample depict human faces, either with or without accompanying torsos and bodies. Only two of the ladles depict human faces, both of which are two-step plane faces (Figures 18, 60). The majority of the bowls, 23 of the 28, exemplify the three-step facial structure (see Figure 20 for example). Only three depict a two-step facial planes (Figures 16, 58, 61) and one distinctly resembles the Tsagaglalal designs discussed earlier (Figure 59). One bowl, which is an anomaly, may not be from the Columbia River or may have been made by a less competent artist, depicts a face with out any steps. Myron Eells collected this specific bowl from the Twana of the Puget Sound region and the facial oval is fully incised around the eyes, which remain raised like an eye mask (Figures 50, 51). Only four of the 25 faces depicted have a pointed chin, while the other 21 use the rounded chin to depict faces.

Twelve of the 28 bowls with faces include a torso or body with the majority, eight, organized in such a way that the head is in the flange and the feet are at the base (Figures 14, 20, 52, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66). Only two bowls exemplify the "upside-down" torso with the feet at the flange and the head at the base (Figures 67, 68) In all these cases the bodies are mirrored on the both sides of the raised band. Only one bowl from the sample uses a single body, stretching across the entirety of the raised band (Figure 69). The skeletal structure of the body or torso is always the highest plane whereas the face is recessed, carved down into the stepped planes. In four cases the head is outlined with a very broad band at the highest surface, suggesting it might represent the skeleton or skull (Figures 58, 61, 69, 70).

There is one other bowl with a humanoid figure that is inconsistent stylistically with the rest of the sample (Figures 71, 72). This bowl depicts a peculiar humanoid figure on the interior

of the bowl, and it is somewhat coarsely executed using only a single incised line that defines the outline of the body, lacking any other negatively carved elements to create positive forms. While the shape of the head and the handling of the hands are reminiscent of Columbia River style, the rest of the figure is something of an anomaly. The eyes and the mouth are incised very deeply into the facial area, without any recessed stepped plane and the perfectly circular shape of the eyes suggests that the carver used a drill to make them. The face also lacks the almond-shaped incised eyes more commonly found in Columbia River carvings. The decoration on the head of the figure is also peculiar, forming a very thinly incised extended triangle or trigon pointing toward one flange. This particular detail may be the most idiosyncratic of the bowl's attributes, as it is not a detail seen in conventional northern or southern Northwest Coast carvings, or designs in general. The figure's position, with the arms and legs splayed outward toward the rim, appears to be a more uncommon approach to anthropomorphic form, as the arms and legs of figures on Columbia River mountain sheep horn bowls are more often unbending and align downward next to the rectangular shape of the of the figure's body.

The exterior of the bowl is decorated with a northern Northwest Coast-style formline design. The design was executed by an individual with an idea of the conventions of the northern Northwest Coast design system (Figure 72**).** Generally, the design is bilaterally symmetrical, depicting two faces, with ovoid eye sockets surrounded by formlines. The artist added two split Us between the two facial structures and trigon reliefs at the corners of the mouths and between the eyes. There is a circular relief in the nose-area of the face on one side yet not on the other. This formline design may have also most likely been executed free hand, without the use of any templates, since each of the eye socket ovoids range in length, between one and half and two and half inches.

While 15 of the 30 ladles depict the head or body of a quadruped on the end of the handle, four of these twelve show the animal holding its own snout in an extra pair of forelegs or arms. This may suggest that the animal, most likely coyote, is transforming and could allude to the previously discussed power figures referenced in Chinook art. Coyote of the ancient times was a transformer and trickster figure, or the figure most like man, according to the Chinookan and Sahaptin oral histories from the upper river to the lower and even mouth of the Columbia (Figures 2, 24, 73, 74).[210]

Condors or eagles also appear on both the ladles and bowls. Two bowls depict the large birds with their full wingspan open and their heads in profile on the exterior of the bowl. In the case of the bowls the birds are carved so that they are the highest plane on the surface, rather than recessed, much in the same way human torsos and full bodies are carved into horn bowls (Figures 54, 62). The ladles do not depict the birds in full profile on the bowls with wings spanned wide, but rather emphasize the head of the animal on the handle, characterized by their large beaks protruding from their heads. In some cases, their wings are defined by thinly carved incisions (Figure 25, 26, 75,76).

Thirty-one of the 98 bowls and ladles examined are decorated with only geometric, no anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, designs. One of which is a ladle which may have originally had an animal figure on the handle, as is common, but has broken off. Ten bowls and ladles are completely undecorated and have no incised designs on the exterior. Five bowls are almost completely covered with zigzags bands, creating a vibrating effect (Figures 13, 56, 77, 78, 79). Others reflect a similar idea, leaving space or other designs between the bands or strips of

[210] Rubin, *Naked Against the Rain*, 107-108.

zigzags (Figures 58, 80). A combination of concentric circles and concentric squares is another common combination in the sample (Figures 1, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85).

One particular geometric motif that stood out is a large series of concentric circles interspersed with circular zigzags bands between the inner-circles; or a concentric circle and zigzag combination that could perhaps resemble a sun. This distinct motif, or a variation of it, appeared on nine bowls in the sample. Three of the bowls (Figures 77, 86, 87, 88) only use the motif once on the base. Two bowls (Figures 58, 89) depict it twice on the sides of the bowl.[211] Another bowl in the Portland Art Museum uses the motif three times along the raised band between the flanges (Figure 90). A bowl in the Oakland Museum of California displays a concentric circle and zigzag combination motif around a three-stepped face on both sides of the bowl (Figure 88). Lastly, another bowl from the American Museum of Natural History almost covers the bowl with this motif with nine separate uses of the design (Figure 91). While this seems to be a small theme among the large sample of 98 bowls and ladles, its presence is noteworthy. It would be too presumptuous to suggest that the design belonged to a specific individual or artist, as the carving styles and quality are unique between each of the bowls.

While rectangular piercings and the combination of these piercing with triangular crenellations are commonly found on the flanges of the bowls, only two bowls, both in the Peabody Collection at Harvard, had pierced sides (Figures 17, 92). On one bowl (Figure 17) the side rims are adorned in the typical fashion with zigzag bands, between the top two and the bottom single band though, the negative triangles that form the positive zigzags are larger and pierce completely through the horn. Because these piercings are only at the top of the bowl, it would still be functional for serving food. The second bowl (Figure 92) appears less functional as

[211] This is unclear because the bowl is on display in the Northwest Coast Hall at the American Museum of Natural History and only one side is visible to the viewer.

the triangular cutouts form an angle that reaches a point near the base of the bowl, meaning it may have not been used for serving liquids, but possibly more for aesthetic, ceremonial or spiritual reasons or for serving large pieces of fish that wouldn't fall through. Both objects came from the same donation by a local Bostonian man, Lewis Farlow, who acquired them from noted collector Grace Nicholson.[212] Unfortunately, the details of when and where Nicholson or any of her colleagues collected the objects are unknown, but they are distinctly in the Columbia River style.

Five is the ritual number in the Dalles region, as discussed in Chapter II, but is manifested in only five bowls out of the sample based on the use of five key motifs decorating the exterior of the bowl (Figures 16, 70, 83, 84, 93, 94). The initial objects discussed in this paragraph may be the best examples of the use of five and support the concept of the decoration on bowls being related to individual spirit power. Figures 16, 70, and 93 are all decorated with five three-step faces, two on each side, two below the flanges and one on the base. Others have a design that exhibits series of five through concentric geometric motifs (Figures 83, 84). Figure 83 depicts two concentric squares beneath the flange and a concentric circle at the base, with two smaller concentric circles on the sides, whereas Figure 84 is decorated with three concentric squares along the raised band and two smaller concentric circles on the sides of the bowl. The last bowl (Figure 94) exhibits a combination of both of the previous examples, with four humanoid faces, two beneath the flanges and two on the sides, and a concentric rectangle at the

[212] Grace Nicholson was a highly influential collector and dealer of Native American art, or "curios" and helped shaped the consumption and commoditization of Native arts in the first decades of the 20th century. While she operated out of Pasadena, California and was known for her collections of California Indian basketry, she also collected in Oregon, Washington, and the Southwest United States. Susan Bernadin, *Trading Gazes: Euro-American Photographers and Native North Americans* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 2003), 151-152, 157.

base. Other bowls and ladles, 32 of the sample, utilized the number five through repetition of crescents, zigzags, or other concentric shapes, but it was not the main layout of the design.

According to Spier and Sapir, horn bowls and ladles, as well as wooden bowls, baskets and stone bowls, were originally used in serving food and cooking. It might be assumed that the bowls and spoons of horn were not used with hot foods as the material would lose its form if in contact with high temperatures for a long period of time.[213] Based on my own experience boiling horn, it takes at least ten minutes of boiling water for the horn to truly change its shape, so hotter soups or liquids may not have caused the bowl to lose its form. The bowls that have been used or stained may have functioned to serve various meals consisting of fish, meat, vegetables, roots and berries.[214]

The majority of the sample exhibited some sort of evidence of handling or use from discoloration, stains, scratches that appeared to be made after manufacture, burn marks, or extreme dryness and cracking. Three bowls appear almost pristine and may have been purchased directly from the maker or owner before having been used. One (Figures 81, 82) collected by George Emmons, another (Figure 95) collected by Elizabeth Cole Butler, and a third (Figure 96), purchased by the Museum of the American Indian in 1927 do not indicate any use for serving food based on their pristine condition and also have no residue in the crevices or insect damage.

