

From the Mountains to the “Plain”:
A Linguistic Reconsideration of Coast Salish
“Plain” Woven Wool Textiles

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Abstract

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This thesis examines linguistic and art-making traditions of Coast Salish Peoples around ǰʷəlč / Puget Sound. It utilizes a Lushootseed language-informed research methodology to examine archives of words and ethnographic sources to question the category of “Plain” twilled mountain goat, woolly dog, and bird down blankets to shed light on the weavings’ numerous formal qualities and uses; and it presents naming conventions for female weavers. Most importantly, this paper offers a suite of names for these historic and revitalized woven garments. Intended for use by Salish weavers and language learners, these words challenge previously theorized attributions, and they expand and complicate Coast Salish weaving typologies. This Lushootseed-focused art historical analysis reveals a deeply relational Coast Salish way of regarding weaving materials and ceremonial textiles around ǰʷəlč, which unravels their former label as “Plain.”

INTRODUCTION

A Coast Salish story mentions a garment, found high atop a mountain, with the power to render its wearer completely invisible. An ethnographic account of clothing around Puget Sound similarly describes “a garment of mystical sublimity.”¹ Testaments to the influence and eminence of weavings have been recorded and encoded Native knowledge for thousands of years—but the terms used in modern scholarship to describe these creations have the capacity to diminish both the sheer power and the nuance of materials and textiles in traditional stories. How did weavings made of the most precious materials in Coast Salish territory become relegated to the descriptor of “Plain” weavings; and how has that categorization affected their study and revitalization over the last century?

Ethnologist George Gibbs remarked in his 1865 manuscript (published posthumously in 1877) on *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon*:²

“...Of later years, they [Indigenous Peoples around Puget Sound] have adopted the dress of the whites, and it is only in remote districts [...] that one now sees this pristine type of the petticoat,

“A garment of mystical sublimity.”

The Indians of the Sound and the Straits of Fuca attained considerable skill in manufacturing a species of blanket from a mixture of the wool of the mountain-sheep and the hair of a particular kind of dog, though in this art they never equaled the more northern tribes, some of whose workmanship equaled the common kind of Mexican serape. Vancouver describes these dogs as “resembling those of Pomerania, though, in general, somewhat larger.” Their usual color is

¹ For stories about the seasons which mention the invisible garment: see “Legend of the Seasons (All Year Round Story)” and by Emma Conrad (Sauk-Suiattle, Northern Lushootseed speaker) p. 22 and “Legend of the Seasons” told by Harry Moses (Upper Skagit/Sauk-Suiattle Northern Lushootseed speaker), p. 107 in Vi Hilbert et al., *Haboo : Native American Stories From Puget Sound*, vol. Second edition (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020). For mention of the “garment of mystical sublimity” created by Puget Sound tribes, see William Healey Dall and George Gibbs, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest / by W.H. Dall. Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon / by Geo. Gibbs [Microform]* (Washington : G.P.O., 1877), http://archive.org/details/cihm_14847/, p. 219.

² For more information on the Gibbs manuscript, dated 1865, see Ella E. Clark, “George Gibbs’ Account of Indian Mythology in Oregon and Washington Territories,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (1955): 293–325.

white. The wool is obtained from the hunting tribes next to the Cascade Mountains, and is an article of trade. The two being mixed are twisted into yarns by rolling upon the thigh, and the warp is formed by stretching these singly over a frame, tying the ends together. The wool is then passed through with a long wooden needle. The Klallam and Sound Indians do not make much use of colors in ornamenting their blankets, but those farther north introduce quite complicated figures of several colors. Another kind of robe, usually square and worn over the shoulders, is made by twisting in with the hair or wool the down of sea-birds, the whole being hand-woven in the same way as the last. This makes a very thick and warm stuff.”

This section of Gibbs’s writing is valuable for its specific details regarding weaving styles that are local to Puget Sound; and it notes that these “garment(s) of mystical sublimity” were valued continually by Indigenous Peoples resisting assimilation by maintaining their homes and clothing forms in remote, non-urban spaces, likely off-reservation.³ He contrasts their white blankets of mountain goat and dog wool with the “complicated figures and several colors” incorporated into weavings by Tribes to the north.⁴ Nearly a century later, scholar Paula Gustafson, in her 1980 monograph *Salish Weaving*, asserts that within her typology of Coast Salish blankets “Plain”- type blankets are ones in which “*the warp and weft are primarily of white animal hair woven in a twill technique.*” Are these “Plain” wool weavings of Gustafson’s typology related to the “garment(s) of mystical sublimity” that Gibbs refers to? How can modern scholarship reconcile the incongruence of terms used to describe these weavings, and moreover, how can this investigation of “Plain” weavings be an avenue for learning more about the history of Coast Salish weaving that is specific to Puget Sound?

³ The quotations and centered formatting for “a garment of mystical sublimity” is also accompanied by a shift in font size (smaller) from the rest of Gibbs’s narrative text preceding and following. It appears that this quotation was meant to be especially distinguished from the rest of the information on clothing. Gibbs gives no attribution for the quotation. I also note that Gibbs mistakenly refers to a “mountain sheep” instead of mountain goat, which is a primary fiber source for Coast Salish weaving.

⁴ Gibbs would have been familiar with Coast Salish weaving styles of Indigenous communities north of Puget Sound as he conducted field research for the Northwest Boundary Survey between the United States and Canada, 1857-60.

This essay constitutes a small investment in the ongoing work of expanding and rebalancing scholarship on Coast Salish weaving. The research herein focuses explicitly on the intersection of linguistic and art-making traditions of Coast Salish Peoples around ǰwəlč, the body of water known to many today as Puget Sound.⁵ I employ a Lushootseed language – focused research methodology, which is useful not only in providing a new dataset for continual comparison with oral history and ethnographic/archival sources to weave together a more complete textile-focused history of Puget Sound; it also allows ancestors who made and used these words and weavings to share their worldviews and be more present in our discussions of these textiles’ histories and futures. It provides materials (words), sorted and prepared for use like fibers in the weaving process, for weavers and language learners around Puget Sound to revitalize the traditional knowledges encoded in the words through weaving. Lushootseed research is an ideal way of learning and talking about weaving around Puget Sound because it is regionally-specific, ancestrally-informed, future-facing, and has the capacity to activate traditional knowledges encoded in Indigenous language, whereas English research alone cannot accomplish these feats so easily. Because of this Lushootseed focus, my analysis reveals a deeply relational Coast Salish way of regarding weaving materials and ceremonial textiles, and an abundance of Lushootseed names for textiles around ǰwəlč, which unravels their former and singular label as “Plain.”

The word “Plain” was/is the designation used to categorize generally monochromatic twill-woven mountain goat and wooly dog textiles in ethnographic accounts of the past and many museum catalogues at present. These “Plain” blankets have been marginalized in the literature on Coast Salish and Northwest Coast textile art perhaps due in part to their lack of ornamentation

⁵ ǰwəlč is the Lushootseed word for saltwater; it can be translated as “the sound” so it is a location word that foregrounds an Indigenous Borderlands approach to describing the geographic area of Lushootseed speakers. I will use ǰwəlč and Puget Sound interchangeably in my discussion.

in comparison to twined Salish weaving, which is generally more colorful and overtly patterned (See Figures 1, 2, and 3 for examples of these weaving types). Contemporary perspectives from Southern Coast Salish communities have been similarly underrepresented in the literature in comparison to the historic research and contemporary consultation with Central Coast Salish artists and communities in the territory currently known as southern British Columbia.

In Part I of this essay, I review the literature that describes and interprets Coast Salish weavings with particular attention to the existing English-language art historical typologies and terminologies, and the impacts of these terms upon the study and revitalization of the weavings.

In Part II explain my research methodology and present the linguistic data used in my analysis of weaving-related terminology from the Lushootseed archive of words carefully recorded by ancestors for future generations of speakers and weavers. I highlight the lexical suffixes that signify blankets and point out their presence in Lushootseed women's names, contextualizing these naming conventions by expressing the intersections of translation and intangible cultural property. My analysis then provides confirmation for the use of mountain goat and dog wool weavings in ceremonial activities spanning the entirety of the Puget Sound Lushootseed-speaking geographic area.⁶ I explain how translations for these textile names foreground animal origin and ceremonial use, thereby employing a relational rather than aesthetic system of description that resists current scholarly modes of interpretation. Lastly, I

⁶ To clarify my relationship to this place and its language: I am a settler on dx^wdəwʔabš Duwamish land, surrounded by the Salish Sea. I have lived in this place for three years and in that time have been learning Lushootseed as a student of language expert qəłtəblu Tami Hohn (Puyallup) at the University of Washington.

I would also like to acknowledge the insights and assistance of many in my thesis research and writing. Thank you to Caitlin Earley, Lydia Curliss (Nipmuc), and sa'hLa mitSa Susan Pavel for reading drafts and providing suggestions; to Rose Mathison, Rebecca Andrews, Kelly Hofschneider, and Candace Greene for museum collections access and assistance at the Burke and the Smithsonian; to Adam Werle for providing linguistic insights and assistance in language table formatting; to Misty Kalama for her instruction in learning weaving basics; to the American Indian Studies faculty at the University of Washington for their teachings and guidance in the AIS graduate certificate program; and most of all, to qəłtəblu Tami Hohn and Katie Bunn-Marcuse for their mentorship in all aspects of my work. I am grateful to you all.

draw attention to the profusion of Lushootseed terms for woven forms both ceremonial and practical that do not fit within the oft-discussed category of “blankets,” as well as the terms for Coast Salish textiles that utilize other non-wool materials such as duck down and other types of fur.

In Part III of the essay, I present a case study that examines a Coast Salish woolly dog blanket using this Lushootseed weaving typology and terminology, and explain relevant ways that viewers might interpret this unique blanket given its similarities to other trade blankets circulating on the Northwest Coast during colonial expansion. Most importantly, this essay offers a suite of Lushootseed names for these powerful living Coast Salish garments, which is a tactical step in the direction of proper attribution and repatriation.⁷ These names, undiscussed and undifferentiated in the literature up until this point, are groundbreaking evidence of lasting traditions and intergenerational investments in artforms, language, and spirituality that challenge previously theorized attributions and point to the need for deep and timely research to expand and complicate Coast Salish weaving typologies.

PART I - LITERATURE REVIEW

A Brief Introduction to Coast Salish Weaving Fibers, Styles, and Terms:

Coast Salish wool weaving is a type of textile creation method that is indigenous to the Northwest Coast of what is now known as North America. It is a type of weaving that is both ancient and contemporary: Coast Salish Indigenous Peoples presently utilize this ancestral style of weaving and pattern design to create regalia; to impart cultural teachings within communities;

⁷ Indigenous language names are given for blankets in Tepper et al.'s monograph on Coast Salish weaving, however it's not indicated particularly clearly that these names aren't applicable to other garments outside of a Squamish context.

and to represent Coast Salish interests, presence, and worldviews in complex diplomatic ways. The two main protein fibers used in Coast Salish wool weaving were historically wool from mountain goats, and wool from a specially bred type of dog that produced long, soft, spinnable hair. Weavers today use many types of fibers, including mountain goat wool, sheep wool, and acrylic yarn. Many Coast Salish weavings are created on a Salish loom which features two upright posts holding two horizontal bars for warping, and one floating third bar—ingeniously engineered for moving the textile as it is woven. The “warp” of the weave is the set of structural vertical threads supported by the horizontal loom bars; the “weft” is the set of horizontal threads woven back and forth through the fixed warp threads. Three main ways to weave the weft threads into the warp are via: twined weave, twill weave, and plain/tabby weave. (See Figures 4, 5, and 6). Generally speaking, the main difference between the three aforementioned styles of weaving is that twined weaving fully obscures the warp threads (See Figure 5b), while twill weft and plain/tabby weft threads pass over and under the warp threads in a manner that leaves the warps partially visible (Figures 4b and 6b). Twined weaving is generally denser and requires more materials and more time spent per square inch of weaving than twill or tabby/plain weaving does.⁸ Twill weaving is most easily recognizable by its diagonal pattern, while tabby/plain weaving is recognizable by its checkerboard pattern.

Coast Salish weaving as a practice and Coast Salish weavings themselves hold spiritual and ceremonial significance. As a settler scholar, it is not my place to speak on these topics in detail, but please refer to Tepper et al.’s excellent book (discussed below) for more detailed information on this topic. I will, however, note when ceremonial use of weavings is indicated in Lushootseed words and archival sources, since it was and is a critical part of the life of these

⁸ Please refer to texts by Gustafson, Tepper et al., and Hammond-Kaarremaa for additional detailed explanations of attributes and methods of Coast Salish weaving, spinning, dyeing, etc.

weavings and is also useful knowledge in the context of language and weaving revitalization.

When I use the term “Coast Salish weaving(s)” in this essay, I mean to make a general statement about weavings and weaving traditions across a broader swath of Coast Salish communities.

When speaking about weavings and weaving traditions related to the Lushootseed-speaking area, I will specify by using terms such as “x̣wəlč” or “Puget Sound.”