Collection History

The unique collection histories of some of the bowls in the sample have proven valuable in determining a functional history of these objects. While the study sample is large and represents the majority of mountain sheep horn bowls in museum collections around the United States, most of the bowls and ladles lack a detailed collection history that speaks directly to the

[213] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 185.
[214] Brown, "Southern Northwest Coast," 298.

name or tribal affiliation of the maker, specific date the object was made, date of original collection, function of object, let alone artistic process. The lack of information available in museum records is the result of the history of relic hunting in the Dalles region as well as the trans-cultural value these sheep horn objects hold.

The earliest known collection of Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls were acquired by George Gibbs around 1850 and now reside at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. The American ethnographer collected four objects, two bowls and two spoons, presumably while he was serving as an assistant to Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens, the first territorial Governor of Washington, during the crucial treaty negotiation period discussed in Chapter II. One bowl (Figure 70) was collected at the mouth of the Columbia River. The bowl is adorned with five three-step faces and zigzag bands are used to divide up the various spaces of the bowl where they reside, the base, the sides, and below the flanges. The flanges remain undecorated except for four pierced rectangles and five pierced triangles. Another bowl (Figure 80) is almost fully covered with zigzag bands and concentric rectangles, lacking any anthropomorphic details. The flanges are much larger, with five rectangular piercings and seven pierced triangles.

The ladles depict two very different varieties as well, one with a condor or eagle on the end of the handle and one with a quadruped, possibly a coyote, wolf, dog or even otter on the other. Both ladles are decorated with zigzag lines around the rim, back of the handle and base of the spoon. Only one (Figure 97) depicts concentric circles flanked by repeating lines of crescents on the base of the spoon. The quadruped figure exemplifies the sculptural aspect of ladle decoration as it is carved in three dimensions, attached to the ladle by hind and fore legs and tail

turned down. The down-turned tail in Skokomish basketry refers to a wolf and an up-turned tail refers to a dog, but it may simply be depicted that way for practical purposes.[215]

The Maxey Museum at Whitman College houses two horn bowls collected by nineteenth century missionary Myron Eells (Figures 50, 51, 66). In response to a questionnaire sent out by Otis T. Mason in 1875 to various federal Indian agents and missionaries on reservations around the country specifically asking for information on the native peoples of the Northwest Coast, Eells began writing of his own experiences with the Twana peoples of the Skokomish reservation where he resided.[216] Later, the text expanded into *The Indians of Puget Sound* and was finally published posthumously in 1985. In the section on furniture, vessels and utensils, Eells describes his collection of dishes and how tribal groups in British Columbia, whom he calls "the Klickitats," and Native peoples of the eastern Puget Sound made mountain sheep horn bowls, claiming the latter hunted the animals high in the Cascades. Eells notes that he had seen very few among the Twana, with whom he resided, but those that did exist were most likely "imported." This supports the previously discussed ideas of widespread trade throughout the region. Before introducing specific objects, Eells notes that all the dishes were used mainly for fish or oil. He describes one bowl, that is likely one of the vessels from the Maxey museum, as "circular, about 8 inches in diameter by 3 ¼ deep." I believe this may be the bowl in Figure 66.[217]

This bowl was originally catalogued as Twana, but then changed to Klickitat in the museum record, presumably to reflect Eells text as he stated that the Twana rarely made them but "The Klickitats" did. This skillfully manufactured bowl depicts two human faces and torsos on each end of the raised band, with their heads at the base of each flange. The three-step facial

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[215] Brown, "Southern Northwest Coast," 299.
[216] Myron Eells, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Seattle and London: University of Washington, 1985), v.
[217] Eells, *Puget Sound*, 98-99.

structure is surrounded by three incised lines, creating a concentric effect around the head that may represent a headdress or spirit power. The torso is simply made of two rectangles each depicting three positive crescent ribs and no arms. At the base, the artist chose to carve a series of concentric squares where the feet of the figures would have been. The rest of the bowl is decorated with bands of six zigzags along the side rims and another set of perpendicular zigzags on the sides, about as wide as the concentric square on the base, making for a very balanced design. There are also concentric squares and zigzags embellishing the flanges, both of which are simply rectangular in shape with three pierced rectangles. The carving overall is meticulous and precise and the shape of the bowl almost perfectly circular. It may have actually been used as a food dish given stains on the interior of the bowl.

Both Livingston Farrand and Charles Willoughby collected material from Quinault in the late 19th century. While the Quinault people are a southern Coast Salish group, the reservation became home to many Chinookan peoples, as well as other Coast Salish groups, through the government's Allotment in Severalty policy. Ultimately, Chinookan peoples received over fifty percent of the allotments at Quinault, as they did not have a reservation of their own, which speaks to why the two collectors and researchers acquired Chinookan material from the Salish reservation.[218] Livingston Farrand acquired seven of the twelve bowls and ladles from the sample now in the American Museum of Natural History collection as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of 1898, which was sponsored by the museum, and all were collected at Quinault (Figures 13, 55, 73, 91, 98, 99, 100). In a similar vein, Charles Willoughby collected two mountain sheep horn bowls from Quinault for the Smithsonian Institution, now at the National Museum of Natural History (Figures 20, 21, 93). In his 1898 report for the Smithsonian,

[218] Johnson, "The Chinook People Today," 16.

Willoughby does not directly mention the horn bowls, but he does note that the "ancient dishes were made of yew and their spoons of horn" and "buffalo-skull dishes, with large handles, came originally from the headwaters of the Columbia River."[219]

Another interesting collection history connects sheep horn objects collected by the same person in both the Denver Art Museum and the Yakima Valley Museum. In the 1960s, The Denver Art Museum received objects purchased at the Museum Shop in Mabton, Washington, a town in Yakima County, that were previously in the Yakima Valley Museum (formerly known as the Yakima Country Historical Society). The shop owner, Mr. Gannon had apparently acquired the objects through an exchange with the historical society. Originally, a man named L. O. Janeck collected these materials directly from native peoples in the Yakima and Columbia River region around 1900.[220]

L.O. Janeck moved to Yakima from the Midwest in 1899, eventually opening up a drug store where he would trade or buy "Indian crafts" from the local Indigenous patrons.[221] Others heard of Janeck's interest in Native American arts and would come to Janeck directly to sell their wares, a trend that lasted throughout his life. The druggist also did his own collecting and would trek down to the Columbia River to participate in the popular practice of relic hunting described in Chapter II. Janeck even notes, "I had collecting Indian articles pretty much to myself. There

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[219] Charles Willoughby, "Indians of the Quinaielt Agency, Washington Territory," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 20, 1886* (Washginton DC: United States Government, 1889), 269; Wright, "A Collection History," 37-8.
[220] Letter, Norman Feder to Dr. George Beck, January 23, 1964, accession QWs-2-P, Denver Art Museum.
[221] According to a 1951 article in the Yakima Sunday Herald available in the accession file for a sheep horn bowl that still remains at the Yakima Valley Museum from the same original accession.

was so much material around here then that other people thought all of the Indian implements too common to be interesting. Such articles are rare now."[222]

The bowl collected by Janeck that remains at the Yakima Valley Museum (Figure 68) appears to have been used and handled many times throughout its existence. The entire exterior maintains a shiny patina, the chipped carvings are, in comparison to many other bowls and ladles in the sample, worn down. The corner and rim of the bowl are broken off as if the piece had been dropped. There are a variety of dark stains on base, the side, and the interior of the bowl. The exterior designs depict two full body human figures in the traditional Columbia River geometric skeletal style. The flanges are fairly unique with only one other bowl in the sample of bowls, which was collected by Indian Agent Charles Willoughby in 1886 from the Quinault reservation, which resembles it closely (Figure 20, 21). Both bowls have mostly solid flanges with two fully pierced narrow rectangles on the left and right ends of the flanges and thinly delineated zigzag lines. The carving style with its shallow incisions and proportionally larger human figures could possibly suggests the same artist could have made both bowls, but unfortunately neither of the records specifies an individual from who the bowls were acquired or by whom they were made.

A ladle also collected by Janeck (Figure 74) was deaccessioned from the Yakima Valley Museum and exchanged with Mr. Gannon. Gannon then sold the ladle to the Denver Art Museum in the 1960s for $85.00 claiming that is was extremely rare and came from the Wishram people. Gannon goes on to note in a letter written to Norman Feder, the Curator of American Indian Art at the time, that these horn spoons were "perhaps the toughest type to get in all of the

[222] S. L. Anthon, "They've Seen Yakima Grow: Janeck Relates Changes in the City," *Yakima Sunday Herald*, April 1, 1951.

Northwest."[223] In his response to Gannon, Feder expresses interest in acquiring even more carved Columbia River carved materials, especially with the "typical X-ray design."[224] Gannon follows up and writes that Columbia River carved items were simply not "in circulation" in Yakima in the mid-20th century, suggesting that most of these objects had been collected during the late 18th and early 19th century.[225] This also confirms the relative rarity of these Columbia River carved material culture.

The ladle itself is decorated with single and double zigzag bands and the handle is topped off with the torso of a quadruped holding its snout between its forelegs, possibly suggesting a transformation or supernatural being. It is also notable that the ladle sustained a large crack that runs parallel to the spine of the handle into the body of the bowl. Interestingly, three different types of materials had been used to repair it, specifically leather, brass and two iron staples, all of which appear handmade. This kind of care taken into conserving the ladle more than once and by possibly different people, suggests its continued value by various owners or keepers of these objects.

Dr. R.E. Stewart's two horn bowls and one spoon now in the Burke Museum ethnology collection share a similar history with that of the L.O Janeck. Stewart also was the "hobbyist" type of collector, whose lack of documentation contributes to this simultaneous elucidation and obfuscation of the art of Columbia River peoples. While his collection and subsequent early donation to what was then the Washington State Museum contributes to research and analysis of the objects involved, the lack of information associated with the materials and his method of

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[223] Letter, Mr. Gannon to Norman Feder, January 13, 1964. Accession QWs-2-P, Denver Art Museum.
[224] Letter, Norman Feder to Mr. Gannon, January 20, 1964, accession QWs-2-P, Denver Art Museum.
[225] William Sturtevant, "Foreword," in *Collecting Native America, 1870-1960*, ed. Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1999), v.

collecting, which was essentially relic hunting, leaves more questions than answers about the maker, the function and date created. The Stewart Collection falls into a category of early accessions into the Washington State Museum (now the Burke Museum), of Northwest Coast material culture. Based on what can be gleaned from the original accession file, Dr. R.E. Stewart assembled this large collection between the years 1889 and 1902, marking the period he practiced alongside a renowned and respected Goldendale, Washington physician, Dr. Allen Bonebrake, before he passed away in 1903.[226]

According to the limited available biographical information, including notes from Stewart's memorandum found in the original accession file, the collector had a strong interest in the Native American ethnologies, particularly of the local region and had collected objects fervently as an amateur archaeologist, which was not uncommon along the Columbia River at that time. While the details of all of his collection methods are not clear, many of the objects in the original accession were said to have been acquired from old hunting grounds at Rock Creek, Squally Hook, and Sand Springs, camping grounds at Chamberland Flats and Columbus, fishing sites at Tumwater Folly and Rockland and burial grounds on Celilo Island and Chamberland Flats. All of these sites are local areas surrounding the Dalles that Dr. Stewart had included in his notes.[227] The original collection that the Washington State Museum purchased was made up of mostly archeological material, alone totaling around 18,000 pieces, and about 2,100

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[226] Robert Ballou, "Dr. Allen Bonebrake, Pioneer Physician Active Beyond His Years, Still on the Job," *The Goldendale Sentinel*, April 9, 1934, accessed January 31, 2013, http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~westklic/bonebrak.html; "Data and List of Stewart Indian Collection from Columbia River Region, Dr. R. E. Stewart, Collector," Accession 40, Burke Museum Archives (Seattle); Rev. H.K. Hines, D.D., *An Illustrated History of the State of Washington* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1893), 381, accessed January 31, 2013, http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~jtenlen/restewart.txt.

[227] "Data and List of Stewart Indian Collection from Columbia River Region, Dr. R. E. Stewart, Collector," Accession 40, Burke Museum Archives; Mercer, *People of the* River, 14.

ethnographic objects. This is a veritable cross section of material culture indexical of fishing, hunting, trade, berry and root gathering, cooking, shelter, and clothing, among other quotidian tasks and technologies. The notes found in the accession file, said to have come from Dr. Stewart himself regarding his collection as a whole, suggest that this material is rare for its representation of a large number of people in a small area with a high level of intelligence, particularly in reference to the tools. These notes also specify that the peoples of the region maintained versatile lifeways, necessary for living within and outside of the Columbia River riparian zone and indicate the doctor's strong beliefs in preservation of prehistoric communities and that these objects should be organized together in order to succeed in this goal of what he sees as cultural salvation.[228]

All three bowls (Figures 69, 101, 102) are noted to have been collected in the Satus Creek region of Washington, halfway between the Dalles and Yakima. One bowl has a particularly unique design within the sample, displaying a fully human figure across the center raised band completely flanked by vertical bands of zigzags on four to five zigzag bands on both sides, as well as small horizontal zigzags beneath the figure's eyes, possibly representing facial paint or tattoos. Aside from the detailed humanoid figure on the base of the bowl, (Figure 69) this bowl has comparatively simple flanges of four pierced rectangles and zigzag bands that run along the rim and sides of the raised band. The other bowl in the Stewart collection is much simpler in

[228] In 2006 and 2007 two separate groups of deaccessions took place under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) to the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho, Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation and the Wanapum Band, respectively. Both repatriations, the second much larger and jointly claimed by the abovementioned groups, were directly associated with Dr. Stewart's collecting of unassociated grave items from the sites he stipulated in his notes as camping grounds or burial grounds, including the Celilo Island and Chamberland Flats, "Accession List" 7/19/2010 in Accession 40, Burke Museum Archives. Data and List of Stewart Indian Collection," Accession File 40, Burke Museum Archives.

design as there are only four sections of four zigzag bands on along the raised base and two concentric circles on the sides of the bowl. The flanges remain relatively simple, like the previous piece, with only three cutout rectangles. The spoon in the Burke's Stewart collection has a unique shape in that is it formed to look more like a bowl with a wide shallow bowl and a single short rectangular flange with three rectangular cutouts instead of a long narrow handle (Figure 101). There is only one other spoon with this similar of a shape and exterior design, and that is found in the National Museum of American Indian collection (Figure 18) that is also characterized as Yakama in the catalog information. Concentric circles, concentric half circles, incised triangles, and zigzag bands are all carved into the exterior of the spoon.

One bowl from the Denver Art Museum collection, as well as a bowl from the Maryhill Museum in Goldendale, Washington, may offer evidence to an Indigenous family from the Dalles region that produced mountain sheep horn vessels. This is the only example from the entire sample in which a named Upper Chinookan family known for their art is connected with any of the objects. Both objects (Figures 1, 103) are noted to have come from Mary Underwood Lane, the granddaughter of Cascade Chief Welawa, also known as Chief Chenoweth. Ellen Underwood, or Taswatha, was known especially for her beadwork, a unique type of Wasco-style woven beadwork.[229] The Underwood Family also hosted an annual "Underwood Fair" in their home beginning around 1871 that may have functioned as the first exhibition of art in the local region.[230] There are two horn bowls in the foreground of a photograph from ca. 1911 associated with this "Underwood Fair" (Figure 104). It is not clear if the Underwood family made them or not, but the bowl on the left is definitely the Denver Art Museum bowl (Figure 103). The Denver

[229] Mary Dodds Schlick and Kate Duncan, "Wasco-Style Woven Beadwork: Merging Artistic Traditions," in *American Indian Art Magazine* 16.3 (1991): 45.
[230] Schlick and Duncan, "Wasco-Style Woven Beadwork," 45.

Art Museum bowl catalog points out that the piece was actually purchased from collector and dealer George Terasaki. The details of how he acquired the Underwood material that he sold to the Denver Art Museum are unclear.[231]

Both bowls are solely decorated in geometric designs without any anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures represented and have a series of five concentric squares carved into the base and zigzag bands are used otherwise to decorate the exterior. The Maryhill bowl also exhibits concentric circles on the sides of the bowl and in general the zigzag designs are used in more singular strips as opposed to the bands of three to five used in the DAM bowl. The shapes of the bowls are not particularly similar, as the DAM bowl maintains much larger flanges with four rectangular cutouts and the Maryhill bowl has much proportionally smaller flanges with both four rectangular and five triangular piercings. Whether they are made by the same artist or not, the shapes of the horn bowls themselves always vary, since the original horns differed in size or degree of curve.

Anthropologist Thomas Talbot Waterman collected a few sheep horn items from the Warm Springs Reservation while collecting ethnographic material for the Heye Museum. He acquired a ladle, now in the National Museum of the American Indian (Figure 75) that exemplifies the typical Columbia River style. Concentric circles, concentric rectangles, zigzags, and a single carved eagle head decorate the body of the spoon in the traditional manner. The archival notes associated with this specific piece are particularly interesting in helping to decipher which of the bowls and spoons in the sample have actually been used. The bowl overall has a rough, dry texture and almost looks as if it has been burned, with some darker discoloration

[231] The catalog information for the DAM 1964.264 bowl states that it came from the "Mary Underhill Lane Collection" at the Maryhill Museum, but is a mistake that should correctly read "Mary Underwood Lane Collection."

in the sides. Waterman specifically points out that this piece was a "cooking specimen," which may account for its rougher texture, and that it was purchased from an old man named "Beechkin" in July 1921 for one dollar in Warm Springs, Oregon. This is only the second circumstance, aside from the previous example with the Underwood family, where the individual from whom the object was acquired was actually named.

Functional Analysis

Considering Igor Kopytoff's discussion on the cultural biography of things, the following analysis will explore the evolution of the social function and value of these objects as well as their hybrid position as commodities, functional items with exchange value, and singularities, unique, priceless objects.[232] The bowls and ladles have functioned and continue to function in both Native and non-Native cultural contexts. This section will briefly trace the cultural biography of these bowls and ladles, despite the lack of collection information available, and point out how the objects have not lost their cultural value in these evolving contexts. In analyzing the bowls and ladles, it is crucial to take both the tangible and intangible elements into account. The tangible, or formal, characteristics relate to the utilitarian and aesthetic functions of these bowls and ladles whereas the intangible relates to the more obscured guardian spirits, songs, dances, names, or foods associated with them. Based on the few references to function made about these objects in historical texts, it appears that the original function of these objects was mostly utilitarian, but also ceremonial.