Literature Review

Published literature on Coast Salish weaving is relatively slim, and two monographs have served as pillars within the community of weavers and researchers for the last half century: Paula Gustafson’s *Salish Weaving* (1980); and Leslie H. Tepper, Chepximiya Siyam Chief Janice George, and Skwetsimltxw Willard Joseph’s coauthored book *Salish Blankets: Robes of Protection and Transformation, Symbols of Wealth* (2017).⁹ Now out of print, Gustafson’s work provides a thorough introduction to the styles of textiles held within museum collections today, and Tepper et al.’s more recent analysis builds upon, questions, and refines Gustafson’s theories while blending their theoretical developments with the active voices of Coast Salish weavers. Tepper, George, and Joseph’s exemplary text especially situates Coast Salish weavings within an expanded discussion of spiritual and ceremonial significance and active cultural relevance to

⁹ Here I refer to published works that are or have been readily accessible through a commercial market or library system. I believe this term reflects the complications that belie academic “published” literature and its inaccessibility to some that are unaffiliated with higher education institutions versus the wealth of knowledge that still exists and is widely known today or shared amongst family or group members in Native communities, but might not be shared outside of the community or published in a format that is typical of academic texts (or might not be shared at all due to its protected status as intangible cultural, familial, or personal property). In addition to the monographs discussed in this thesis, scholar Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa has also published detailed articles on Coast Salish weaving materials and methods in the last decade. See: Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa, “Coast Salish Spinning: Looking for Twist, Finding Change,” *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, January 1, 2014; Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa, “A Curious Clay: The Use of a Powdered White Substance in Coast Salish Spinning and Woven Blankets,” *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, June 16, 2016, 129-150 Pages; Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa, “Threads, Twist and Fibre: Looking at Coast Salish Textiles,” *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 2019.

Coast Salish peoples: a much needed expansion to the literature. Both texts provide appendices that list selected Coast Salish wool weavings in museums: an inventory for future readers, weavers, and researchers to consult and learn from.¹⁰

These volumes provide a great depth of insight, and both sets of authors acknowledge that additional research is still needed. My research responds to Tepper, George, and Joseph, who explicitly note that future analyses of trade fibers as a material and tumplines as a form could be highly influential in future studies of Coast Salish weaving.¹¹ Additionally, these two monographs as well as other articles or exhibition catalogues about Coast Salish weaving include less input from Coast Salish communities around Puget Sound and are instead dependent on central Coast Salish (around southern British Columbia) informants' knowledge of weaving practices thus marginalizing historical and contemporary perspectives from Coast Salish communities further south.¹² Secondly, both publications focus on the more highly ornate (intricately patterned and colorful) twined blankets, resulting in the marginalization of the "Plain"/twilled blanket form. Moreover, their discussions of textiles tend to focus more thoroughly on the robe/blanket form itself, in comparison to other woven items. They lay a solid groundwork that can be expanded by community and scholarly examination of other forms of woven or spun textiles such as headgear, ceremonial bands, duck down blankets, tumplines, and

¹⁰ It is important to note that these appendices were not always comprehensive; for instance, Gustafson lists museums with Coast Salish woven items in their collections but often only lists blankets from these institutions. As research develops, these inventories expand. In the future, it might be helpful for the community of weavers and researchers to create a publicly accessible and editable doc to track weavings in museum collections, or a Reciprocal Research Network inventory as a place to build collaborative knowledge sharing in a platform that aggregates museum collections records. This process on the Reciprocal Research Network listings has been started by the Coast Salish Wool Weaving Center and researcher Olive Keilholtz.

¹¹ Leslie Heyman Tepper, Janice George, and Willard Joseph, *Salish Blankets: Robes of Protection and Transformation, Symbols of Wealth* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), p. 143-144.

¹² And north, as well: it is unclear whether Coast Salish weaving practitioners and knowledge-keepers have been consulted from communities further north than Squamish to date. This is an area for expansion and inclusion in future discussions of Coast Salish weaving.

belts, which were absolutely critical within Coast Salish material culture, throughout history as well as in the present day. The twilled, white blankets and associated ceremonial material listed above may have been less thoroughly discussed in previous publications because of their ceremonial (and therefore private) nature, or potentially because they fall lower in the hierarchy of academic and public interest influenced by EuroAmerican value systems wherein artworks and cultural objects receive more attention if they are large, ornate, and high-status.

Lack of inclusion of weaving from Washington State / around ʕʷəlč Puget Sound:

The marginalization of ʕʷəlč/ Puget Sound weaving traditions in the published literature presents a conundrum for weavers who consult weavings to revitalize their local and ancestral crafts and textile historians who research attribution with aims to repatriate museum-held textiles.¹³ In past decades and to this day, museums utilize Gustafson’s text to attribute their Coast Salish weavings,¹⁴ but her text spends very little time discussing weavers from ʕʷəlč /Puget Sound, which may have led to some inaccurate attributions both in her book and therefore potentially by museums. When her research does dip south of the US-Canadian border, she primarily discusses a “Plain” blanket found at the Ozette archaeological site and attributes other blankets collected by the Wilkes Expedition to the Makah as well.¹⁵ Gustafson denies the possibility that these textiles, likely collected around Puget Sound in Coast Salish territory, were of Coast Salish origin. She speculates that textiles made of avian materials were all made by the

¹³ Future studies needs to attend to this uneven distribution of research across/ between the US and Canadian border, examining why the work has not been cohesive and whether it is contemporarily. I do note that there is a significant degree of collaboration by weavers across the border, perhaps in spite of the way the scholarship appears.

¹⁴ For example, see Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History catalogue number E1891A-0 for reference to Gustafson’s book.

¹⁵ Gustafson notes that the striped bird down blanket at NMNH (Catalogue # E1894-0) is “believed to have been collected by Adm. Charles Wilkes”, though I note here that NMNH does not have an accession record for this blanket tying it to Wilkes or to any other collector definitively, and it is unclear in Gustafson’s writing whether she “believed” it was a Wilkes item or whether NMNH museum staff believed so.

Makah, saying, “Although these birdskin blankets are ingenious weavings, they cannot be considered as examples of Salish blankets. They probably represent a specialized technique dictated by the unavailability of other suitable weaving fibres and the abundance of waterfowl along the coastline of the Olympic Peninsula.”¹⁶ If Gustafson had consulted members of Coast Salish communities around Puget Sound or more deeply researched archival sources on the area, she would have understood that waterfowl were an important part of their diets and traditional stories, and that they even had innovative ways to trap waterfowl en masse, through the use of woven duck nets suspended on poles over wetlands.¹⁷ For instance, during a 1910 visit with a Duwamish informant, linguist and ethnologist John Peabody Harrington noted that Duwamish people had a history of duck netting and listed the Lushootseed word “*takab*” as the word for duck net.¹⁸ Gustafson does note that in 1848, Admiral Wilkes remarked on the Indigenous custom around Puget Sound to wear blankets made of feathers and dog hair, though she must have assumed that these down blankets were traded in from the Olympic Peninsula.¹⁹ In contrast to Gustafson’s doubts about the Puget Sound origins of these textiles, Tepper, George, and Joseph draw upon Reverend Myron Eells’s comment that duck down garments were typical

¹⁶ Paula Gustafson, *Salish Weaving* (Vancouver, B.C: Douglas & McIntyre, 1980). p. 59-63

¹⁷ Ed Carriere, personal communication, fall 2021. Ed continues the tradition of making duck netting still today. I return to the topic of avian materials later in this essay to note evidence of their circulation in a Lushootseed context, but Gustafson’s mistaken (or lack of) attributions signal a lack of thorough collaborative or archival research into the textile history of Washington State. Gustafson’s consultations were conducted with women at the Coast Salish Weavers’ guild in Sardis, BC, and it is not apparent that she consulted any living weavers in the United States despite the fact that Subiyay Bruce Miller (Skokomish) and Tsi’li’xw Bill James (Lummi) as well as his mother Fran James were producing woven works and educating a new generation of weavers at the time. Additionally, anthropologist Marian Smith writes about duck netting in the South Sound from consultation with Puyallup and Nisqually informants: see p. 263 in Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology ; v. 32 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

¹⁸ Harrington also writes what is likely an insight given by his informant, that there are “too many boats for duck nets now.” 1.6 Duwamish (1910), Series 1: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Alaska and the Northwest Coast, John Peabody Harrington papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

¹⁹ Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*. p. 59.

around Puget Sound, noting their method of construction.²⁰ Tepper et al. do not question that these down blankets are Salish. Although they do not further detail the connection between Puget Sound-area weavers and waterfowl blankets, this is a valuable affirmation that may be expanded upon in future studies of Coast Salish weaving around ʔwəlč. Communities around ʔwəlč had the resources and knowledge to produce avian textiles, and will assuredly revitalize this practice in the coming years.

The traditional knowledge imparted in Tepper et al.'s 2017 text primarily comes in the form of quotes and excerpts of interviews with weavers from Squamish in Southern BC. As for weavers in a Washington State Coast Salish context, Tepper does include a brief mention of Skokomish weaver Subiyay Bruce Miller and Lummi weaving family Tsi'li'xw Bill and Fran James; her knowledge of their weaving practices is represented in the text's introductory map of "Selected Salish First Nations," where south of the US-Canadian border, only "Lummi," "Quinalt," and "Skokomish" are listed (Figure 7).²¹ Names of nations are more significantly filled in north of the national border. The absence of most Coast Salish communities around and in ʔwəlč /Puget Sound in Tepper's map corresponds to the relative absence of Lushootseed-speaking Tribes within the published literature itself. Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa's fascinating and deeply-researched 2016 article on the use of diatomaceous earth in Coast Salish woolly dog and mountain goat textiles also reflects an overall focus north of the Canadian border.²² The map in Hammond-Kaarremaa's article (Figure 8) attempts to visualize the overlapping territories of mountain goats and Salish woolly dogs (speculated location), however it neglects to extend the mountain goat's territory further south than Nooksack on the national border. Readers of this

²⁰ Tepper, George, and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*. p. 7

²¹ Tepper, George, and Joseph. p. xiv

²² See pg. 130, Hammond-Kaarremaa, "A Curious Clay."

map would therefore interpret the mountain goat's range as confined to Canada, which is inaccurate: their traditional and current territory extends southward along the Cascade Range down to the Columbia River.²³ The blank spaces and errors in these maps exhibit a lack of concentrated and thorough research of the weaving communities around ʔwəłč /Puget Sound and they constitute erasures of historic relationships between Native peoples and their other-than-human relatives.

Critical Examination of Stylistic Naming Conventions: "Plain"

Gustafson's book attempts to expand upon academic studies of Salish blankets which she describes as having previously split Salish blankets into two categories: the more colorful, twined "Organized" blankets which receive significant consideration and analysis and the twill-woven, mostly white "Plain" blankets, which received little attention in comparison.²⁴ Though Gustafson did not create the term "Plain," her analysis does very little to question these judgmental naming conventions. I assert that "Plain" as a descriptive term and category may imply that these weavings are: simplistic, ordinary, unremarkable, unpatterned, unsophisticated, even underdeveloped or primitive (a term which often has some lurking racist connotations when applied to any form of Native art). It is clear that this term is problematic, and not reflective of the complexity of this artform. The term "Plain" prioritizes the Eurocentric bias for visual form over understandings of Indigenous value systems. Moreover her extended analysis of

²³ iNaturalist, *Map of Mountain Goat (Oreamnos Americanus) Range with Research-Grade Verifiable Observations*, July 6, 2024, July 6, 2024, <https://www.inaturalist.org/taxa/42414-Oreamnos-americanus>.

²⁴ Gustafson does not cite which academic studies were used in her literature review, or specifically, which established the categories of "Plain" and "Organized." She writes: "Academic studies use only two basic categories to identify Salish blankets: the twill-woven, mostly white "Plain" blankets, and the more colourful, twined "Organized blankets. These two designations were adequate for limited surveys of Salish blankets, but because this book surveys almost all known traditional Salish blankets, the increased number of examples requires a more specific terminology. I have retained the category of Plain Salish blankets. Organized Salish blankets, however, show a diversity of design and influence which I believe can best be considered by separating the blankets into three divisions: Classic, Colonial and Hybrid." Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, p. 37.

“Organized” blankets reinforces a hierarchy of value not evenly distributed across art forms.

This denigration hurts the artists committed to the traditions of the twill-weave form as well as the weaving form itself by inadequately valuing its aesthetic and material sovereignty. My own interpretation of this problematic “hierarchy of value” is based on my recognition that the other texts more deeply investigate (and I assume therefore value) the more intricate and ornate styles of weaving, especially since they take care to theorize about the development of stylistic motifs and geometric patterns, dyes, etc., which do not apply to the “Plain” (Gustafson) or “twilled” (Tepper et al.) blanket form. Therefore, I surmise that discussing these blankets is of lesser importance and interest to the previous authors’ formal analysis, though I cannot speculate too far on their interests.

When considering both the materials and methods employed in the creation of “Plain” textiles, it is clear that they defy all the aforementioned words. In the following paragraphs, I will describe their notable material, formal, and functional qualities. Mountain goats, *sx̣ẉił̣əy?*, are noble and watchful beings that live in the uppermost altitudes of Coast Salish territory, far from the Sound.²⁵ The effort required to hunt or collect enough mountain goat wool for a blanket is tremendous.²⁶ The same is true for gathering and processing the amount of food required for the animal husbandry of rearing and maintaining woolly dogs, *sqiḵa?*, on small islands in the

²⁵ Lushootseed language terms in this thesis are presented in regular, non-italicized font and without parentheses, which marks the Indigenous word as the primary, original, and natural name for Coast Salish kin, belongings, and concepts. This formatting was approved by UW press for Kathryn B. Bunn-Marcuse and Aldona Jonaitis, *Unsettling Native Art Histories on the Northwest Coast*, Native Art of the Pacific Northwest: A Bill Holm Center Series (Seattle: Bill Holm Center for the Study of Northwest Coast Art, Burke Museum, in association with University of Washington Press, 2020). See footnote 29, p. 19.