Tangibly, there is documentation that both bowls and ladles functioned for the purpose of serving food. Twenty-three of the 83 bowls and eight of the 26 ladles researched in person had a dark patina and stains on the interior and/or exterior supporting the idea they were used for that

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[232] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1986), 68-70.

purpose. These bowls and ladles that have been used or stained may have functioned to serve various meals consisting of fish, meat, vegetables and berries. Annual traditions of first foods, root gathering, and other feasts that revolved around important life events are dedicated to and honor the guardian spirits that the human and animal figures on the bowls may represent. This suggests their use during such meaningful events.[233] These feasts would occur during naming ceremonies, children's ear piercing celebrations, the first salmon rite, the first products of a child's labors, a girl's first menses, and other important moments in an individual's life, such as surviving an illness. During these celebrations, the format was generally the same with focus on the feast and the dispersal of gifts to those in attendance. [234]

The intangible function of these vessels is more directly related to their representational or obscured meaning. Tony Johnson and Adam McIsaac assert that Chinookan art is spiritual in nature, representing the spirit helpers that belong to the owner of the object.[235] Each unique design depicted on the horn bowls and ladles likely portrays the *tamahnous* or spirit power(s) of the individual that originally owned them, thus they are purposefully designed to be vague or private, essentially singularizing the object. Wayne Suttles has explored similar conclusions in relation to central Coast Salish material culture, or what he calls ritual paraphernalia, offering a strong comparison to Columbia River horn bowls in the context of Coast Salish art history. Suttles argues that the very private nature of guardian spirits in particular limited the number of objects, such as spindle whorls or rattles, on which these types of figures or designs could be depicted, thus explaining why Northwest Coast communities south of the Kwakwaka'wakw, like the Coast Salish and Chinook, did not produce as much carving and painting as the more

[233] Brown, "Southern Northwest Coast," 298.
[234] Spier and Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," 258, 261-262.
[235] Johnson and McIsaac, "Lower Columbia River Art," 203, 211.

northern communities. This argument might also explain why there are so few mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles compared to other Northwest Coast art forms, as there is a certain risk to artistically expressing your personal guardian spirit power and sharing it too obviously. In some cases, in Coast Salish culture, it could result in an individual losing or weakening their connection to the specific spirit power or contracting an illness. Suttles also notes how the southern Coast Salish groups, who geographically neighbored the lower Chinookan peoples, portrayed their guardian spirit figures more often than the central Coast Salish.[236]

While certain animal and humanoid figures are represented on Columbia River bowls and ladles, the specific species or individual depicted was not meant to be shared with anyone aside from the individual that owned or attained that power, again similar to the nearby Coast Salish peoples. These obscured designs of one's *tamahnous* are functional in their own right, as a vocabulary or language that is deeply personal. Consequently, the formal analysis of these bowls and the Columbia River style as a whole, presented in the previous chapters, is one of the only ways to understand the design system, how it has developed over time, the geographic or tribal differences, and how contemporary practitioners understand the art.[237]

Before these objects ultimately ended up in museum collections they evolved into commodities, possibly functioning as intermarriage gifts between neighboring groups or as other forms of intertribal trade, especially given that they were originally produced on and around the Dalles trade center of the Columbia River. Intertribal trade between the interior and coast was

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[236] Wayne Suttles, "Productivity and its Constraints: A Coast Salish Case," in *Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coas*t, ed. Roy L. Carlson (Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 1983), 86-87.

[237] Bunn-Marcuse, Kathryn, "Form First, Function Follows: The Use of Formal Analysis in Northwest Coast Art History," in *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, eds. Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Jennifer Kramer, and Ki-ke-in (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2013), 407.

common on the river and these objects were collected by peoples of western Washington, resulting in some bowls being catalogued as Salish, rather than Chinookan.[238] Only 16 of the bowls researched in person include any sort of information on the location of collection, six of which come from these more western, near coastal regions including the Quinault Reservation (Figure 20, 21, 93), Twana (Figure 66), Tacoma, Washington (Figure 77), Cape Flattery (Figure 2), and Portland, Oregon (Figure 105). All of these bowls maintain the traditional Chinookan art style, suggesting they may have been traded. Valuable objects like these mountain sheep horn vessels may have been traded for what could be considered equally valuable materials or may have made their way to these more coastal regions through intertribal marriage, both of which are discussed in Chapter II.

Prior to their accession into museum collections, some of these objects were traded with or purchased by Euro-Americans, again functioning as commodities. At least 21 of the 83 bowls and ladles researched in person are known purchases documented the museum catalog records. One possible explanation for the influx of mountain sheep horn bowls into museum collections during the late 19th and early 20th century is the motivation of both salvage anthropology and ethnology. Yet, lack of information recorded from collectors, either working for museums or collecting material themselves, shows an interest in the object as a curio, a concept further discussed below, rather than an interest in the culture from which it came. Such undocumented information includes the individual who originally owned it, the artist who made it, or a description of the designs. There is also the possibility that the people from whom the objects were collected may not have been aware of the original owner, maker, or even what the designs depicted. These collectors' main motivation may have been their belief in the extinction of

[238] Vaughn and Holm, *Soft Gold*, 59.

Indigenous groups in the United States, thus they collected objects that were considered old at the time of collection, like these mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles.

Another explanation for the dispersal of these bowls and ladles could relate to the Chinookan peoples and their neighbors trading away more prized goods during a time of dire need. Ever since the arrival of Euro-Americans to the region, the Chinookan peoples have suffered major blows to their various communities by means of disease and displacement, discussed in Chapter II. This put the surviving people in a position to participate in the new Euro-American economy, and in some cases may have resulted in their selling of these prized personal possessions. This is not to overlook that Chinookan peoples were extremely talented in trade and may have recognized the Euro-American desire for Indigenous art in the late 18th and early 19th century. Influenced by collectors like Grace Nicholson and the curio trade, they may have intentionally sold older objects for a good price to those interested, as was the case with L.O. Janeck of Yakima.

Curios are described by Marvin Cohodas as "interethnic commodities, consumed by persons or groups ethnically or racially distinct from the producers, and generally intended for display rather than physical use."[239] This is the next shift in the function of these bowls and ladles in this sample, again taking on aspects of a singular, priceless object. After they are acquired by Euro-Americans, either for private or public institutional collections, they no longer maintain an Indigenous utilitarian function but rather are intended to be used as strictly aesthetic objects meant for spectacle representative of a specific Native community. Curios tied in with the idea of salvage anthropology were associated with authenticity through their unique designs, original utilitarian function, ancient manufacture dates, as well as their naturally occurring

[239] Marvin Cohodas, *Basketweavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox* (Tucson and Los Angeles: University of Arizona and the Southwest Museum, 1997), 4.

materials.[240] Mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles fit neatly into these basic curio requirements, reflecting the drive for collectors to acquire these objects around the turn of the last century. In museum settings today, these bowls and ladles are not only functioning as objects representative of the Upper Chinookan or lower Columbia River culture but also as objects of study obscured from their original use. Contemporary artists such as Adam McIsaac and Tony Johnson can look to these specific pieces as objects of research, to learn from the original carvers and to share these techniques and designs with the next generation of carvers.

The Euro-American acquisition of Indigenous goods, including Columbia River art, did not only happen through purchases. Relic hunting, as discussed in Chapter II, may account for a portion of these museum collections as well. Given the very personal nature of the designs on the objects and the tradition of decommissioning objects when their owners passed away, these types of important objects may have been placed in Chinookan burial vaults with the owner when they died. While "killed" objects will display damage of some sort and only one bowl exhibits signs that it could have possibly been decommissioned (Figure 17, broken base not depicted), 53 of the 98 objects displayed a sort of residue in the crevices of the designs. This could suggest that relic hunters found these specific objects in the ground or in graves. Given the nature of this method of acquisition, there is no information on location or date the object was made or even found.

This chapter has explored the manufacture of bowls and ladles, specific details of the sample were then analyzed based on the most commonly used motifs found on the objects including geometric designs, anthropomorphic, and zoomorphic designs. Specific motifs that stood out, including the "sun" or concentric circle-zigzag design, combinations of concentric circles and squares, or designs that utilized series of five. The designs on each bowl and ladle are

[240] Cohodas, *Basketweavers for the Curio Trade*, 5.

unique in the combination of motifs, yet many variations of motifs were repeated throughout the sample, showing a faithfulness to Chinookan art style in an individualized framework. An important aspect of this analysis that remains to be developed is a stylistic evolution over time. Stylistic analysis can aid in finding a discernable development of style over time, but in order to do so, the dates of manufacture, not solely collection, of the objects in question must be accessible or a clear change in style in the sample must be present. Unfortunately, that information was rarely available. Very few of these bowls and ladles have specific collection dates, let alone dates of manufacture, artist names, or specific location of collection, which can partially be attributed to the region's attractiveness to relic hunters. As a result, basic details that might offer clues as to who made these types of objects, especially if it was a specific family or a group of families that may have been known for them. The details of any object's provenance that were accessible were included in chronological order of general collection date. While 32 of the 98 bowls and ladles are dated to the 19th century, most commonly c. 1850, 28 are dated to the 20th century, and 38 have no date associated with them. The main problem with these dates is that they are not necessarily associated with the manufacture or even acquisition of the object, simply when they were purchased or donated. In many texts published by Bill Holm, Steven Brown, Aldona Jonaitis and other Northwest Coast art scholars the bowls are given estimated dates of manufacture of 1800 to 1850. Contemporary artist Adam McIsaac believes that Chinookan peoples may have stopped making these sheep horn bowls and ladles in the late 18th century after the first wave of epidemics or in the early 19th century after the second wave of epidemics, suggesting that people may have been more focused on survival than continuing this complex art form.[241] Recently, Bill Holm has also commented that he believes the objects may

[241] Adam McIsaac in discussion with the author, November 2013.

date back as far as the early 18th century.[242] If anything, this analysis did prove that there is a faithful adherence to a specific style throughout the sample and even between historical and contemporary Chinookan artworks in various forms and media.