²⁶ I note here too that mountain goats are not only valuable relatives in a ceremonial context due to their hair in blankets: Coast Salish peoples around Puget Sound also used their skins for drums, which are some of the most important instruments in Coast Salish music traditions. The mountain goat is therefore related to visual, auditory, and movement-based (by dancing blankets and other items of goat hair) aspects of ceremony and spirituality, and political protocols. See p. 118 in Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. Additional interview information about how mountain goats are valued and respected in a Central Coast Salish context by weavers can be found in Tepper, George, and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*. p. 150-152.

Salish Sea. Woolly dogs were also kept close to Indigenous settlements in pens, and their unique genetics reflect at least five thousand years of careful breeding and specialized knowledge to isolate them as a distinct breed, beloved by their caretakers.²⁷ One informant from the South Sound working with anthropologist Marian Smith said that she had seen people from a village at Bremerton use “mountain-goat wool but they also had ‘white, woolly dogs that they raised for this and cut off their fur when the time came’. This dog wool was always mixed with nettle fiber. The dogs themselves were well fed and kept until they died of old age.”²⁸ Ethnologist George Gibbs also noted that Indigenous Peoples around the Sound “give names to their dogs”, thus showing their close kinship relationships with them, and linguist/ethnologist John Peabody Harrington noted that “wealthy [Duwamish] women owned many hair-dogs.”²⁹ My Lushootseed analysis for this thesis also reveals that Lushootseed-speaking peoples around ʔwəłč / the Sound had an additional and specific word for woolly dog. sqiḵaʔ is the word given for woolly dog, while sqwəbayʔ/sqwubayʔ is the word used for dog in general. A variation of the word for woolly dog is also provided: sqiḵəd, which has a given translation of “pet name for dog.”³⁰ The fact that the woolly dogs had a "pet name" and their Lushootseed name distinguishes them from the other, more general word for dog is notable: the language shows their close and familiar relationship, and the separate name reflects their separation from other dogs both genetically and through the process of careful breeding and the use of their hair. They are genetically, spatially, and linguistically separated from other dogs, and their Lushootseed "pet name," given names

²⁷ Audrey T. Lin et al., “The History of Coast Salish ‘Woolly Dogs’ Revealed by Ancient Genomics and Indigenous Knowledge,” *Science* 382, no. 6676 (December 15, 2023): 1303–8, <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.adi6549>.

²⁸ Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. p. 302.

²⁹ Dall and Gibbs, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest / by W.H. Dall. Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon / by Geo. Gibbs [Microform]*. p. 211. For Harrington note on Duwamish women, see 1.6 Duwamish (1910), Series 1: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Alaska and the Northwest Coast, John Peabody Harrington papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

³⁰ Dawn E. Bates, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994). p. 179.

(noted by Gibbs), and lives into old age (noted by Smith) reflect their closeness to Coast Salish peoples around the Sound.

Creating blankets of dog wool and mountain goat hair was an act of entwining the most valuable materials from the most inaccessible and protected places, which required skill, privileged knowledge, and rites to access property. Since mountain goats are some of the highest-altitude mammals and woolly dogs were kept at or near village sites, which were next to a water source (this signals their connection with rivers, lakes, and the sea), I like to think of Coast Salish blanket creation as weaving together relationships to vertical geographic extremes; a visual and material manifestation of the qualities that these other-than-human kin have from living in these locations. This is especially true if you consider blankets with waterfowl down included, since the materials come from a sky animal with connection to water and a migratory pattern. Coast Salish blankets show us how far (into the mountains, up into the sky, into the watery depths which provided salmon for the dogs) the threads of peoples' relationships stretch. Although the white blankets were ubiquitous throughout Coast Salish territory, "ordinary" is a disingenuous term for textiles that constituted one of the most highly sought-after and valued trade items—again, "ordinary" reveals the Eurocentric biases for visual form over understandings of Indigenous value systems which are more deeply relational and contextual. Blankets that were created for a specific recipient were imbued and permeated with the prayers, positive intentions, and well-wishes of the weaver to be bestowed upon the wearer; this practice remains for Coast Salish weavers today.

Secondly, regarding formal qualities: although these "Plain" blankets are not decorated with eye-dazzling patterns like the "chiefly robes" discussed by Tepper et al., they are spiritually marked and decorated by the mind and hands of the weaver in non-visual ways that are difficult

for those without knowledge of spirit power, *sqəlalitut*, to fully grasp.³¹ Even if the blankets are not colorfully dyed or twined with geometric shapes, the twill-weave or open twining of these garments creates mesmerizing repeating patterns of directional linearity in three dimensions that highlight the balanced and rhythmic act of a weaver's motions. Their surface texture similarly adds to this effect: in a recent research visit to the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, I visited with a twill-weave Coast Salish textile with swan down woven into it, and another (not twilled) made with duck down.³² The surface of each of these textiles vibrates with every tiny movement or change in the air due to the lofty and shivering nature of the fluffy surface. They are shimmering, sparkling, and static-y in effect, even though they are not shiny. I propose that the surface texture of these down garments "breaks up" and defocuses one's gaze over the blankets, providing a similar eye-dazzling protective effect as theorized by Tepper, George, and Joseph in their brilliant discussion of the protective properties of highly colorful fully-patterned blankets.³³

These "Plain"/twill styles also show an individual's own personal style of spinning and wool preparation, and their own subtle but impactful effects that made twilled blankets unique and identifiable to their wearer or weaver. (See Figures 9, 10, and 11 for details of three different "Plain" blankets, which illustrate different handlings of the materials that point to their individual style). In fact, the "Plain" blankets' consistency of form actually allows for *more* of the

³¹ For information on Coast Salish spirituality and spirit power, see Wayne P. Suttles and Ralph Maud, *Coast Salish Essays* (Vancouver : Seattle: Talonbooks ; University of Washington Press, 1987); Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey : An Anchored Radiance*; Crisca Bierwert, *Brushed by Cedar, Living by the River: Coast Salish Figures of Power* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2019).

³² The swan down blanket noted is NMNH catalogue # E221408; the duck down blanket noted is NMNH catalogue #E1894. Thank you to Kelly Hofschneider and Dr. Candace Greene for assistance with my collections research.

³³ "The protective power of the [fully patterned] blankets may lie in the eye-dazzling shifting of pattern and color. Such optical illusion would offer a dancer, chief, or Speaker protection as he moved in front of groups of visitors on public occasions in the longhouse. Malevolent spirits or negative thoughts and energy would have difficulty seizing hold of the individual beneath a many-colored robe." Tepper, George, and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*. p. 81.

weaver's uniqueness to shine through...as stylistic expectations were strong, the weavers' individual differences can come through noticeably.³⁴ In processes where these objects come to be in collections, often catalogued by professionals without specialized knowledge held by the original Indigenous creator/ weaver, these nuances and differences may not be apparent. However, to an informed eye, familiarity with a historic and institutionalized format allows for focus on smaller and individual details of style in delivery. "Plain" Coast Salish blankets offer weavers and viewers an iconic and familiar form, which showcases materiality and tradition while allowing for a weaver's voice, spirit power, and unique attributes to shine through.

Third, regarding their functional qualities: an oft-unrecognized sophistication of the twill weave of these "Plain" blankets is its notable capacity to wrap, drape, and flex softly because of the more "open" structure of the weave, with slightly more space between the interlocking warps and wefts.³⁵ Twill-woven blankets could therefore be made relatively large and thick without the weight and stiffness of the textile made with a tighter weave pattern that creates a stiff overall fabric, making it less comfortable to wear. Twill textiles additionally use less material to make than twined textiles, because they have single weft threads rather than paired weft threads twisting around each warp (compare Figures 4 and 5). Because of this single rather than doubled weft method, they could require less raw material for construction. The single weft thread composition also allows for slightly more space between interlocking fibers, which has the capacity to hold air and insulate (Flannel, another twill fabric, is used in this way). Twill is widely known today to be a type of weave that resists soil, it is more plush than tabby/plain

³⁴ This is similar to other areas of artist attribution such as in the northern formline tradition. See Bill Holm. "Will the Real Charles Edenshaw Please Stand Up?" in *The World Is As Sharp As the Edge of a Knife: An Anthology in Honor Of Wilson Duff*. Edited by Donald Abbot. British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1981, p. 175.

³⁵ Other common twill-weave fabrics, for reference, include denim and flannel, which are known for their durability and flexibility, softness, and insulating properties.

weave, and it is durable;³⁶ when woven tightly enough it can be more efficiently wind- and waterproof, and in spite of its durability it can flex and hug body contours for a perfect fit. Imagine wearing a blanket this well engineered and valuable—specifically handmade of materials from your ancestral homelands, with its own spiritual presence—draped on your shoulders. Though “Plain” as a type/category was conceived as a term of stylistic comparison, it is clearly inappropriate to apply the word “Plain,” especially with its modern derogatory associations, to a weaving style this conceptually, spiritually, and artistically complex.

Tepper et al. seemingly grasp the problem with this label and attempt to update the derogatory title of “Plain” blankets by swapping the title to “twilled” or “twill” to largely refer to blankets that are not in the general category of “patterned” blankets, which are generally twined.

The authors write:

Various writers have organized the approximately fifty historical Salish blankets in museum collections by various criteria. There is a general consensus among these writers to combine all the white goat hair/dog hair blankets into one category, usually referred to as “Plain” blankets. Gustafson defines her criteria for Plain blankets as “the warp and weft are primarily of white animal hair woven in a twill technique, often with the addition of warp and weft thread of a contrasting color creating a right-angles design or plaid.” Most authors also include the white blankets with fabric stripes in this group.

Tepper et al. do further subdivide their data in the formerly “Plain” category between three tables for efficiency of viewing: White twill blankets, with or without stripes; White double blankets, with or without stripes; and Plaid blankets. They do not discuss the significance of these differences at length or provide detailed images of these white twilled and plaid twilled textiles as they do for other “patterned” blankets. Here, plaid blankets, although patterned, are not considered along with other “fully patterned” blankets (p. 80) because they seemingly align

³⁶ Mazharul Islam Kiron, “Twill Weave: Features, Classification, Derivatives and Uses,” *Textile Learner* (blog), June 2, 2015, <https://textilelearner.net/twill-weave-features-classification-derivatives-and-uses/>.

more with the white, twilled blankets that are apparently distinct from the patterned blankets which Tepper et al. assert belong to the nobility.³⁷ (See Figures 12, 13, and 14 for Tepper et al. twill, plaid, and pattern blanket charts).

While I do understand why Tepper et al. include the three aforementioned distinctions under the same type (“twill”) due to their general construction, these categorizations make less sense when compared to their other categories, since setting them up this way implies that they are mutually exclusive.³⁸ Plaid is indeed a pattern, though it is not included with the patterned blankets. To imply that the white twilled blankets are pattern-less is to obscure their idiosyncratic qualities of construction and form. At present, it is not known whether plaid blankets were a more ancient form of nobility blanket that preceded the highly colorful weavings in museum collections.³⁹ Tepper et al. assert that only members of the nobility would be able to own such colorfully ornate and labor-intensive blankets, thus meriting their distinction of “chiefly robes.” This is a well-grounded assertion and I agree with their reasoning, though I also suggest that it might be regionally and temporally specific. In contrast, it is worth considering that the twilled white, unadorned blankets may have been an even more ancient blanket form associated with nobility, wealth, and protection, where those who had access to wool more generally were able to weave or own blankets due to their wealth. Perhaps this is a matter of distinguishing different types of cultural value across longer time scales. I also question the

³⁷ Tepper, George, and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*. see pgs. 78-82 for details on their blanket typology. For clarification, within their categorical distinctions, white “double blankets” are white twill blankets that are approximately double the width of a “white twill blanket.” Tepper et. al explain that these double blankets were used for marriage ceremonies and memorials. pp. 69,75.

³⁸ I note here that Tepper, George, and Joseph’s shift away from using the term “Plain” was a positive change in the scholarship and it matches their detailed research and thoughtful decisions in the rest of their publication. It is indeed valuable to come up with terms to describe the artworks and phenomena we would like to discuss, even if those terms are preliminary or imperfect. In addition, I recognize that these original and updated terms came into use through the highly colonial practice of collecting and ownership by museums and individuals outside Coast Salish communities, so an update of terms without fundamentally reworking the categories still reflects that colonial structure.

³⁹ No information in published literature on this point

application of the term “chiefly robes” applied unilaterally across Coast Salish textiles, because although Coast Salish peoples have always recognized nobility lineages, Southern Coast Salish communities may have tended to operate under more decentralized power structures in comparison to Central Coast Salish communities. As such, the term “chief(ly)” is perhaps a label that varies in efficacy depending upon geographic location, since this type of valuable textile might have been owned by others in the community with significant power, influence, and wealth.⁴⁰ It seems as though Tepper et al.’s connection drawn between the “patterned” blankets and nobility reflects a local view relative to their research area as well as a concentration on typifying blankets as they existed around the contact era, rather than accepting a more significantly long-term view that encompasses these garments’ ancient status.