The earliest bowls and ladles collected were acquired by George Gibbs around 1850 and they now reside in the National Museum of Natural History. The most recently made collection, that is known, from an individual was made by T.T. Waterman in 1921, collected from an older man named Beechkin. While the Janeck collection was not accessioned into the Denver art museum until the 1960s, the original collection of the objects were most likely made when Janeck ran the drug store and purchased objects from Native clients around 1900. The only names affiliated with the any of the objects of the sample that could reference the maker or owner, are the Underwood family and Beechkin, although they might have acquired these objects from others as well.

This final functional analysis briefly traced the evolving uses of Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles as well as their tangible and intangible capacities, from their manufacture, to their hybrid function as singular objects and commodities, to their current position as invaluable additions to prestigious institutional collections. Even though we may not know all the names of the artists, families, or original owners, it is clear that these elaborately decorated and masterfully designed objects are directly connected to the Cuthlasco or Wascopam of the Long Narrows, as their Chinookan and Sahaptin name, respectively, designates them as the people of the horn bowl. Ultimately, this chapter has shown that there has been a strict adherence to the Columbia River style in all the objects, yet all designs are completely unique in

[242] Bill Holm in discussion with the author, June 2014.

their combinations of motifs.[243] The following and concluding chapter will explore the shift in function of these bowls and ladles and place this study within the art history of the Pacific Northwest.

[243] With the exception of BURKE/WSM 1-388 (Figures 71, 72) that exhibits a pseudo-formline design on the exterior rather than a design in the Columbia River style.

Chapter V: Conclusion

This thesis has presented the most comprehensive research to date on this specific art form. I have used an ethno-historical approach in conjunction with a stylistic and functional analysis in order to provide the first comprehensive study of Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles based on a representative sample that currently reside in museum collections in the United States. I found that there is very little information associated with these specific objects, even in museum catalogs, and in order to accomplish this study, I have relied on a number of different sources to present this argument. The written perspectives of Euro-American explorers, traders, missionaries, anthropologists, ethnologists and settlers in what was once Long Narrows region of the Columbia River were crucial in to providing the historical context of the Upper Chinookan people in the 19th century. For the stylistic analysis, I used both formal analysis and the viewpoints of contemporary artists and scholars. The functional analysis used the work of Igor Kopytoff to trace the cultural biography of mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles as a whole from the harvesting of materials to their most current state.

In the process of this study, I have found that the conclusions that can be drawn from this very small sample of 98 objects differ greatly from those of other Pacific Northwest object-based stylistic studies, such as Bill Holm's 1965 study of 392 northern Northwest Coast bentwood boxes and chests and Robin Wright's study of 970 Haida argillite pipes. Holm's goals were to understand the design system used on the large sample of boxes and chests and in his *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*, Holm developed a terminology for the style and outlined the conventions of the design system.[244] The scope of his project was much larger than this study of Columbia River horn bowls and ladles and ultimately the outcome was that he was able to

[244] Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1965**),** 21-22, 35-49.

describe a specific style that crossed tribal borders and the understanding of that style could then be used to track changes over time. Wright's 1985 dissertation "Nineteenth Century Haida Argillite Pipe Carvers: Stylistic Attributions" described changes throughout the 19th century in her sample and determined a small group of individual artists styles. Because argillite was tourist art, their accession dates more accurately reflected their date of manufacture. Rather than being heirlooms that were retained within a culture, they were sold as soon as they were made and arrived in museum collections quickly.[245]

I had these two studies conducted by my predecessors in mind when I began my research, thus with the hope of finding stylistic changes through time, decipherable artist styles, and possibly the names of individual artists. In hindsight, it became clear that my research sample differs greatly from these previous studies. First of all, the sample size is much smaller at only 98 objects, compared to 392 and 970 with Holm and Wright's studies respectively, and still represents the vast majority of Columbia River horn bowls and ladles in museum collections. Second, these objects come from a very specific location on the Columbia River unlike the bentwood boxes and chests that were made by many tribal communities of the northern Northwest Coast. Third, I did not have to develop my own terminology but turned to Tony Johnson, Adam McIsaac and Steve Brown in particular to describe the stylistic details of the objects. Lastly, dates of manufacture, an important detail that Wright was able to access in her research, were not documented for the objects in my sample, only the years in which they were accessioned into museum collections or occasionally when they were collected making it difficult to track any stylistic changes over time. Unlike argillite tourist art, accession dates and collection dates for the prized mountain sheep horn vessels do not represent date of manufacture.

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[245] Robin K. Wright, "Nineteenth Century Haida Argillite Pipe Carvers: Stylistic Attributions," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1985), 661-662.

The above disparities aside, the Chinookan formal system has maintained a fidelity to a specific geometric style over time for at least 1,200 years on different types of media. The range in motifs used on the bowls and ladles is fairly limited, so stylistic change is not a useful measure of historical importance.[246] Recognizable stylistic bodies of work by individual artists were not an outcome of this study. Based on ethno-historical details of the Chinookan peoples, these bowls and ladles most likely belonged to individuals as an obscured representation of their personal guardian spirits and no two designs depicted are exactly alike in the layout or in the combination of motifs used. Artist names were not recorded for a number of possible reasons. For example, collectors and museums may not have prioritized such information or had access to it or the objects may have been held in families for many generations before giving them up. Further, the name of the artist may not have been as important in the culture than the family or original owner.

While my study may not neatly parallel with Holm and Wright's respective research outcomes, this analysis of Columbia River-style horn bowls and ladles is more comparable to Barbara Iliff Brotherton and Jennifer Chambers Gould's analyses on raven rattles of the northern Northwest Coast (see Figure 106 for example). Both scholars address the change in the function of the raven rattle over time while maintaining a strict stylistic continuity even as these roles evolved. This conventionalized form and design of raven rattles that was sustained not only over the course of the 19th century but from region to region as well.[247] Initially, raven rattles have functioned in an explicitly spiritual context as shaman's tools for curing and holding healing power. This is evidenced by the fact that fragments of the iconic ritual instruments were found in

[246] Keyser, *Indian Rock Art*, 97.
[247] Barbara Iliff Brotherton, "Northwest Coast Indian Rattles: A Stylistic Analysis" (MA Thesis, University of California, Davis, 1984), 26.

Tlingit shamans' graves.[248] For the Tsimshian, rattles also functioned as a shaman's tool for controlling supernatural powers.[249] As the century progressed, the rattles evolved into tools for protecting and honoring initiates in spirit-possessed states, as emblems attesting to one's lineage, as important badges of a chief's rank, and finally as musical instruments that accompany singing of a communal song. The function of raven rattles shifted to taking on this more distinctly ceremonial role in the late 19th century as a result of the impact of epidemics, the establishment of Christian missions on Indigenous ancestral lands, and of the potlatch ban in Canada.[250]

It is possible that when the raven rattles came to the Tlingit from the Tsimshian, their shamans may have used them first in a spiritual context of curing at the beginning of the 19th century, but by the end of the century these rattles were more primarily associated with chiefs in secular ceremonial contexts.[251] These rattles came to maintain more symbolic meaning and the continued commission and display of these objects in ceremonial contexts proved that the Indigenous lifeways continued to thrive even in precarious times.[252] Specifically, chiefs ceremonially imitated the manner in which shamans would use raven rattles in the secular context of feasting or potlatching.[253]

I propose that Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles have shifted in function in a similar manner as northern Northwest Coast raven rattles. Prior to the first epidemics that swept through Chinook country in the late 18th century, these prized objects,

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[248] Barbara Iliff Brotherton, *Spirits Like the Sound of the Rattle and Drum: George Thorton Emmons' Collection of Tlingit Shamans' Kits* (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 1994), 87, 195-196.
[249] Jennifer Chambers Gould, "The Iconography of the Northwest Coast Raven Rattle" (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973), 134.
[250] Brotherton, "Northwest Coast Indian Rattles," 176-177.
[251] Gould, "Iconography of the Northwest Coast Raven Rattle," 42.
[252] Brotherton, "Northwest Coast Indian Rattles," 176-177.
[253] Gould, "Iconography of the Northwest Coast Raven Rattle," 140.

requiring a laborious manufacturing process, probably functioned in a religious context more directly related to the images of the guardian spirits depicted on the bowls and ladles that an individual may acquire over their lifetime, such as for burial ceremonies or shamanic curing of illnesses. According to ethnographic accounts, these illnesses were considered to have been caused by intrusion of a foreign object into the body, spirit possession, personal spirit loss, or soul loss and required the help of shamans or curers and their own powerful guardian spirits.[254] In Chapter III I discussed how the designs on the bowls and ladles, as well as other media, are representative of an individual's *tamahnous*, directly connecting these objects directly to the practice of curing or acquiring spirits. Even further, the heavy use of concentricity and repetitive motifs create a dizzying effect and are evocative of a trance-like state one might enter when acquiring or seeking guardian spirits.[255] The sun motif, or concentric circle and zigzag combination, may even directly relate to the practice of giving thanks to the sun in the Washat religion, an aspect incorporated from older traditional ceremonial practices.