My research with the Lushootseed archive of words and ethnographic accounts for this type of weaving reveals that categorizing weavings within Tepper et al.’s patterned vs. twilled system reveals inconsistencies when we attempt to apply it to a few notable types of textiles from around Puget Sound or south of the international border. For example, robes with twisted strips of duck down (Figure 15); a wool dog blanket owned by Judge James Wickersham (Figure 16), and a mountain goat/wooly dog garment created around Skokomish using open twining (Figure 17) defy the categories that Tepper et al. suggest for Coast Salish weavings. These textiles are not “patterned” with colors and geometric designs like all the other “chiefly robes” that Tepper et al. discuss; in fact, they even seem to align slightly better with Gustafson’s previous category of “Plain” weavings since they meet her criteria for garments where the warp and weft threads are

⁴⁰ For descriptions of social power dynamics among the Coast Salish, see Bierwert, *Brushed by Cedar, Living by the River*; Wayne Suttles, “Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish,” *American Anthropologist* 62, no. 2 (1960): 296–305; Suttles and Maud, *Coast Salish Essays*. George Pierre Castile, *The Indians of Puget Sound. The Notebooks of Myron Eells*, 1986. Eells noted that Indigenous peoples around the Sound and in and others in Washington territory more generally did have hereditary chieftainships, though others in the community had high status and influence including some women, wealthy people and those who had given potlatches, and shamans. p.348

made with white animal material. They certainly cannot be included in the “twill” category because none of the aforementioned examples employ a twill weave in the construction of the garment.

The twilled vs. patterned typologies might be sufficient to describe the weaving traditions in Central Coast Salish territory if weaving forms and methods split cleanly along those lines, however it seems that they present a false dichotomy of categories that may be less effective in interpreting weavings from the communities around ǰʷəlč / Puget Sound, as well as surrounding communities in what is known today as Washington State.

PART II - EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Most examinations of Coast Salish weaving obtain information from two general types of sources: from living Indigenous weavers who reflect on their traditions and practices; and from ethnographic accounts like the notes or publications of exploring expeditions, Indian agents, missionaries, ethnographers, and academic researchers. Each of these sources are useful: they allow us to pinpoint concrete historical observations as well as providing necessary insight from Coast Salish people themselves.⁴¹ While it is impossible to interview Salish weavers or language speakers from past generations, their interpretations can be gleaned through the words they shared with ethnologists and linguists. To find out what these ǰʷəlč / Puget Sound elders (many of whom were original language speakers and some of whom had not adopted English) would say, I consulted the Lushootseed Dictionary for Lushootseed words related to animal fiber

⁴¹ Charlotte Coté (Tseshahht) discusses the importance of a research methodology that combines Native narratives with non-Indian ethnographic accounts in “Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah and Nuw-Chah-Nulth Traditions,” A Capell Family Book (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010). p. 10-11.

weaving and created a compilation of Lushootseed words related to weaving. (See Palkovitz Data Table in appendix).⁴²

Creating a compilation of Lushootseed words goes beyond simply looking these words up in a dictionary. Working with the Lushootseed dictionary to find terminology and meaningful translations is challenging: there is currently no publicly accessible keyword-searchable version of the Lushootseed dictionary, and very few words have one-to-one translations. Some can only be obtained by sitting down and, quite literally, reading the dictionary from cover to cover in order to find meaningful connections between Coast Salish material culture that is held in Museums; items that are named yet not discussed in the literature; and Coast Salish worldview and practices of making, knowing, and relating to these items. To think of the Lushootseed dictionary in the same way we might think of an English dictionary today would be a mistake. Yes, it is a reference volume that displays words and their meanings, but it is much more than that. This dictionary constitutes primary source knowledge about the natural world, cultural practices, and ways of knowing and being that were carefully and deliberately recorded and cross-referenced for posterity by Lushootseed-speaking elders who sought to invest in generations to come, long after they took their last breaths. It was a massive collaborative undertaking that spanned decades, age ranges, tribal affiliations, and geographic locations.

For this project, I regularly consult the second edition of the Lushootseed Dictionary. The second edition (1994) of the dictionary builds on linguist Thom Hess's first edition (1976) and it contains vocabulary, translations, and reference sentences compiled by taq^wšəblu Vi

⁴² While there are multiple dialects of Lushootseed (the two main dialects being Northern and Southern), it is one language. I have chosen to retain Thom Hess's word "Lushootseed" in my discussion rather than spellings of dx^wlušucid and tx^wəlšucid because I find there is a benefit to having a singular word to think collectively within and across dialects to get a sense of the weaving across the entire region in this particular project. The Puyallup Tribal Language Program has an excellent page which explains the language family, dialectical differences, pronunciations, and more. Please see Puyallup Tribal Language Program, "About Twulshootseed," accessed August 2, 2024, <https://www.puyalluptriballanguage.org/about/>.

Hilbert since 1967. taq^wšəblu Vi Hilbert was the last fluent speaker of Lushootseed to grow up speaking the language from childhood through adulthood. She passed in 2008, and I have heard that upon her death the language was declared technically extinct. This classification of “extinction” is not representative of the true state of the language, however: it has been sleeping and is in the process of awakening due to increasing revitalization efforts over the last 20+ years by devoted students and teachers.⁴³ Because of these efforts, Lushootseed is currently considered to be “endangered” rather than extinct because there are no L1 speakers.⁴⁴

The dictionary is difficult for untrained researchers to fully utilize and interpret—Lushootseed contains letters and sounds unfamiliar to English speakers, and its meanings are additionally encoded in sets of affixes that change the use or meaning of the word. Much of the meaning and intellect of the language comes from deep in the dictionary entries, where whole sentences and phrases are provided in Lushootseed by elders then translated into English (Figure 18 shows an example set of dictionary entries). Additional similar words listed in each entry build a connective tissue of relational understanding that aid in language acquisition. The entries even provide rejected words when possible, so users are able to definitively understand when words are not correct. This is a feature that highlights the crosschecking and collaboration between language researchers and Native speakers, and it represents an investment in the maintenance of traditional language use deemed critical by Lushootseed speakers. This text and archive wove together thousands of years of knowledge and thousands of hours of labor to

⁴³ Teachers such as Tami Hohn and Nancy Jo Bob, as well as robust Tribal Language programs. See footnote 2 in Vi Hilbert, “To a Different Canoe: The Lasting Legacy of Lushootseed Heritage,” in *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, by Robin Kathleen Wright, Monograph / Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum 7 (Seattle: University of Washington Press and the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, 1991).

⁴⁴“UNESCO Project: Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger - UNESCO Digital Library,” accessed August 1, 2024, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000192416>. “Lushootseed | Ethnologue Free,” Ethnologue (Free All), accessed August 15, 2024, <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/lut/>.

organize and preserve information for future learners, many of whom these elders would never meet.

Contemporarily, Lushootseed language, like Coast Salish weaving, is undergoing a surge of revitalization efforts among Coast Salish community members, Tribal language programs, educational institutions, and academic researchers such as myself. Not coincidentally, Coast Salish weaving revitalization is also currently increasing around ǰʷəlč /Puget Sound: Tribal members of all ages are lining up to participate in weaving workshops; they are posting in social media groups dedicated to Coast Salish weaving to share knowledge and uplift each other's work; exhibitions dedicated to displaying weavings by Sound-area artists are either on view or planned for the coming years; and woven items are worn with pride and shared or sold in a visible economy, both as personally-owned regalia worn during events such as Canoe Journey, and as garments included in museum displays and fashion shows. Weavers around ǰʷəlč are especially sharing skills and advice that permeate the colonially-imposed borders between treaty territories and the empires of the US and Canada. The momentum and intensity is increasing within the realms of both language and weaving revitalization. My goal for the compilation of Lushootseed words related to animal fiber weaving that I have created is to highlight connecting threads between both language and weaving practices so that they might be picked up and woven with vision, vigor, and care by novices and experts alike.

DATA

page #	Lushootseed Dictionary	Word	brief translation
			(equal sign preceding a word denotes lexical suffix)
		sx̣ẉiʔəyʔ	mountain goat
		sx̣ẉiʔəyʔəlq̣id / sx̣ẉiʔəyʔəlq̣id	wool of mountain goat
179		sq̣iʔə / sq̣iʔə	(long haired) dog (that was sheared) : wooly dog
		>sq̣iʔəd	pet name for wooly dog
114		q̣ẉastəduličəʔ / Ḳẉastəduličəʔ / q̣ẉasduličəʔ	ceremonial blanket made of dog and mountain goat hair; garment for doing power dances (it represents the particular power).
244		=ul=ičəʔ	ceremonial blanket
28		=aličəʔ	lexical suffix meaning clothes, clothing
117		jəsg̣ẉičə	blanket used on special occasions made of dog and mountain goat hair
223		təq̣ẉx̣ẉ=alč	white blanket with a black stripe on each end (they were very expensive and very highly thought of- L.L.)
275		yab=dəč	blanket made with duck down and mountain goat wool
168		p̣əʔəlq̣id	to card wool
142		təq̣(a)	to spin (wool, etc.)
		> səx̣ẉtəq̣	spinning wheel
		> səx̣ẉutəq̣	what one spins with
		> təq̣əd	leg spindle
167		p̣əčəb=uličəʔ	bobcat blanket. SL: p̣'č'əb
167		p̣əčəb (SL p̣čəb)	bobcat, lynx
175		sq̣əlilitut	spirit power

Selected Lushootseed Terms

Above is a sample image containing some selected entries in the table. See Lushootseed Data Table in appendix for full word list compiled by author.

As a Lushootseed learner and an art historian, I've been reading and re-reading the dictionary to gather words related to Coast Salish material culture (specifically weaving- the table in Appendix A contains a list of 85 Lushootseed words related to this analysis of weaving), because the dictionary holds the language and the language holds the culture. I have selected some words from the dictionary and created tables which list the words with their page number; a gloss (simple translation) which is usually the gloss given in the dictionary but occasionally shortened or simplified by the author for the purpose of relevance to the table; and the source of the word. Many of these words have more complicated meanings or diverse use scenarios—I have simplified their translations to be relevant to this study of *weaving*; but keep in mind that the dictionary entries should be consulted for a fuller understanding of each word as it exists outside of this study. I've retained page numbers for easy reference to lengthier passages in the original text, and so that users may glean a more comprehensive understanding of the word, how

it can be used, and its associated words in the language that have a similar construction or meaning. When available, I noted the source initials, Tribal affiliation, or dialect region of the word so that conclusions might be drawn about material use or formal qualities in a particular geographic and cultural location. The practice of tracking contributors may aid readers/users of the list in recreating their own area-specific and dialect-specific word lists and reconstructing their own histories of textile use. It may also assist with the construction of new or updated words, a necessary part of the language living, growing, and evolving. This is done by looking at all available records of a word and comparing them to other terms used by different sources and dialects, or augmenting similar pre-existing words. When compiling my word list, if I encountered duplicate words or relevant associated words, I've included them as well, so that a reader of the table might compare them and decide which is most appropriate for their use. Lastly, I note that the dictionary holds many terms related to basketry and plant fiber weaving: those words and knowledges are important records of Coast Salish weaving, too, though they are outside the scope of this project on protein (animal) fiber / textile weaving and are thus not included in the word list.

The following sections in Part II of this thesis are examples of the type of work done alongside and after the act of seeking out and gathering words. Gathering words from the dictionary is akin to a process of materials gathering prior to stating a weaving. These following section examples are akin to the organizing and processing of gathered materials prior to weaving; readying the raw materials to be combined with additional threads of community histories and further archival research woven into a larger “blanket” that is the history of Coast Salish weaving around $\check{x}^w\text{ə}l\check{c}$. Unsettling EuroAmerican English names for cultural belongings is a necessary step to Indigenizing and reclaiming the items and knowledge held by institutions.

ANALYSIS OF LUSHOOTSEED RESEARCH

What do we learn from viewing this selection of Lushootseed words? Below I present significant findings on blankets and other textiles whose use and meaning are preserved in the Lushootseed language. My analysis prioritizes elders' words and translations as primary source material to balance the lack of Puget Sound-area consultation and history in Coast Salish weaving monographs; in doing so, it proposes suggestions relevant to the state of research and publishing on Coast Salish blanket typologies today, and it delineates productive areas for future research.

Use of the Term “Blanket”

First and foremost, we can observe that most entries are translated with the word “blanket”—this signals that Lushootseed-speaking elders chose this word for translation rather than robe, cape, cloak, or regalia. I believe that the word “blanket” is a nod to the two important traditional uses of these textiles, which are 1) to provide warmth, and 2) to provide power and spiritual empowerment and protection for the wearer. For example, Skokomish weaver Kendall Archer remembered that master weaver Chief Tsi'li'xw Bill James (Lummi) was adamant about preserving the tradition of varying spinning thickness as it increased the bulk of the weaving, creating a warmer textile—a *blanket*—that his ancestors would have relied on for thousands of years as they were living around the base of glaciers.⁴⁵ Occasionally there is a tendency within contemporary Indigenous studies to move away from seemingly simplistic descriptive terminology, such as “blanket,” in favor of a move towards words that mark function in ways outside of quotidian terminology, such as reverent terms like *regalia*; however in this case I

⁴⁵ Kendall Archer (Skokomish), public speech to event participants during a Salish Weaving Association event at Evergreen Longhouse, November 2022.

believe Lushootseed elders chose the word “blanket” as an English translation to specifically encompass and preserve these dual meanings of warmth and protection.

Intersections of Lushootseed Names for Clothing and Names for Women

Individuals investigating family histories or researchers looking to attribute works to Coast Salish women artists may be aided by the knowledge that a distinct lexical suffix, =iça?, serves as a marker delineating ceremonial textiles as well as a suffix for women’s names. The Lushootseed dictionary explains that lexical suffixes “have meanings like nouns but must be attached to a stem, and are marked with the = boundary” and have a “relatively concrete meaning, e.g. =ači? ‘hand.’”⁴⁶ The entry for the lexical suffix =iça? specifically points out two key pieces of information in addition to the translation, the first being that the original meaning of this suffix may be ‘shoulder,’ and secondly that names for women frequently end in the suffix. The connection between “shoulder” and ceremonial blankets is notable since blankets are draped over the shoulders of the wearer—for instance, the dictionary entry for ǰwúq̣(u) mentions various techniques of pinning, holding, and fastening blankets around someone or oneself.⁴⁷ This means that a consultant in the process of compiling and verifying dictionary entries felt it was important to draw attention to these synchronicities between material possessions such as clothing, the body, and the names of women, which are considered to be owned by the named individual and/or their family.

I hesitate to speak definitively about this name—garment connection since I am neither an expert nor a family member of these named ancestors, however the use of this suffix in a

⁴⁶ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary*. pgs. xvii, xix.

⁴⁷ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert. p. 274. Additionally, ethnographic photographs and drawings of Coast Salish peoples wearing blankets also show that they were worn draped around and over the shoulders— for images and descriptions on how blankets are worn, see also Tepper, George, and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*.

woman's name *might* signal her status, identity, and spiritual gift as a weaver of ceremonial textiles; her role as someone who provided clothing more generally to those around her; someone involved in the “blanketing” of other community members during ceremonial activities, or a role as a supporter/protector of others, especially children.⁴⁸ I believe the connection to clothing and especially ceremonial blankets is promising. Margaret Green (Samish) mentioned in an interview: “Only certain women could make those blankets. The knowledge was passed from one woman to the next, generation to generation. You could tell them by their names. Dogwool Woman, Swan Down Woman, Bird Down Woman...”^{49 50}

My inclusion of other Lushootseed words in the table for mountain goat, wooly dog, eiderdown, etc. serves to aid in reconstruction of language useful to contemporary weavers but also serves as a reference resource for the interpretation of weavers' names. It is worth noting that the most recent hard copy of the Lushootseed dictionary (not the internet version) contains a list of names that “form part of the Lushootseed corpus,”⁵¹ and even a cursory glance of these names yields many instances of this suffix. The suffix =qid (head, top, summit, voice) and =əlqid (wool) is also present in some entries delineating men's names, and it suggests possible meaningful associations between men's roles and wool as a material. It is intriguing that the

⁴⁸ As part of my research process I will continue to gather insights on this connection through consultation with Lushootseed speakers, elders, and individuals who have received names.

⁴⁹ Robin Kathleen Wright, *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, Monograph / Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum 7 (Seattle: University of Washington Press and the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, 1991), p. 44. Although the informant Margaret Green is Samish, it is highly likely that she was exposed to significant Lushootseed culture due to the geographic proximity and cultural blending of the Northern Straits area with Skagit, Swinomish, and Snohomish Coast Salish relatives.

⁵⁰ These names, since passed down from ancestors, might signal an ancestral connection with weaving ability, weaving knowledge, or ownership of materials necessary for weaving. According to Tami Hohn, it is difficult to know definitively whether these women were weavers themselves or whether they received names passed down in their families from other previous weavers (personal communication, July 2024). As a contemporary example, Nisqually Tribe member Antonette “Maui” Squally received an ancestral name related to weaving, previously held by her great-grandmother Annie Squally. Maui received a weaving-related ancestral name, and she also weaves. See Kneumeyer, “Nisqually Tribe Finds Knowledge and Power in Traditional Language,” Northwest Treaty Tribes, October 4, 2021, <https://nwtreatytribes.org/nisqually-tribe-finds-knowledge-and-power-in-traditional-language/>.

⁵¹ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary*. p. 379

meaning of women’s names are associated with “shoulder” and men’s names are associated with “head.” Given that names are intangible cultural property and are a form of wealth and power belonging to families, future morphological analyses of names should include significant consultation as a methodological process to determine whether names are appropriate for study, for publication, or only internal community or family use.

Verification of Ceremonial Textile Use by Indigenous Communities around ǰʷəlč

By comparing the compiled Lushootseed words from the Hess, Hilbert, and Bates dictionary (1994) with other archives of Lushootseed words such as ethnographer George Gibbs’s “Dictionary of the Nisqually (Nisqually) Indian Language” (1877), we first and foremost learn that Lushootseed-speaking Coast Salish people around Puget Sound had a significantly varied economy of words to describe different animal fiber textiles. Secondly, we find evidence that some textile naming conventions maintained stability and consistency throughout place and time. Small variations may exist between Northern and Southern Lushootseed words, though speakers and listeners would have been able to interpret each dialect with relative ease.⁵²

The word for a “ceremonial blanket made of dog and mountain goat hair; garment for doing power dances (it represents the particular power)”⁵³ is variously represented as ǰʷastəduličə? / kʷastəduličə? / ǰʷasduličə? in Hess and Hilbert’s dictionary. These words were given by two Lushootseed-speaking elders from Snohomish. The consultation of two elders who verify each other’s translation is important in foregrounding the accuracy of this entry.

⁵² Lushootseed language expert Tami Hohn asserts that in a large-scale comparison of Northern and Southern dialects, words are often the same between both dialects—the most notable difference is the stressing on alternate syllables in pronunciation. Personal communication, Tami Hohn, Autumn 2022. Dialect similarities and differences are also expressed in the introductory text for the Lushootseed dictionary. See Bates, Hess, and Hilbert, page vii-ix. It is generally accepted that Lushootseed is one language with two different intelligible dialects, and multiple sub-dialects within based on geographic location.

⁵³ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert. p. 114.

Amazingly, the persistence and consistency of terminology is demonstrated if we consult George Gibbs's 1877 Nisqually dictionary based on his ethnographic field work which took place in the Nisqually Tribe over a century prior, we find evidence of this word as well, though his orthography is different from the later established system employed in Bates et al.'s dictionary. Gibbs's entry is "Kwās'-do-lit'-za, a goat's wool blanket."⁵⁴ The Nisqually contributors to Gibbs's dictionary spoke Southern Lushootseed, and the repetition of this word in both Northern and Southern Lushootseed dialects confirms that it was a specific and valuable ceremonial blanket that spanned the Lushootseed region from Tulalip to Nisqually—a geographic distance of approximately 100 miles.⁵⁵ The consistency in translations between Gibbs's *Nisqually Dictionary* and the present *Lushootseed Dictionary* is noteworthy: the word did not change or slip from use and memory over that period of greater than 100 years despite the overall decline in mountain goat and dog wool textile creation in the latter half of the nineteenth throughout the twentieth century. This suggests more significant and lasting language for weaving and ceremonial traditions spanning the boarding school era, which is largely treated in the literature as a time when many traditions were extinguished or forgotten in the face of assimilative practices.⁵⁶ Furthermore, in 1910 linguist and ethnologist John Peabody Harrington additionally noted that Duwamish informants had wool blankets made of "mountain-sheep's wool, dog's hair, or a mixture of both... woven on a solid frame," which he said were named "kwastadolitsa"-

⁵⁴ Dall and Gibbs, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest / by W.H. Dall. Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon / by Geo. Gibbs [Microform]*. p. 294.

⁵⁵ The translators of this dictionary entry in Bates et al. p. 114 note that "jəsg'icə? is the same but associated with Skagit," confirming the continuity of this garment and its meaning and ceremonial use into the furthest Northern Lushootseed regions where Skagit people have a different name for it. This points to the fact that Lushootseed speakers were both aware of other Tribes' ceremonial textile traditions as well as the words they used to refer to them.

⁵⁶ The brevity of this dictionary entry and the garment's lack of aesthetic description might suggest that there are yet more artforms left unincluded, undiscussed, or untranslated in the *Lushootseed Dictionary* that were not shared with linguists or ethnographers due to their ceremonial importance, or they were not discussed because researchers' lack of knowledge about private ceremonial practices limited their ability to ask pointed questions.

clearly the same name in Gibbs's dictionary as well as Bates, Hess, and Hilbert's.⁵⁷ The Lushootseed term $\dot{q}^wast\acute{d}ulic\grave{a}?$ and its translation confirms the importance and combined construction of both mountain goat and dog wool in the same textile, and through it we may understand the blanket's place in ceremony, identity, and spirituality by the translators' notes that it was used for "power dances" and that it "represents the particular power." Perhaps we might draw a conclusion that this is the "garment of mystical sublimity" mentioned by Gibbs in his Nisqually ethnography. These elders' translations are particularly useful because of connections that they highlight. Linking the mountain goat and wooly dog fibers with ceremony is useful information to community members fighting for the preservation and maintenance of ceremonial and language sovereignty. Material sovereignty in the context of spiritual, ancestral, and communal traditions is of utmost importance for governments and institutions to recognize and respect within these contemporary contexts of repatriation, treaty rights, and religious freedoms.

A Relational (not Aesthetic) Typology

When comparing Lushootseed terms from the Hess, Bates, and Hilbert dictionary such as $\dot{q}^wast\acute{d}ulic\grave{a}?$, a ceremonial blanket made of dog and mountain goat hair; $\dot{j}\acute{a}sg^w\acute{ic}\grave{a}?$, a "blanket used on special occasions made of dog and mountain goat hair;" $yabd\acute{a}\check{c}$, a blanket made with duck down and mountain goat wool; and $\dot{p}\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{e}bulic\grave{a}?$, a bobcat blanket; etc. a pattern emerges. We learn that the names for these blankets were translated in regards to their material composition (e.g. mountain goat and/or duck down) and their function for the user (e.g. ceremonial blanket, baby blanket); they were *not* described or categorized by their pattern or

⁵⁷ 1.6 Duwamish (1910), Series 1: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Alaska and the Northwest Coast, John Peabody Harrington papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

weaving style (twilled vs. twined or tabby/plain weave). A typology, if one is to exist at all, might better suit weavings around the Sound if it were based on this Lushootseed naming and organizing system of material composition and intended use. I interpret this system of description as more *relational* to the material and its use rather than distanced observation based on visual assessment of formal qualities. I believe this means that any system of description and categorization ought to be delineated by the weavers and/or wearers themselves, rather than employing language that stems from previous typologies devised and used by colonial institutions based on extraction and ownership of Indigenous artworks out of their context and away from their home. Although this is the briefest example of my analytical discussion, I believe the confirmation of relationality as praxis to be the most significant finding of this investigation because it embodies a way of knowing and being that was preserved in the language for the benefit of future generations, and our present and future generations will certainly benefit from its renewed implementation.

Weavings and Names that Expand and Defy Previous Categorizations and Attributions

From the Lushootseed dictionary, we learn that yabdəč, a blanket made of duck down and mountain goat hair, was a textile form that was ubiquitous enough in the Lushootseed-speaking region that they were named separately from other types of animal fiber blankets, and that the name was important enough to be passed along to researchers. I believe two possibilities could account for this word's inclusion in the Lushootseed oral records: either some type of these bird-down blankets were created in the Lushootseed-speaking area; or, they were traded in and so significant in value that their specific name indicating their duck down composition was used, remembered, and passed on through records. I assert that the former is more likely, especially

given corroborating ethnographic evidence from: Marian Smith's interviewers with the Puyallup and Nisqually; descriptions of this type of textile manufacture from George Gibbs in the Nisqually region; and John Peabody Harrington's field notes which record its manufacture by Duwamish community members.⁵⁸ Smith notes:

“Feathers were used in two ways. First, the skins of a species of fresh water duck, which ‘hollers loud’, were ‘dried and twisted to make a string with the hide inside and the feathers outside’. How the skin was cut was not known but it was twisted while yet fresh. Secondly, the down of ducks, geese and sea- gulls was plucked and ‘kept until they had a lot’, then spun into yarn. The long hair of raccoon was also removed and spun. Fibers of fireweed or of true nettles could be mixed with either the down or raccoon hair, or, could be used alone for warp-elements. Such strings and yarn were woven into blankets.”⁵⁹

The above description by Smith matches the downy robe in the Smithsonian NMAI's collection (E1894-0), which may have been collected by the Wilkes Expedition or by George Gibbs and has yet to be solidly attributed to a particular Tribe or area of origin. Wilkes and his crew spent time negotiating travel plans and trading with the Nisqually Tribe; it is possible that this robe was collected at that location; it also could have been obtained as a trade item from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Nisqually, or potentially by George Gibbs in the South Sound or from a Straits Salish community at a later date.

Linguist and ethnologist John Peabody Harrington wrote in his 1910 field notes that the Duwamish had blankets made of: “1. dog hair, goosefeathers, and head of cattail rush. Lost art. Wealthy women owned many hair-dogs. 2. cedar bast 3. skins”. He also recorded that their “principal clothing is blanket, made of tanned skins, of woven mountain-sheep's wool, dog's hair, or a mixture of both. Also of soft cedar bark. Thread spun on bare leg or by means of a

⁵⁸ Please refer to quotation by Gibbs on pages 1-2 of this thesis for reference to down weaving by Indigenous Peoples around Puget Sound.

⁵⁹ Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. p. 301. Author inquired on a Pacific Northwest Birding forum about a species of duck matching Smith's description of a duck that ‘hollers loud’; responses indicated that the bird described is likely a mallard.

stone or wooden spindle. Blanket woven in a solid frame.” Harrington also notes numerous native language terms for waterfowl, including ducks, geese, and swans, which points to their importance to Duwamish people.⁶⁰

The Lushootseed term *yabdəč* and these ethnographic sources directly contradict Gustafson’s claim that these down blankets (refer to Figure 15) are of Makah, not southern Coast Salish origin, and they support art historian Robin Wright’s attribution that they are more generally Coast Salish.⁶¹ I would speculate that they may have been created in the south Puget Sound area. We are no longer obliged to consider them “misfit” due to their lack of adherence to previously delineated blanket typologies—they are *yabdəč*.⁶² Here the lexical suffix =*dəč* / =*adəč* means abdomen, belly.⁶³ The Lushootseed word’s reference to “abdomen/belly” makes sense given the concentration of downy feathers on a duck’s abdomen needed to create garments like these. The Lushootseed Dictionary entry for this word contains no attribution information for “*yabdəč*,” though it is possible that the word is Southern Lushootseed given its accented first syllable, further linking the word and the garment’s manufacture and use to the South Sound.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ 1.6 Duwamish (1910), Series 1: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Alaska and the Northwest Coast, John Peabody Harrington papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Harrington does not mention what type of skin these blankets are made out of, though this detail is notable in its relevance to other Lushootseed records of pelt-constructed blankets and museum collections items such as NMNH catalogue number E1895-0. This pelt/skin textile might be Duwamish or from the Sound given this new evidence of “skin” blankets. This writing from Harrington might also be helpful in provenance/attribution research for NMNH spindle whorl catalogue number E000710, since Harrington notes that Duwamish people used stone whorls.