The bowls and ladles may have also been affiliated with a pre-contact, pre-epidemic version of the first salmon rite. Reverend Henry Perkins of the Wascopam Mission recorded the only first salmon rite that specifically cites a shaman using a basin to hold the blood of the first salmon, which is then kept for five days in the dish before it is returned to the river. This is the only ethnographic text that comments on the use of fish blood in the first salmon ceremony and could perhaps be an aspect of these earlier, pre-epidemic ritual practices that were no longer in use.[256] The winter guardian spirit dance is another possible context in which these bowl were originally made or used in pre-contact times as they were sponsored by shamans and revolved

[254] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 120.
[255] Adam McIsaac, in discussion with the author, November 2013.
[256] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 128.

around the guardian spirits of those participating. Gifts were also an important function for these ritual occasions, as they were provided by all involved, and distributed at the end of the ceremony.[257]

After both waves of epidemics decimated much of the population in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, including the artists that created the bowls and ladles and many of the participants in these ceremonial practices, traditional religious practices began to evolve at a greater rate of change. Survivors held onto the valuable horn vessels and used them more practically in these new contexts, like the first food feasts of the Washat religion or life-cycle ceremonies such as naming feasts, as a means of maintaining Chinookan cultural practices during dire times. The annual traditions of first food feasts, and other various feasts of rejoicing that revolve around important life events, are still important rituals today. These feasts are dedicated to and honor the guardian spirits that the human and animal figures on the bowls may represent, suggesting their use during such meaningful events.[258]

Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles were likely accessioned into museum collections long after they were made. The first collection date in my sample demonstrates this as practice as it was collected around 1850 by George Gibbs for the Smithsonian but may have been decades, or even a century, old by that time. With the pressure to move on to reservations, participate in an American economy and convert to Christianity in the latter half of the 19th century, some Chinookan families who still possessed these prized items may have sold them off to the growing number of Euro-American anthropologists and Indian agents interested in salvaging Indigenous material culture. Many of these bowls and ladles that do not have detailed collection histories could have passed through a number of hands,

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[257] Boyd, *People of the Dalles*, 132.
[258] Brown, "Southern Northwest Coast," 298.

particularly around the early 20th century when dealers like Grace Nicholson and the rise of the curio piqued the interest of hobbyists, dealers and collectors. This, in conjunction with the fact that Upper Chinookan ancestral lands along the Long Narrows has been heavily relic-hunted, has resulted in the lack of basic information on these coveted objects and the strict adherence to a distinctly Chinookan art style throughout the sample.

Columbia River-style mountain sheep horn bowls and ladles have likely evolved from ritual objects associated with spiritual power, to heirlooms or objects of more secular ceremonial importance, to curios admired by non-Native peoples for their aesthetic qualities, and into tools that exhibit the details of Chinookan art style. Their power is not lost. These vessels can now be used to teach the next generation of artists and scholars not only about the Chinookan art style but a Chinookan cultural history as well. Despite the dearth of collection information, this thesis has proven that this small sample of iconic objects originated in the Cuthlasco village, their importance in understanding the Chinookan design system, and their sustained cultural value and function through the few unique collection histories as well as a broader proposed social biography. In the future, a more detailed analysis of private collections and international museum collections may help to fill some of the gaps in the original research goals presented here. Ultimately, more scholarship in the area of Chinookan art and art style is necessary. Fortunately, the work of contemporary Chinookan artists and researchers has been invaluable to what is currently known and proves the resilience of not only the material of mountain sheep horn bowls but also the resilience of Chinook culture.

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Appendix A: Figures



Figure 1. Horn Bowl. Collection of Maryhill Museum of Art, #1958.01.18/105-55-23. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 2. Horn Ladle, Lower Columbia River. Burke Museum, #4858. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 3. Map of Indigenous Languages of Western Oregon and Washington. Reprinted from Zenk and Johnson: 2012, pg. 12.

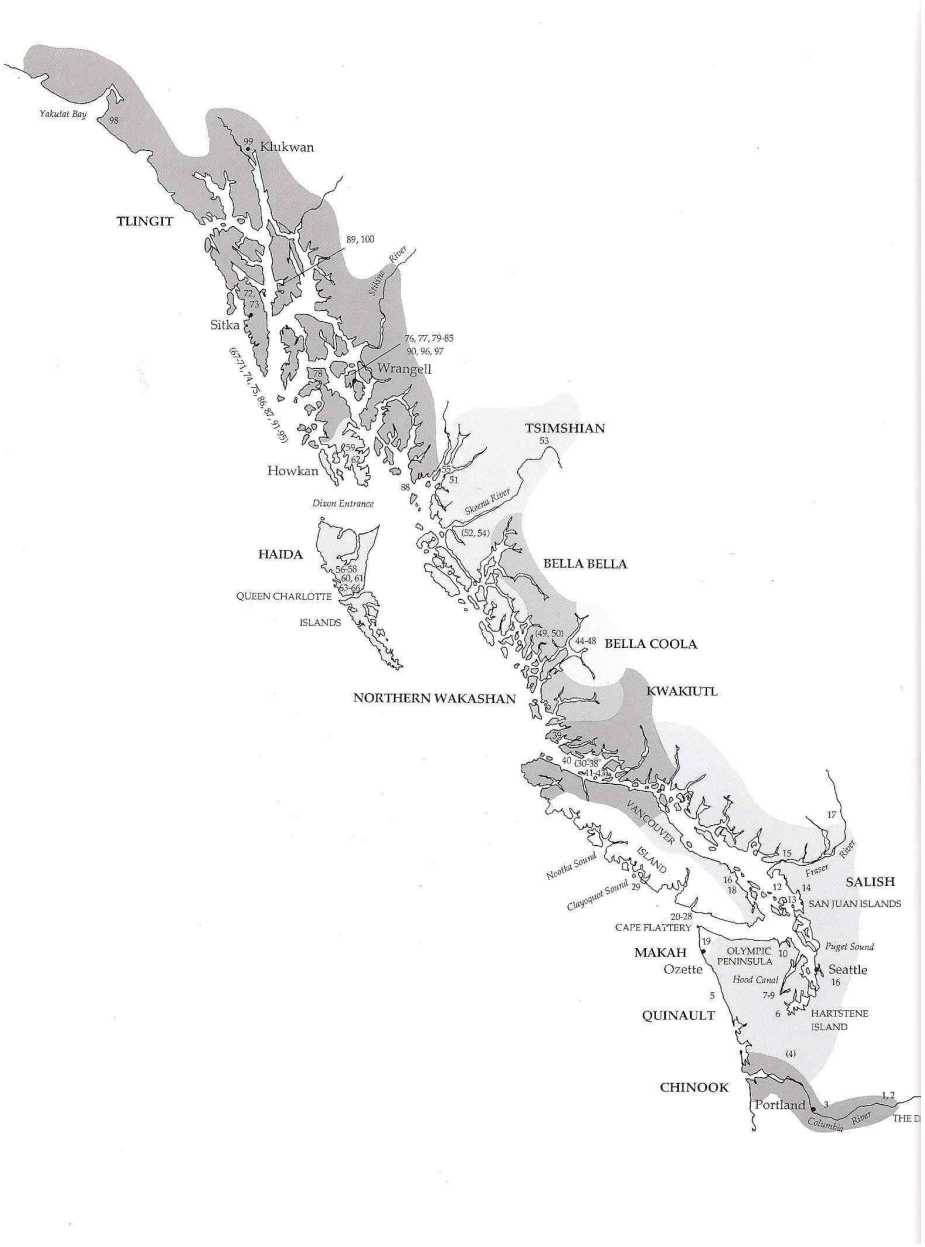

Figure 4. Tribal and Cultural Groups of the Northwest Coast. Reprinted from Holm: 1987, pg. 24.

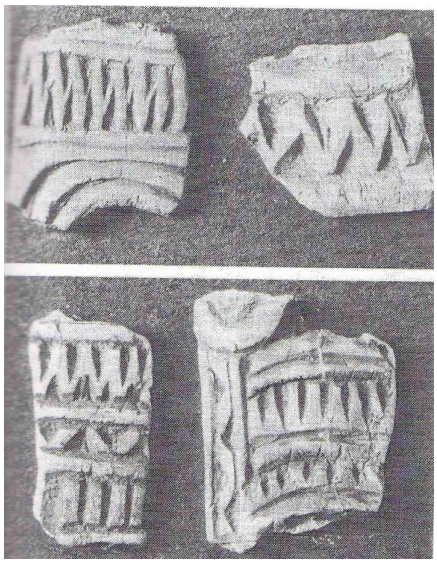

Figure 5. Incised Bone or Antler Carvings from the Columbia River, near the Dalles. Reprinted from Holm: 1983, pg. 35.



Figure 6. Figures with Oblong heads collected near the Dalles. Reprinted from Strong et al: 1930, pl. 9.



Figure 7. Tsagaglalal or "She Who Watches," Petroglyph/Pictograph. Reprinted from Kirk and Daugherty: 2007, pg. ii.



Figure 8. Stone Mortar, The Dalles. Collection of Maryhill Museum of Art, #1944.12. Reprinted from Wright: 1991, pg. 117.



Figure 9. Anthropomorphic Basalt Figure, Columbia River. Portland Art Museum, #1999.58. Reprinted from Mercer: 2005, pg. 20.

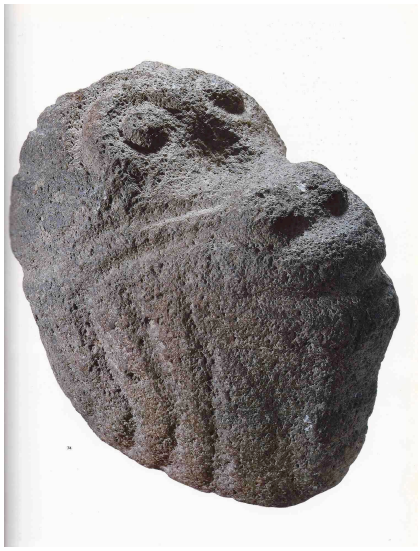

Figure 10. Basalt Stone Head, Dalles/Deschutes River. Oregon State Museum of Anthropology, #1-110. Reprinted from Wright: 1991, pg. 119.