⁶¹ Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*. pages 59-63. Wright, *A Time of Gathering*. p. 95. I do note here, however, that Makah community members *did indeed* make downy blankets, though they appear to be constructed differently and possibly from a different type of down than NMNH Catalogue # E1894-0. Author’s observations from research at NMNH, Summer 2024. I also note that down blankets were potentially constructed by other Coast Salish communities besides the ones directly surrounding Puget Sound; though detailed inquiry into these traditions is outside the scope of this particular study.

⁶² “misfit” is Gustafson’s own descriptor for NMNH robe Catalogue # E1894-0. Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*. page 59.

⁶³ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary*. Pages 26 and 78.

⁶⁴ According to Lushootseed language instructor qəłtəblu Tami Hohn, stressing on the first syllable is notable for Southern Lushootseed dialect, whereas stressing on a following syllable is typical of Northern Lushootseed dialect. Hohn also speculates that this word might have been collected by Hess early in his career, prior to the formalization

My investigation of Lushootseed weaving and textile words yields evidence of other types of blankets made from animal materials, for example, $\acute{p}\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{e}\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{?}$, bobcat blanket, and $\acute{l}\acute{i}\acute{?}\acute{l}\acute{a}\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{s}$, bear hide poncho. For example, in the word $\acute{p}\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{e}\acute{b}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{?}$, the root word $\acute{p}\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{e}\acute{b}$ means “bobcat” and the lexical suffix $\acute{=}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{?}$ adds contextual information that a blanket is being discussed.⁶⁵ Establishing the named existence of these types of clothing in the literature may make it easier for museums to identify Puget Sound-specific cultural belongings in their collections—an essential proactive step in the process of repatriation, rematriation, and revitalization of Indigenous knowledge within community, which brings to fruition the goals of utilizing a Lushootseed-informed methodology. I propose that a Lushootseed linguistic analysis reveals connections between spun, woven, and pelt-constructed blankets through their language kinship rather than the contrast between them that might come from a visual or making-method analysis.⁶⁶

PART III - WICKERSHAM/WOOLY DOG BLANKET: A CASE STUDY

How might this weaving-word gathering exercise map onto real examples of Coast Salish weaving in museum collections? The following is a singular case study selected to explore the relevance of Lushootseed research upon Salish weavings originating in Puget Sound. I propose

of his notation and attribution practice in his research, hence its lack of attribution. Tami Hohn, Personal communication with author, July 13, 2024.

⁶⁵ I mention here that some of these Lushootseed terms are so old that their root words are untranslatable given our present working archive of language. The root word is a core of meaning that cannot be broken into further elements, and in this case is not translatable by itself. Both individual parts of the word are able to be broken apart and translated individually, but this is not true for all words. For example, the word $\acute{y}\acute{a}\acute{b}\acute{d}\acute{a}\acute{c}$ may be broken down into $\acute{y}\acute{a}\acute{b}$ (root word) + $\acute{=}\acute{d}\acute{a}\acute{c}$ (lexical suffix), but only the suffix translates to belly/abdomen; no translation currently exists for the root word $\acute{y}\acute{a}\acute{b}$. This means that the word existed in its composite root+affixes form for so long that the original root either lost meaning or use by itself over time or was unable to be translated by Lushootseed-speaking elders on its own during their construction of the dictionary. It was just translated based on the associative meaning of the complete word rather than a literal translation of each component part.

⁶⁶ This type of analysis can be extended to the use of plant fibers and compared to basketry regarding their materials and method of construction.

that the dog wool blanket at the Burke Museum is a relatively unique creation within museum collections that might have been created with a visual appearance intended to mimic a Hudson's Bay Company blanket. This appearance, rather than the more typical twilled mountain goat textiles might have signaled suitability as a trade item with non-Indigenous peoples in the area if it was indeed produced by a Coast Salish weaver.⁶⁷ This has significant implications for museum ethics in holding other Coast Salish weavings in collections, a point which I will elaborate further on near the conclusion of this case study.

My case study features a weaving known to many as “the Wickersham blanket” or the “Wool Dog blanket” (Figures 16 and 22- Burke cat. # 2.5E1965, catalogued as “Coast Salish”) because it was previously owned by Judge James Wickersham before its transfer to the Burke Museum.⁶⁸ Scanning electron microscope sample testing has confirmed that the wool fibers are predominantly or exclusively from woolly dogs.⁶⁹ I will henceforth refer to the blanket as the “Wickersham blanket” in my discussion to differentiate it from other past and future blankets made of woolly dog hair, since it has not been given a more formal name by Coast Salish weavers yet—though I do recognize that using the collector’s name as shorthand is not without its issues.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ There is a possibility that this blanket was not created by a Coast Salish weaver, a point which I will elaborate upon in the addendum to this section.

⁶⁸ George Pierre Castile mentions that "Wickersham also used his Indian connection to build his Indian crafts collection, part of which he sold and part of which, years later, he donated to Tacoma's Ferry Museum. Sam Yowaluch, Louis's brother, for example, acted as his go-between to get some 'old time Indian things' from the shaman John Hiaton." in “The Indian Connection: Judge James Wickersham and the Indian Shakers,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (1990): 122–29. p. 128. The collections record for the blanket at the Burke does not have a clear line of provenance tying it to either Sam Yowaluch or John Hiaton presently, though this is an avenue for future research.

⁶⁹ Research conducted (though never published) by scholar Elaine Humphrey; findings reported in June 2017 slide presentation shared with Burke Museum staff.

⁷⁰ My reasoning for this temporary name is thus: using its catalogue number feels objectifying and impersonal, whereas using the name of a previous collector nods to the life the blanket had prior to its present reality as a museum accession, and is a reminder to consider that history and its interlocutors such as the previous owner and his contacts. Using a Native language term for a dog wool blanket would be ideal, though without attribution or

The Wickersham blanket is notable in its buff hue with solid and deeply contrasting chocolate color stripes at either end (Figure 22). Its sandy yellowish hue, which is likely due to its dog hair composition, sets it apart from other Coast Salish blankets composed of mountain goat hair, which often appear a more neutral tone like bone or parchment (shown in Figure 19) as does its overall smooth surface with noticeable lack of guard hairs (Figure 20 shows a detail view of Mountain Goat guard hairs in weaving, Figure 21 shows Wickersham blanket detail with no guard hairs). Its squarish shape (5ft by 4 ft) is uncommon to mountain goat blankets as well, which are typically more elongated and overtly rectangular (Figure 22 shows full blanket). The Wickersham blanket is incredibly light given how dense it appears.⁷¹

Perhaps its most notable attribute is its remarkably tight and even weave pattern. It is woven in a 1:1 (weft running over one warp, under the next, then back over, see Figure 6 for diagram) plain/tabby pattern unlike other twill pattern Salish blankets. The hair of the weft threads contributes to an overall fuzzy/fluffy effect (Figure 21), rather than being overtly “hairy” from the inclusion of guard hairs as some other blankets tend to appear when they are made with mountain goat wool. The tightly packed weft threads and the “halo” effect of the wool dog hair completely obscure the warp threads underneath—an unusual trait in Salish blankets that are not twined.

Viewers are only able to see the warp threads and glean hints about the blanket’s construction in areas of obvious damage to the cloudlike weft surface (Figure 21). In a summer 2023 collections visit at the Burke, scholar Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa mentioned to me that the

provenance information it becomes hard to know which name is appropriate to apply. Referring to it simply as the “Woolly Dog Blanket” is functional, yet I suspect it is not specific enough to distinguish it from other blankets in the long term, because my Lushootseed and archival findings indicate that many blankets originating around Puget Sound contained dog wool. I expect further scientific testing would confirm this, thus adding to the number of total blankets that could also be called “Woolly Dog Blankets” and diluting the specificity of this name.

⁷¹ Rebecca Andrews, Collections Manager of North and South American Cultures at the Burke Museum, weighed the blanket for this research project. Andrews stated that it is “Surprisingly light in weight. It is 2.2 kilograms, or 77.6 ounces.” Rebecca Andrews, personal communication with author, August 1 2024.

damage to the blanket might have been a result of wear and tear: apparently Judge Wickersham had a habit of draping a different Coast Salish blanket over his office chair, and sat upon it while doing his daily work (Figure 23).⁷² It is possible that Wickersham used this blanket in a similar fashion. Friction from Judge Wickersham's potential daily use and subsequent worn areas reveals more about the blanket's unique structural components. The worn-away and frayed soft wooly surface yields to a skeleton of narrow, twisting, and neatly aligned warp threads that appear like candy-striped threads of brown and white. These warps are composed of vegetal fibers, perhaps cotton (though further testing must be done to confirm this), and they were plied together with animal sinew to create an ingenious system of strong yet thin and lightweight warp threads on which to weave the wooly weft. I suggest the possibility of trade cloth fibers plied with the sinew due to the presence of vivid blue fibers twisted/spun into the white vegetal weft fibers, and given Coast Salish weavers' habit of unraveling trade cloth items for reuse.⁷³

The Wickersham blanket is noticeably unique in its tight and visibly uniform, fluffy surface, which is unlike the chunky and undulating or even loose warp and weft fibers of many "plain"/twilled mountain goat blankets. Coast Salish weavers visiting the Burke Museum have also noted its tight construction, its powerful energy, and how its overall weaving method is unlike any other Salish blanket they've seen.

DISCUSSION OF LUSHOOTSEED TERMS

How can Lushootseed terminology reveal a differentiation between Salish-made blankets and Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC) blankets within Salish communities? In a

⁷² Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa, in-person communication with author, July 2023.

⁷³ Numerous examples of Coast Salish weavings in the collections of the Burke Museum, the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, and the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian exhibit evidence of cut, ripped, unraveled, and re-spun trade cloths and fibers of all colors and textures. Author's findings during research in the Summer Institute in Museum Anthropology, Smithsonian NMNH June-July 2024.

comparison of all available Lushootseed words for blankets, one stands out as separate from the rest in its pattern of Lushootseed construction as well as translation: $təq^w x^w alc$. Levi Lamont, a Snohomish (Northern Lushootseed) speaker enrolled in the Tulalip Tribe translated this as a “white blanket with a black stripe on each end (they were very expensive and very highly thought of- L.L.).”⁷⁴

“ $təq^w x^w alc$ ” differs from other Lushootseed words for blankets because it breaks the pattern of using the $=iča?$ suffix. The translation notes the blanket’s visual form and economic value rather than the aforementioned pattern of translation regarding blankets’ ceremonial use and relational animal origin. What kind of white blanket with stripes on each end was so important in Lushootseed-speaking peoples’ lives that it would require the creation of a new word to differentiate it from mountain goat and woolly dog blankets? A Hudson’s Bay Company Blanket (Figure 24). Though it is not translated specifically as such, I propose that “ $təq^w x^w alc$ ” is the Lushootseed word for a Hudson’s Bay Company wool trade blanket.

The prevalence and value of trade blankets, especially HBC blankets, is well-recognized by Coast Salish and other Tribes throughout present-day Washington State and across the international border.⁷⁵ Scholar W. R. Swagerty notes the scale of the influx of HBC Point blankets into Coast Salish lands (Victoria) in the mid nineteenth century: “An invoice for blankets shipped to Victoria for use by the Western Department of the HBC in 1864 gives some idea of scale and color variations. The order lists 35,500 individual blankets worth over £10,000. Of these, 16,500 are plain white with indigo blue bars (stripes); 7,000 are blue; 7,000 are green; and 5,000 are scarlet. No mention is made of multi-stripes in colors. Many of these were destined

⁷⁴ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary*. p. 223. The parenthetical in this quotation is part of the dictionary entry.

⁷⁵ Quinault scholar Tory Johnston notes that this is tacit knowledge. Personal communication with author, July 2024.

for potlatches along the Northwest Coast."⁷⁶ Drawings and watercolors from the mid-nineteenth century also show use of white, blue, red, and green trade blankets by Salish peoples in the Washington Territory. Watercolors by James G. Swan from an 1859 potlatch by čičmāhān Chief Chetzemoka “Duke of York” in Port Townsend shows attendees wearing trade blankets, as does an 1859 drawing of the Lummi reservation where inhabitants are gathered and wearing trade blankets draped over their shoulders matching the colors listed above.⁷⁷ Scholar Alexandra Harmon also mentions the interest in trade blankets by Nisqually and Snohomish peoples around Puget Sound, and she notes that the blankets were used in the area as trade items to secure marriages.⁷⁸

If broken down into component parts, “təq^wx^walc” teaches us even more about the way the blanket was known to Lushootseed speakers around ǰ^wəlč / the Sound. təq^w translates as “tight,” like a closed shell, tough meat, or something secure.⁷⁹ =alc is a lexical suffix that denotes the “manipulation or construction of something.”⁸⁰ Put simply, “təq^wx^walc” translated literally seems to mean “tightly constructed.” I do not mean to imply that other non-HBC Coast Salish blankets were not tightly constructed: there are multiple examples of fine and tight Coast Salish weaving in museum collections worldwide, though none of these blankets are woven so tightly and in an all-over plain/tabby weave (as opposed to twill weave). I will, however, point out that HBC blankets were renowned for their ultra-tight construction, due to their process of

⁷⁶ W. R. Swagerty, “Indian Trade Blankets in the Pacific Northwest: History and Symbolism of a Unique North American Tradition,” *COLUMBIA The Magazine of Northwest History* 16, no. 2 (Summer 2002), page 4. I expect that the Hudson’s Bay Company outpost at Fort Nisqually in the South Sound was a similar source of trade blankets in exchange for furs, etc with Lushootseed-speaking peoples as well as neighboring Tribes.

⁷⁷ See watercolors and drawings by James G. Swan, Franz R. and Kathryn M. Stenzel Collection of Western American Art. Yale collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

⁷⁸ Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound*, American Crossroads 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). p. 26 and 38.

⁷⁹ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary*. p. 223

⁸⁰ Bates, Hess, and Hilbert. p. 27

manufacture: the wool was woven more loosely at first, then underwent a process of soaking, pounding, shrinking, and brushing to first tighten the blanket form and then subsequently to fluff up the surface fibers.⁸¹

WICKERSHAM BLANKET and LUSHOOTSEED ANALYSIS

Knowing the word “təq^wx^walc” in Lushootseed helped me view the Wickersham blanket through a Coast Salish linguistic blanket typology during my in-person study of it at the Burke Museum. The blanket, with its tightly woven construction and its two dark and solid stripes on either side, fits most closely with the translation and meaning of təq^wx^walc. Given its dog wool construction materials, it is obviously not a HBC blanket, as I suggested təq^wx^walc is. What does this mean?

I infer that Coast Salish weavers replicated the look and construction of an HBC blanket in the creation of this textile. The visual similarities are striking, and they speak to a significant level of visual acuity, textile engineering, and conceptual engagement by Coast Salish women weavers. I expect that this blanket was an item of substantial wealth, given that it was both made out of wooly dog hair *and* in the form of a HBC blanket, which Levi Lamont mentioned were “very expensive and very highly thought of.” But why would Coast Salish weavers create a blanket that is the same visually as other trade blankets circulating on the Northwest Coast? Are there other blankets like this that were made?

I believe that the evenness of the spinning and consistency of the weaving indicates that this blanket was created by an experienced weaver, or in collaboration with multiple very skilled weavers and spinners. Nothing looks crude or uneven: it is tight and meticulous, implying that

⁸¹ Harold Tichenor, “The Blanket: An Illustrated History of the Hudson’s Bay Point Blanket” (Toronto: Quantum book produced for Hudson’s Bay Company, 2002). p. 29-31.

this was perhaps not an experimental or completely unique weaving. The level of finish on it implies that the weaver might have even created one (or many!) of these before.

The Wickersham blanket may still be uniquely and distinctly Coast Salish given its materials, yet it is perhaps different enough from typical Coast Salish weaving forms and methods (of twill woven blankets made predominantly of mountain goat hair) that it skirted what I suspect might be an issue of trading ceremonial textiles out of the community. Again, I note that blankets around ǰʷəłč / the Sound were known to represent the particular sqəlalitut (spirit power) a person had, making them intensely spiritual and ceremonial items; they were items that featured prominently in marriage customs around the Sound;⁸² and they were valuable belongings that would accompany a deceased person at their burial.⁸³ Because of these qualities and uses, I assert that most historic Coast Salish textiles were perhaps not meant for purchase or ownership by non-Coast Salish individuals. Given the Wickersham blanket's unique formal qualities, there is a possibility that it was created to circumvent the established expectations of blankets that were made only for Coast Salish individuals. Perhaps the weavers made Wickersham a “white guy” blanket that bent the rules?

Perhaps (and this is strongly hypothetical) the weavers assumed that Wickersham in his role as a judge and government representative could reasonably protect the wool dogs' material history in his collection during a time of great change, disease, assimilation, and unrest during settler expansion on the Northwest Coast, and they sought a method of respectfully preserving that history for the sake of future generations. Maybe this blanket is the embodiment of

⁸² Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian, Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, vol. 9 (New York : Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970), <http://archive.org/details/northamericanind0009curt>. p. 79

⁸³ Dall and Gibbs, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest / by W.H. Dall. Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon / by Geo. Gibbs [Microform]*. p. 202-204.

“historical Indigenous futurisms”⁸⁴ where one or more Coast Salish women sought to invest in the weavers of today and tomorrow, trusting in and *creating* a future where these material relationships exist, and planting that seed into Wickersham’s collection through an act of diplomacy (especially if given as a gift to the Judge).

Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, it is a possibility that the hybrid style of Coast Salish-HBC blanket (təq^wx^walc) allowed for the continual important relationship between weavers, communities, and wooly dogs at a time when ceremonial activities were being banned by the government, and Coast Salish peoples around Puget Sound were facing mounting assimilative pressures. Perhaps the creation of a blanket that looked like a trade cloth but remained materially, uniquely, and perpetually Coast Salish allowed for communities to subvert the rules and create a beloved textile that represents a 5,000+-year-old tradition of relationships with dogs and their care and breeding in a modern (to them) era.⁸⁵ James Wickersham’s 1883 arrival in Tacoma, Washington Territory coincided exactly with the implementation of the 1883 *Code of Indian Offenses*, which severely restricted if not outright prohibited Native ceremonial and cultural gatherings such as the Northwest Coast Giveaway/Potlatch, resulting in the confiscation and destruction of Indigenous cultural belongings in Coast Salish territory. Wickersham, the blanket that he owned, and the weaver who made it, all bore witness to this time of tremendous change around ǰ^wəlč.

Without comparison to other wooly dog blankets, it is difficult to definitively state whether the Wickersham wool dog blanket is a 19th century Coast Salish version of a HBC blanket, or if it is an example of the form and style of Coast Salish wooly dog blankets that

⁸⁴ Christine Howard Sandoval and Jessica L. Horton, “‘Genocide Is Climate Change’: A Conversation about Colonized California and Indigenous Futurism,” *World Art (Abingdon, U.K.)* 13, no. 2 (2023): 177–96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21500894.2023.2183520>.

⁸⁵ For age of relationships between wooly dogs and Coast Salish peoples, see Lin et al., “The History of Coast Salish ‘Wooly Dogs’ Revealed by Ancient Genomics and Indigenous Knowledge.”

predated the influx of HBC blankets on the Northwest Coast—perhaps it is a distinct blending of both. I recognize that regardless of the intention and history of these blanket creation methods, the blanket itself functioned in a space where it could (and no doubt would) be recognized for its visual symmetry to other highly valued trade textiles. I therefore infer that Wickersham was either gifted or sought to acquire this blanket because of its material properties and the Indigenous and local identity of its maker, which distinguished it from other HBC blankets in circulation.⁸⁶ Finally, the presence of a wool dog hair t̄əq^wx^walc / HBC blanket runs counter to Gustafson’s theory that Coast Salish blankets stopped being made by weavers due to the market being flooded with cheap mass-produced trade blankets.⁸⁷ If this blanket is one of multiple as I have suggested based on the sophistication of its composition and significant quantity of dog hair, it means that multiple people were potentially engaging in the labor required to make textiles like these in the latter part of the nineteenth century. If people were creating labor-intensive textiles such as this, it indicates that some still valued their relationships to these materials and processes, and they did not abandon them so easily even though the HBC blankets were indeed attractive and valuable to Coast Salish peoples. At the very least these findings on the Wickersham wool dog blanket point to a more conceptually rich and complicated history of visual hybridity than previously thought.

Case Study Addendum:

During the editing process for this masters thesis and after my research and writing on this case study had already been developed, scholar Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa wrote to Burke Museum

⁸⁶ There also exists the possibility that Wickersham or someone else either confiscated due to his role in the legal system, or that it was taken from a grave, given the well-documented history of salvage anthropology by self-trained field ethnologists/anthropologists at the time.

⁸⁷ Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*. This theory is also repeated by scholar Crisca Bierwert on pages 230-231 of her essay “Weaving in Beauty, Weaving in Time” in Barbara Brotherton, ed., *S’abadeb = The Gifts: Pacific Coast Salish Art and Artists* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2008).

staff (including myself) to point out a source that seemed relevant to the dog wool blanket in our collection. Hammond-Kaarremaa referred us to Frances Densmore's "Nootka and Quileute Music," 1939 bulletin from the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology. This volume was written after Densmore's fieldwork in the Makah tribe in summers 1923 and 1926, and the interviews were conducted with the assistance of translator Mrs. Hazel Parker Butler, aided accompanied by Frances's younger sister Margaret Densmore. On Pages 15-16, Densmore writes:

“WEAVING OF BLANKETS

In former times the Makah raised a certain sort of long-haired dogs in order to weave blankets from the hair. Yarn was made from the hair and combined with cedar bark in the weaving. *A majority of the dogs were white, but a few were black, their hair being used in a pattern at the ends of the blanket. The usual size of a blanket was about 4 feet long and about the same width, with a border across the ends.* The weaving implements were a distaff, comb, pounder, and a horizontal pole. The distaff and comb were of wood and the pounder of bone. The hair, sheared from the dogs, was first twisted by hand, then further twisted into yarn by means of the distaff, which had a long handle. The cedar bark was removed from the tree and put in shallow water to loosen the outer layer. When this had been removed the inner bark was put in warm salt water to toughen it. The women sought a little pool where the water was always warm and laid the bark in the water for a certain time. When taken from the water the strips of bark were put on a table with a ridge in it. Dogfish oil was poured over the bark and it was pounded with an implement dipped frequently in very fresh dogfish oil. The implement used in this work was made of whalebone, an example bearing Young Doctor's insignia being shown in plate 10, d. While pounding the bark, the women felt of it with their fingers, pounding repeatedly such portions as needed extra attention until the pieces were soft but very tough. These pieces were separated into strips. The yarn was used as the warp, hanging downward from the horizontal pole, and the cedar strips were woven through the warp about one-quarter inch apart. *When completed the blanket was combed with the wooden comb so that the yarn concealed the cedar strips and the product was said to 'look like a commercial blanket.'*”⁸⁸ (Italics for emphasis by the author)

The existence of a dog wool-only (no mountain goat wool included) blanket with dark dog wool borders across the ends expands our understanding of this blanket to consider the

⁸⁸ Frances Densmore, *Nootka and Quileute Music*, vol. no.124 (1939), Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: G.P.O, 1939) pages 15-16.

possibility and compelling evidence that it is a Makah textile in the absence of any detailed attribution or provenance information from Wickersham. Interestingly, this textile's (the Makah textile written about by Densmore) visual similarities to commercial blankets were noted by Makah informants, similar to my conclusions about the dog wool/Wickersham blanket in the Burke museum collection. Given the process of fluffing up the blanket fibers at the end of the weaving process, it's not only that their visual form is similar to HBC blankets; their finishing process is similar to HBC blankets too.

What now of the word $təq^w x^w alc$? Does $təq^w x^w alc$ refer to an HBC blanket, or does it refer to the aforementioned Makah textile described in Densmore's text- if it was known to Lushootseed-speakers around $ǰ^w ə l ǰ$ / Puget Sound?⁸⁹ Either is possible given that the Makah traded with tribes around the Sound, though I think it more likely that $təq^w x^w alc$ still refers to an HBC blanket rather than this Makah textile used in puberty ceremonies.⁹⁰

As for the described blanket in Densmore's text, it is unclear whether its form and visual characteristics predated contact or the influx of HBC blankets on the coast, so it is difficult to determine definitively whether this visual hybridity is intentional or coincidental without more source information.

At the very least, this information expands the borders of what has been previously discussed as "Coast Salish" weaving to include significant dog wool weaving traditions by the Makah and others on the Olympic Peninsula. Although my Masters Thesis analysis has a Puget Sound focus due to the geographic spread of Lushootseed language, I want to be clear that the

⁸⁹ The word $təq^w x^w alc$ does not appear to be a word that is borrowed by Lushootseed speakers from Wakashan language (Makah or Nuu-chah-nulth), according to linguist Dr. Adam Werle. Personal communication with author, July 2024. Additionally, the translatable Lushootseed root and suffix combination imply that it is a specific Lushootseed word.

⁹⁰ Densmore, *Nootka and Quileute Music*. Blanket's connection to puberty ceremony noted on p. 243; though it will not be discussed in detail in this thesis given that respectful collaboration and consultation with the MCRC must be done to determine whether further public writing on this topic is appropriate or useful.

Sound is by no means the only place worthy of attention given the long histories of weaving elsewhere in Washington State, and the present and future weaving practices amongst neighboring Tribes.

CONCLUSION

My linguistic analysis of Lushootseed terms aims to shed light on some of the non-visual qualities of these weavings in order to understand their purpose and function, so that this information might later be blended with formal analysis of the weavings and materials to clear up the mysteries of attribution that persist within the study of these blankets and other woven belongings. It additionally aims to provide data for weavers and language learners with the goal of connecting artforms as an act of sovereignty. Attribution is often a necessary step to repatriation, and my goals as a scholar are repatriation of knowledge, archives, and belongings to communities in order to assist in language and artistic revitalizations, which are component parts in enacting sovereignty for present and future generations.