Figure 11. Basalt Bighorn Sheep Bowl. Portland Art Museum, #2001.21.2. Reprinted from Mercer: 2005, pg. 40.

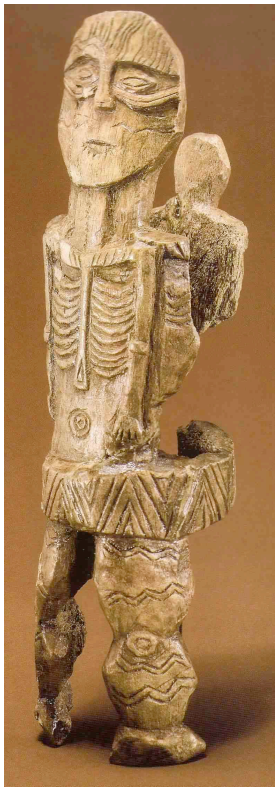

Figure 12. Elk Antler Female Figure, Multnomah, Sauvie Island. Burke Museum, #2-3844. Reprinted from Wright: 1991, pg. 121.



Figure 13. Horn Bowl, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4885. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 14. Horn Bowl, Klickitat. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #138433. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 15. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, #NA2324. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.



Figure 16. Horn Bowl. Oakland Museum of California, #H74.639.2734. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 17. Horn Bowl, Chinook, Klickitat County. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, #05-7-10/64789. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 18. Horn Spoon, Plateau. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #108083. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 19. Horn Bowl, Klickitat. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #099913. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 20. Horn Bowl, Quinault. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E127862. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 21. Horn Bowl, Quinault. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E127862 (Alternate View). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 22. Twined Flat Bag, Attributed to Louise Van Pelt Spino, Wasco, (1897–1972). Collection of Maryhill Museum of Art, #1940.01.097b. Reprinted from Mercer: 2005, pg. 106.



Figure 23. Twined Flat Bag, Attributed to Louise Van Pelt Spino, Wasco, (1897–1972). Collection of Maryhill Museum of Art, #1940.01.097b (Alternate View). Reprinted from Mercer: 2005, pg. 106.



Figure 24. Horn Ladle, Yakima. American Museum of Natural History, #50.1/7206. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 25. Horn Ladle, Yakama. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #022121. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 26. Horn Ladle, Chinook. National Museum of Natural History, Department Of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E702 (Detail). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.

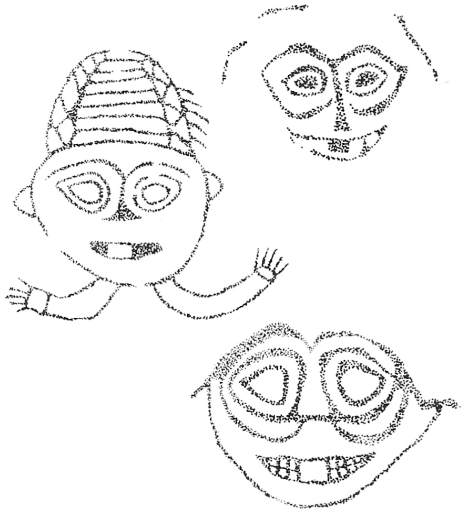

Figure 27. Drawings of petroglyphs found near the Dalles. Reprinted from Keyser: 1992, pg. 101.



Figure 28. Bridal Headdress, Yakama/Wasco/Wishram. Burke Museum, #2-478. Reprinted from Mercer: 2005, pg. 163.



Figure 29. Woman's Skirt, Chinook/Clatsop. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, #99-12-10/52990. Reprinted from Wright: 1991, pg. 49.



Figure 30. Wooden Mortar. Collection of Maryhill Museum of Art, #1940.01.39. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 31. Wooden Spoon, Wasco. Collection of the Denver Art Museum, #1964.265. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 32. Wooden Spoon, Wasco. Collection of the Denver Art Museum, #1964.265 (Alternate View). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 33. Power Board. American Museum of Natural History, #T22193. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Robin Wright.



Figure 34. Elk Hide Armor or Clemmons. The Field Museum of Natural History, #18166. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.



Figure 35. Model Canoe, Chinook. American Museum of Natural History, #16.1/1786. Reprinted from "North America Anthropology Collections." http://anthro.amnh.org/anthropology/databases/common/image_dup.cfm?catno=16%2E1%2F%201786%20A. Accessed April 4, 2014.

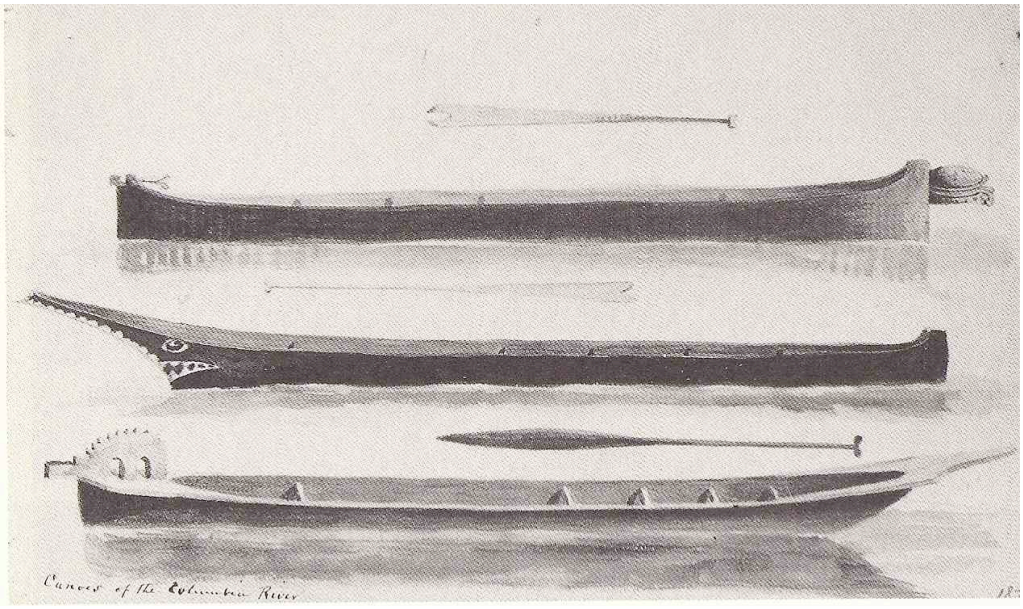

Figure 36. Watercolor by Paul Kane of Chinookan dugout canoes. Canoe on bottom depicts figure similar to those found on mountain sheep horn ladles. Stark Museum of Art, Orange Texas. Reprinted from Boyd: 1996, Pl. 11.



Figure 37. Round Twined Bag, Wasco/Wishram. Peabody of Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, #99-12-10/53160. Reprinted from Wright: 1991, pg 74.



Figure 38. Cathlapotle Plankhouse in Ridgefield, WA. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 39. Pat Courtney Gold, *Honor the Wasco Weaver of the 1805 Basket Collected by Lewis and Clark*, 2000. Burke Museum, #2000-122/1. Reprinted from Wright and Bunn-Marcuse: 2013, pg. 57.



Figure 40. Drawings of petroglyphs on the Columbia River near the Dalles, Spedis, WA. Reprinted from Strong and Schenck: 1925, pg. 81.



Figure 41. Sawing off tip and end of horn. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 42. Horn after tip and end are removed. Photographed by Bridget Johnson**.**



Figure 43. Shaving and smoothing the ridges on exterior of horn. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 44. Horn with small wedge. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 45. Boiling horn with small wedge. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 46A. Small stone used to start shaping bowl. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 46B. Horn Bowl beginning to take shape after stretching with large rock as mold. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 46C. Horn Bowl beginning to take shape after stretching with large rock as mold (Alternate View). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 47. Adam McIsaac's mountain sheep horn ladle before boiling and shaping. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 48. Horn Ladle, Warm Springs. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E204230. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 49. Mountain Sheep Horn Spoon, Tlingit. Collected by George T. Emmons. Burke Museum, #1486. Reprinted from Burke Museum Online Collections. http://collections.burkemuseum.org/ethnology/display.php?ID=21722. Accessed March 23, 2014.



Figure 50. Horn Bowl, Twana. Maxey Museum, Whitman College, #WHIT-E-0164. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 51. Horn Bowl, Twana. Maxey Museum, Whitman College, #WHIT-0164 (Detail). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 52. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. The British Museum, #1842.12-10.126. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Robin Wright.

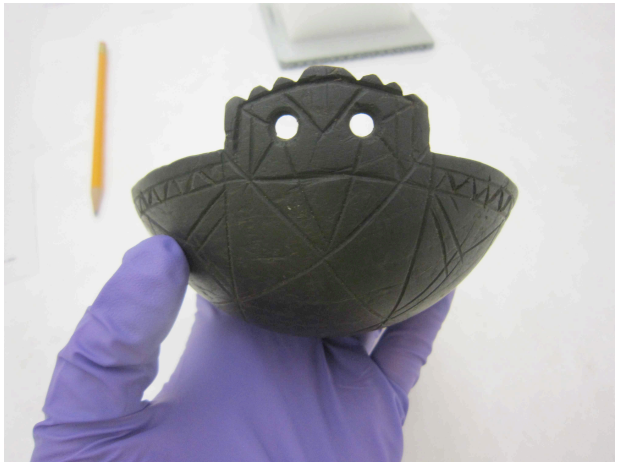

Figure 53. Horn Bowl,Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #070032. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 54. Horn Bowl, Chehalis. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #113315. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 55. Horn Bowl, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4926. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.