I envision extending my research methods into other forms of woven wool regalia in addition to blankets, for example: ǰʷaqʷabacəd, belt; ǰʷaqʷqid / ǰʷaqʷalqid, headband /ceremonial headband; ǰʷaqʷšad, ceremonial leg bands; and šadəč, a type of pre-contact skirt. These non-blanket forms of Coast Salish weaving have been under-represented in scholarship and deserve increased attention because they were culturally important as well: the Lushootseed archive describes the use of ceremonial belts, bands, headgear and other accessories.⁹¹ The ceremonial nature of these belongings will dictate the degree to which this research or

⁹¹ Although not a textile itself, though potentially relevant to the study of textiles due to dyeing processes, the Lushootseed archive of words also describes the use of pigments and paints which were used in ceremony and are still used today. Further investigation of pigment-bearing sites might assist in securing access and preservation of land based on traditional ceremonial use, if these sites are not already accessible to Coast Salish Peoples around ǰʷələč currently.

information should be shared in the public domain, but at the very least it points to the need for museums to more carefully consider Native belongings in their collections and prioritize attribution research and consultation with communities since these are key components to working with weavings in this era of repatriation under NAGPRA and the NMAI Act. Establishing the ceremonial or customary historical use of a textile is critical to not only its repatriation / rematriation, but also asserting a continued and reciprocal relationship of respect and protection with non-human beings in Coast Salish territory.⁹²

At the outset of this research, I sought to determine whether the lack of scholarly attention given to “Plain” mountain goat textiles as well as the marginalized weaving history of Lushootseed-speaking people was a symptom of a larger problem of intersecting marginalizations. By that I mean: the weaving tradition, geographic location, language, and its people are woven together, and lack of consideration of *any part* of this matrix obscures details and connections to the rest. I went searching for evidence of the “Plain” or “Twilled” textiles in historical sources and ultimately came to a more important conclusion that the answer is just *not that simple*. Purely aesthetic typologies are woefully inadequate because they don’t align with the ways that ancestors described their artworks, belongings, and relationships. That is not to say that aesthetics were not important or should not be considered in the history and art history of Coast Salish weaving. However researchers (*especially* settlers) must expand and reconsider our

⁹² Analysis of Lushootseed names, if acceptable to the families that possess them, might be done in order to trace familial histories of weaving and build back an understanding of these textiles’ history and movement in the area. In order to give a more complete history we must also develop a nuanced understanding of Sahaptin Tribes’ involvement and influence in the textile trade, especially given the high rates of intermarriage between Puget Sound Tribes and the Klickitat and Yakima. Dedicated research into these relationships will likely yield insight to unanswered questions about “Plains” style influences in patterned blankets often noted by Tepper et al. Investigation into Chinook terminology as well as Chinook jargon might additionally prove useful. Most importantly, we must take care to extend scholarly and curatorial attention to the textile traditions tied to Tsamosan Coast Salish languages of the Chehalis, Quinault, and Cowlitz relatives, as well as the Tillamook at the southernmost periphery of Coast Salish country. They are at risk of being further marginalized in the scholarship if research around the Sound manifests similarly to prior research focused on Vancouver Island and the Fraser River Valley.

language, positionality, and reverence when seeking knowledge from contemporary weavers, recorded stories from elders, and the weavings themselves due to this mismatch in relational terminology, since Indigenous language terms and creation practices hold a depth and variety of Indigenous knowledges that EuroAmerican research frameworks may not be well-equipped to seek and understand.

At present the Lushootseed archive makes it clear that that Lushootseed-speaking Tribes around ǰʷəlč / Puget Sound had a significant history of ceremonial textile creation and use that far exceeds the use of blankets alone, and the many blankets that *did* circulate within these communities were unquestionably sacred. I use “sacred” to explain the way that they were: beloved; valued; ceremonial; alive; they had a spirit power to them; and they held an intangible yet highly meaningful connection to land and other-than-human kin. Varied and similar terms for textiles in Lushootseed point to a ubiquitous and widespread relationship to wool and down weaving throughout the region, and naming traditions (especially women’s names) reflect a synchronicity between the cultural property of names and sacred textiles, as well as the spiritual powers and material wealth used to create them. This study yielded compilation of Lushootseed words that will be useful for weavers, language revitalizers, and archival researchers alike, as Coast Salish weaving surges and swells around ǰʷəlč.

Will or should Coast Salish weavers collectively or individually opt to call their blankets ǰʷastəduličə?, kʷastəduličə?, or ǰʷasduličə? in our current era, when the Salish woolly dogs no longer exist as a distinct fiber-bearing breed and mountain goat hair is so hard to come by?⁹³ This is not for me to predict or advise. Tremendous change has unfolded upon the landscape of Coast Salish textile production with the scarcity of traditional materials and the influx of new

⁹³ Master Weaver and Coast Salish Wool Weaving Center Board President sa’hLa mitSa Dr. Susan Pavel expressed that she has not heard weavers use these terms for their weavings as of May 2024. Personal communication with author, May 2024.

fibers and production methods; however, what remains constant is the deep, relational, and spiritual connection the weavers have with their weavings. Weavers with connections to Coast Salish communities around Puget Sound will continue to name and classify their artistic productions based on their relationship to them materially and spiritually, and Lushootseed will remain forever connected with this land and its people. Perhaps it will take time for the weavings and the words to meet and decide whether they are right together. qəłtəblu Tami Hohn, a Lushootseed language mentor, teacher, and practitioner for over thirty years, says that this *must* happen, because the weavings, practices, and words *do* belong together.⁹⁴ Both visual and linguistic forms of expression have remained patient and steadfast through the years; we will watch and listen closely as they meet once again.

⁹⁴ qəłtəblu Tami Hohn, personal communication with author, May 2024.

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Example of "Plain" blanket / twill woven Salish blanket. Image is of "Swo'kwelh–Mountain Goat Wool Blanket" by Gagtopie James and Tsi'li'xw Bill James, Lummi. Blanket photo by B. Palkovitz at Burke Museum, 2023

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$q\text{əltəblu}$ Tami Hohn (Puyallup) and Bethany Palkovitz with a Coast Salish mountain goat wool blanket, Burke Museum collections visit. Photo by Rose Mathison, October 2023.

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Photo of Judge James Wickersham at his desk with a Salish blanket draped over his chair. Photo provided by scholar Liz Hammond-Kaarremaa, from Alaska State Library Historical Collections.

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Hudson's Bay Company Point Blanket Styles and Sizes

Image from webpage "HBC Heritage — The HBC Point Blanket: a Canadian icon and a symbol of colonialism" at <https://www.hbcheritage.ca/things/fashion-pop/hbc-point-blanket> ; accessed August 2024.

Appendix A: Lushootseed Data

Introductory notes on the Appendix:

Lushootseed prefixes are ignored in alphabetization: for example, s-, sex^w-, ʔəs-. Subentries under root words listed in the table are marked by a triangular bullet “▶”. “BHH” refers to the Bates, Hess, and Hilbert *Lushootseed Dictionary* (1994), and numbers in sources refer to page numbers in this dictionary. Other abbreviations are defined in that dictionary. In many instances, I have repeated the English translation verbatim from the BHH dictionary, though I have made some translations for relevance to the table. *Please consult the dictionary for exact and comprehensive translations and entries.*

=**alícaʔ**: lexical suffix meaning clothes, clothing. BHH 28, 237.

=**ul=ićaʔ**: ceremonial blanket. (This gloss is proposed by BP. Dictionary gives no breakdown or direct translation, just mentions other important blankets. =ul= is a lex. linking element p.243; =ićaʔ p. 114 is a lex. suffix meaning to clothe, carry, to support from shoulder. Might mean "shoulder". Womens' names frequently end in this suffix.) BHH 114, 244, LG.

=**əl** + =**qid**, =**alqid**: wool, hair. (Lexical suffix =qid means head, top, summit.) BHH 178.

bəq^wićaʔ (**bəq^w=ićaʔ**): carry on shoulder. BHH 38, None given.

čaʔad: animal hair (e.g., dog hair). Compare **tabid** 'fur'. BHH 68, 152.

čəʔqid (**čəʔ=qid**): white swan, Alaska goose. BHH 71, MS, VH, Asp.

čuʔqid (**čuʔ=qid**): unidentified species of swan, whistling swan. BHH 66, EK, LL.

čəlaʔad (**čəl=aʔad**): arm-garters. BHH 52, ML.

dʔuləq, **dʔulək**: hand spinning wheel, leg spindle. Note from dictionary: "(A dʔuleq is made out of cedar because cedar is light weight.)" BHH 92, MC (NL).

jšəg^wića: blanket used on special occasions made of dog and mountain goat hair, dog wool blanket. BHH 117, 202, source note just says "Skagit", but another entry for the word **səlapus** features a sentence by Susie Sampson Peter (Skagit) where she uses the word **jšəg^wića** so it can be attributed to her. SSP quote on pg. 202.

juʔadad (**juʔ=adad**): ceremonial accessories. BHH 117, ML.

kəwčlaʔad (**kəwč=ł=aʔad**): arm band. BHH 120, DM.

k^wal(a), **kwalš**: to weave. *Dictionary mostly talks about cedar weaving. BP will seek and welcome community insight as to whether the same word can be used for wool weaving. See also **tabšəd** for wool weaving. BHH 122, SSP, DM.

łaq(a): to spin (wool, etc.) compare Snohomish **taš** 'spin', **dʔulaq** 'old-fashioned hand spinning wheel'. BHH 142, LG (Skagit).

▶ **səx^właq**: spinning wheel. LG.

▶ **səx^wulłaq**: what one spins with. LG.

▶ **łaqtəd**: leg spindle. LG.

łidi: to tie. BHH 146.

▶ **slidalšəd** (**slid=alšəd**): pack strap, tumpline. See also **čəbatəd**, **tk^walšəd**, and **stiq^walšəds** under **šəls**, sentence from ML. BHH 146, EK.

▶ **łidłidšəd**: things tied to the legs, part of one's ceremonial accessories. BHH 146, ML.

łiʔləbus: bear hide poncho. BHH 145, WS.

łak^wtəd: needle (long ironwood needle for cattail mat and blanket making). BHH 150.

łəwčlaʔad (**łəwč=ł=aʔad**): arm garter. BHH 154, ML.

pac: to sew. BHH 166, LL, EK, LG.

► **təbšəd**: braid something, weave something (like wool). BHH 235, 236, SSP (NL), example given translated as "she wove the mountain goat (wool)".

► **səx^wstəbš**: pack strap. BHH 236, TW (NL).

təbt: ochre. BHH 219, ML, SSP (NL).

təq^w + =alc: (tight) + (lexical suffix that notes the manipulation or construction of something)--- might translate to english roughly like "tightly constructed" BP (author)'s theory is that this might possibly refer to HBC Point Blankets which were made of wool woven at 50% larger size and then put through a milling process to reduce them into tightly woven fabrics, preventing further shrinkage. This would explain why most other blankets are translated based on their type of fiber and use (whether ceremonial or not), while these were translated based on their visual and tactile formal qualities and form of construction, since Coast Salish people would not have had a deeply relational practice with the materials or weaving process as they did with their own weavings.

təq^wx^walc (təq^wx^w=alc): white blanket with a black stripe on each end (they were very expensive and very highly thought of- L.L.). BHH 223, L.L., Snohomish, Martha Lamont's husband Levi Lamont; SSP quote on pg. 202.

ǰal(a): to mark, decorate; write. BHH 257, many contributors, both NL and SL.

► **ǰalyaǰad (ǰal=y=aǰad)**: (contrasting) borders, side pattern. BHH 258. None given.

► **ǰsǰalǰal**: striped, speckled, or having colors. BHH 258, EK.

ǰatǰat: mallard (duck). BHH 259. None given.

ǰəq: bind, wrap around, tie. BHH 264, LL, EK, ML.

ǰəqlaǰad (ǰəq=l=aǰad): ceremonial arm bands. BHH 264, ML.

ǰəqšad (ǰəq=šad): ceremonial leg bands. BHH 264, ML.

ǰ^waq^w: bind. BHH 269. None given.

► **ǰ^waq^wabacəd (ǰ^waq^w=abac-əd)**: belt. BHH 269, LG.

► **ǰ^waq^wabacəb (ǰ^waq^w=abac-əb)**: bind yourself with something, something you tie around your waistline. BHH 269, LG.

► **ǰ^waq^wqid (ǰ^waq^w=qid)**: to have a band on one's head. BHH 269, LG.

► **ǰ^waq^wqidəb (ǰ^waq^w=qid-əb)**: to have a band on one's head. BHH 269, LG.

► **ǰ^wəǰ^wq^waləqid (ǰ^wəǰ^wq^w=alə=qid)**: headband. BHH 269, EK.

► **ǰ^waq^waliquidəb (ǰ^waq^w=ali=qid-əb)**: to have a ceremonial headband wrapped around one's head. BHH 269, SSP.

► **ǰ^waq^wg^was (ǰ^waq^w=g^was)**: have (something worn) wrapped at the waist. BHH 269, SSP.

► **ǰ^waq^wšad (ǰ^waq^w=šad)**: ceremonial leg bands. BHH 270, SSP.

► **ǰ^waǰ^wq^wšadəb (ǰ^waǰ^wq^w=šad-əb)**: to have ceremonial leg bands wrapped around one's legs. BHH 208. None given.

ǰ^wiləb: thread. BHH 272, LG.

ǰ^wil: unit of measure, from thumb tip to tip of middle finger while fingers are spread. See also **scək^w**, **sʔuləč**. BHH 272, DM.

yabdəč (yab=dəč): blanket made with duck down and mountain goat wool. BHH 275. None given.

yiqibad: awl for weaving. BHH 278. None given.

ʔuləč: to obtain from nature, gather something, preserve something. BHH 21, JC, VH, ML, EC, SSP.