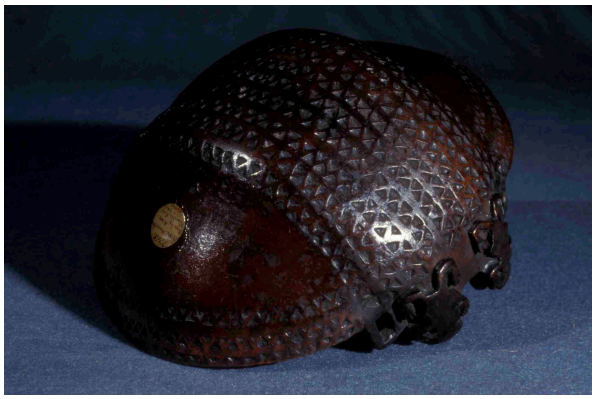

Figure 56. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. The British Museum, #7768. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Robin Wright.



Figure 57. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology, UMMAA #2581. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.



Figure 58. Horn Bowl, Yakima. American Museum of Natural History, #50.1/7204. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.



Figure 59. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #209390. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 60. Horn Ladle, Columbia River. de Young Museum, #24324. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.



Figure 61. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #209393. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 62. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #209393 (Alternate View). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 63. Horn Bowl, Yakama. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #105467. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 64. Horn Bowl, Warm Springs. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E204231. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 65. Horn Bowl. Oakland Museum of California, #H16.2897. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 66. Horn Bowl, Klickitat. Maxey Museum, Whitman College, #WHIT-E-0163. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 67. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #209391. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 68. Horn Bowl, Wasco. Yakima Valley Museum, #57-73-237. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 69. Horn Bowl, Yakama Satus Creek. Burke Museum, #5397. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 70. Horn Bowl, Chinook/Wasco/Wishram. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E10079. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 71. Horn Bowl, Southern Northwest Coast. Burke Museum, #1-388. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 72. Horn Bowl, Southern Northwest Coast. Burke Museum, #1-388. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 73. Horn Ladle, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4954. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 74. Horn Ladle, Wasco/Wishram. Collection of the Denver Art Museum, #1964.266. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 75. Horn Ladle, Warm Springs. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #107483. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 76. Horn Ladle, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #001353. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 77. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #022673. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 78. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. UBC Museum of Anthropology, #NBZ799. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Robin Wright.



Figure 79. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. Seattle Art Museum, #83.240. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm.



Figure 80. Horn Bowl, Wasco/Wishram. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E691. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 81. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #3070. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 82. Horn Bowl, Wasco. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #3070 (Alternate View). Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 83. Horn Bowl, Wishram. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E379264. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 84. Horn Bowl, Chinook. Burke Museum, #1-527. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 85. Horn Bowl, Snoqualmie/Puyallup. American Museum of Natural History, #50/2506. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 86. Horn Bowl, Chehalis. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #154646. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 87. Horn Bowl, Chinook. Collection of the Denver Art Museum, #1949.4383. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 88. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. The Field Museum of Natural History, #19696. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Robin Wright.



Figure 89. Horn Bowl, Columbia River. The British Museum, #1900.140. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Robin Wright.



Figure 90. Horn Bowl, Wasco. Portland Art Museum, #2000.27.2. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 91. Horn Bowl, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4924. Courtesy Holm/Wright Slide Collection. Photographed by Bill Holm



Figure 92. Horn Bowl, Puget Sound Salish. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, #05-7-10/65500. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 93. Horn Bowl, Quinault. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E127861. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 94. Horn Bowl, Wasco/Wishram. Burke Museum, #2.5E1515. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 95. Horn Bowl, Wasco. Portland Art Museum, #87.88.67. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 96. Horn Bowl, Chehalis. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, #154647. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 97. Horn Ladle, Chinook. National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, #E701. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 98. Horn Ladle, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4951. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 99. Horn Bowl, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4930. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 100. Horn Bowl, Quinault. American Museum of Natural History, #16/4925. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 101. Horn Spoon, Yakama Satus Creek. Burke Museum, #5399. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 102. Horn Bowl, Yakama Satus Creek. Burke Museum, #5398. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 103. Horn Bowl, Wasco/Wishram. Collection of the Denver Art Museum, #1964.264. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 104. Underwood Fair, Ca. 1911. Photograph Courtesy Maryhill Museum of Art.



Figure 105. Horn Bowl, Chinook. Burke Museum, #2-1262. Photographed by Bridget Johnson.



Figure 106. Raven Rattle, Tlingit, Chilkat. Burke Museum, #2823. Reprinted from Burke Ethnology Collections. http://collections.burkemuseum.org/ethnology/display.php?ID=41254. Accessed April 28, 2014.

Appendix B: List of Museums and Object Locations

Museum	Catalog Number	Object Type
AMNH	50/2506	Bowl
AMNH	16/4885	Bowl
AMNH	50/2507	Ladle
AMNH	50.1/7204	Bowl
AMNH	50.1/7203	Bowl
AMNH	50.1/7206	Ladle
AMNH	16/4954	Ladle
AMNH	16/4930	Bowl
AMNH	16/4925	Bowl
AMNH	16/4924	Bowl
AMNH	16/4926	Bowl
AMNH	16/4951	Ladle
AMNH	22138	Ladle
BM	1842.12-10.126	Bowl
BM	1900.140	Bowl
BM	7768	Bowl
Burke/WSM	5398	Bowl
Burke/WSM	2-1262	Bowl
Burke/WSM	5397	Bowl
Burke/WSM	1-527	Bowl
Burke/WSM	2.5E1515	Bowl
Burke/WSM	2.5E1650 or 1986-120/11	Bowl
Burke/WSM	4858	Ladle
Burke/WSM	5399	Ladle
Burke/WSM	2-506	Bowl
Burke/WSM	1-388	Bowl
DAM	1964.266	Ladle
DAM	1964.264	Bowl
DAM	1949.4383	Bowl
DY	5373	Bowl
DY	24324 (25817?)	Ladle
FM	19696	Bowl
FM	60483	Ladle
IP	NNa	Ladle
MAX	WHIT-E-0163	Bowl
MAX	WHIT-E-0164	Bowl
McC	ACC1844	Bowl
MICH	2581	Bowl
MM	1958.01.18/105-55-23	Bowl
MM	1940.01.99	Bowl
NMAI	001353	Ladle
NMAI	003070	Bowl
NMAI	014372	Ladle
NMAI	014373	Bowl
NMAI	014374	Ladle
NMAI	016714	Bowl

NMAI	019347	Bowl
NMAI	019353	Ladle
NMAI	022121	Ladle
NMAI	022673	Bowl
NMAI	035244	Bowl
NMAI	039386	Bowl
NMAI	059506	Ladle
NMAI	070032	Bowl
NMAI	099913	Bowl
NMAI	104906	Ladle
NMAI	105467	Bowl
NMAI	105468	Ladle
NMAI	107483	Ladle
NMAI	107634	Ladle
NMAI	108083	Ladle
NMAI	113315	Bowl
NMAI	120804	Bowl
NMAI	118736	Ladle
NMAI	122925	Ladle
NMAI	138433	Bowl
NMAI	154647	Bowl
NMAI	209390	Bowl
NMAI	209391	Bowl
NMAI	209392	Bowl
NMAI	209393	Bowl
NMAI	154646	Bowl
NMNH	E-127861	Bowl
NMNH	E691	Bowl
NMNH	E701	Ladle
NMNH	E702	Ladle
NMNH	E2487	Ladle
NMNH	E10079	Bowl
NMNH	E127862	Bowl
NMNH	E204230	Ladle
NMNH	E204231	Bowl
NMNH	E338801	Bowl
NMNH	E379264	Bowl
OHS	2000.4.4	Ladle
OMCA	H16.2897	Bowl
OMCA	H74.639.2734	Bowl
OMNZ	Nna	Bowl
PAM	2000.27.2	Bowl
PAM	87.88.67	Bowl
PAM	89.52.34	Bowl
PH	11-60-19 83977	Ladle
PH	05-7-10/64789	Bowl
PH	08-4-10/73134	Bowl
PH	05-7-10/65500	Bowl
SAM	83.240	Bowl

UBC	NBZ799	Bowl
UPENN	NA2324	Bowl
YVM	57-73-237	Bowl

Museum Abbreviations

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York, NY
BM	British Museum, London, England
BURKE/WSM	Burke Museum, Seattle, WA
DAM	Denver Art Museum, Denver, CO
DY	de Young Museum, San Francisco, CA
FM	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL
IP	Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries, Ipswitch, England
MAX	Maxey Museum, Walla Walla, WA
McC	Musée McCord d'Histoire Canadienne, Montréal, Quebec, Canada
MICH	University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology, Ann Arbor, MI
MM	Maryhill Museum of Art, Goldendale, WA
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
NMNH	National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
OHS	Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OR
OMCA	Oakland Museum of California, Oakland, CA
OMNZ	Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand
PAM	Portland Art Museum, Portland, Or
PH	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, MA
SAM	Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, WA
UBC	Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada
UPENN	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA
YVM	Yakima Valley Museum, Yakima, WA